00106051

ARTICLE I.

LIFE OF GAUDAMA,

A TRANSLATION

FROM THE BURMESE BOOK ENTITLED MĂ-LA-LEN-GA-RA WOTTOO.

106051

BY

REV. CHESTER BENNETT,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST UNION IN BURMA.

(Read October 23, 1851.)

00106051

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018

LIFE OF GAUDAMA.

THE writer's adoration. Him who has severed transmigrations, which are like the waters of the great ocean, who has quenched the exceeding fierce fires of anger, who has opened the darkest prison-house of ignorance, who is above all, the most excellent of men, this *Parâ*,[*] I worship. That which is hard to be understood, difficult to be seen, exceedingly mild, suitable to be desired by men and Nats, capable of washing away the filth and dirt of the passions, stable, suitable to be taught by the most excellent Parâ, who is above all other males, the *ten laws*,[†] I also worship. Him who has overcome that enemy of mankind, the passion of lust, who has broken and rejected the net of the sixty-two errors of doctrine, who has extracted the root of passion, so that nothing is left, and the eight *Areeyas*,[‡] who are far above other priests, I also worship.

Having worshipped these three excellencies, and trusting in the power of merit, having overcome all difficulties; beginning at the death of the excellent Parâ in the fourth Nat country, called *Toke-the-ta*, and showing his most superior virtue, and glory, until the time of his annihilation, (in a respectful manner listen,) that which is pleasant to the ears,

---

[*] *Boodh*, or deity. This name is usually applied, in the sacred books, to Gaudama, even when speaking of him in his former states, before he became Boodh. For various reasons, we prefer the name Boodh, or Gaudama, in our translation.

[†] 1. Religious offerings. 2. Observance of religious duties, precepts, etc. 3. Alms-giving. 4. Perseverance in a religious course to the end of life. 5. Gentleness, quietness. 6. Freedom from anger. 7. Practice of austerities. 8. Freedom from the oppression of others. 9. Patience, forbearance. 10. Freedom from fault-finding with words, fitted to save man from the four inferior hells.

[‡] Or the personified States: 1. Right opinion. 2. Right intention. 3. Right words. 4. Right actions. 5. Right way of supporting life. 6. Rightly directed intelligence. 7. Good heed, caution. 8. Composure, serenity.

(the virtues and glories, the best ornaments,) the book called *Ma-la-len-ga-ra*, I now write in the Burmese language.

The most excellent Parâ, who is above men, Nats, and Brahmans, was, an innumerable number of periods past, a sage, named *Thu-ma-da*, and was a disciple of the Boodh *De-ben-ga-ra.* At that time, he received the first intimation that in a future state he would become a Boodh. Having practised, during the whole of that time, all the virtues, in the state of king *Wa-than-da-ra*, he died. In his next state, he was a Nat in *Toke-the-ta* Nat country, named *Tha-ta-ka-tu.* While he was enjoying the happy state of a Nat, there was a great voice heard, saying, that a Boodh was soon to appear. The first cry was, that the world would be destroyed; the second, that a Boodh was to appear; the third, that the king of the four great islands was to come. When *Lau-ka-phyu-ha*, the son of a Nat, heard this, knowing that the world would be destroyed in one hundred thousand years, he bowed his head, with his hair dishevelled, weeping; and wiping his face with both his hands, having clothed his body with a red *pasō*,* making himself hideous to behold, he went to and fro in the streets, in the midst of the multitude, and cried as follows: "O ye Nats, from this day forward when a hundred thousand years are passed, the world will be destroyed, and the great ocean will become dry. The earth and *Meyn-mo*† mountain will be burned up. All the world will be destroyed, even up to the Brahman country; therefore increase in the four great virtues of the Brahmans, feed your parents, and reverence the aged. When one thousand years are passed from this day, a Boodh will make his appearance. When one hundred years are passed, the king of the four great islands will come."

All the Nats in the universe, on hearing this cry, immediately assembled in one place. When they knew there was to be a Boodh, they came to the place where the embryo deity was, and made their obeisance. All the Nats from the six Nat countries, assembled together in *Toke-the-ta* Nat country, in the presence of the embryo deity, and said, "O most excellent Nat, perfect in the ten virtues, and the thirty-two smaller virtues, if you are not satisfied with the riches of all the Nats and Brahmans, verily, in order to deliver men, Nats, and Brahmans from the great whirlpool of transmigration, if you desire and long for the state of a Boodh, the time is now suitable for you to become one." Thus they intimated their desires that he should become a deity. Before he assented to their proposal, he first looked at five things. 1. He considered when the Boodh was to appear. 2. The island on which he would appear. 3. The place, or country, where he would appear. 4. His race. 5. The age of his mother. Of these five, he first considered whether the time for his appearance had arrived, or not. He perceived that it was not suitable for a Boodh to appear when the age of people exceeded one hundred thousand years, because, while people lived to so great an age, birth, sickness, old age and death, would be as it were unknown, and the three laws of the Boodh would not be understood by them. As to such persons, though he preached the three laws of mortality, misery, and mutability, they, being of such an age, would say, "what does this mean?" and would not think it worth listening to, or considering; therefore, as to such persons, it was not a time to make known the four righteous laws of truth, they having no desire to become acquainted with it; of course, this was not a time for a Boodh to appear. When the age of man was less than one hundred years, because of their profligate and sensual lives, if they were instructed, they would not listen; as writing on water does not appear, so instruction would be lost upon such people, and that would not be a suitable time for a Boodh to appear. The time, therefore, for a Boodh to make his appearance, is when the age of the people is over one hundred, and less than one hundred thousand years. At the time when the Nats assembled before the embryo deity, the age of man exceeded one hundred years, therefore it was a time for a Boodh to appear. After he had settled the time for his appearance, he next considered the island where he was to appear; and when he looked at the four great islands, together with the two thousand smaller ones, he perceived that in three of them Boodhs do not appear, and that they only appear in the South island. Thus he discovered the island where he was to be born. He then considered on what part of the island he was to be born. Now the South island is very large, being one hundred and twenty thousand miles in length, and breadth. He beheld the middle place of the island. Now on the East of this place is the village of *Ga-zen-ga-la*, and in it is a large *En-gyen* tree; on the South-east there is the river *Than-la-wa-dee;* on the South side is the village of *Thà-ta-kau-nee-ka;* on the West side is a Brahman village called *Tu-na;* on the North is the mountain *Oke-the-ya-da-za.* Within these boundaries is the middle kingdom, and outside of these are villages. This middle kingdom is three thousand six hundred miles in length, and three hundred in breadth, and one hundred and eight thousand miles in circumference. In this middle kingdom eight semi-Boodhs lived, and there was the country of *Kap-pe-la-woot.* He then came to the conclusion that in this country he should appear. He next looked for his race; now Boodhs do not come from merchants, traders, or poor persons; they only spring from the race of kings, or Brahmans. He then discovered that he should spring from the race of kings, and that king *Thoke-dau-da-na* would be his father. Thus he discovered his race. He lastly considered who his mother was to be. As to the mothers of Boodhs, they must not be of bad character, nor in the habit of drinking spirits. He discovered *Maha-Ma-ya*, who for the time of one hundred thousand periods had been perfect in virtue, and saw that she would become his mother. He also saw that she was to live only ten months and seven days from that time.

---

* The garment worn by Burmese men.

† The great central mountain.

When he considered these five points, he said to the Nats, "O Nats, this is a suitable time for me to become Boodh;" thus giving his consent to their request. He then dismissed the Nats who had assembled from the ten thousand systems, and surrounded by all the Nats of *Toke-the-ta* he went into *Nan-da-woon* garden. In this garden he died, surrounded by them, and was conceived by *Maha-Ma-ya.* At the time of his conception, the people were holding a festival of the stars. Seven days before the full moon of July, the queen being surrounded by those only who abstained from spirit, such as were perfumed, and adorned with ornaments, she with them enjoyed the festival until the seventh day. Very early on the morning of that day, she bathed herself in perfumed water, adorned herself with all her ornaments, and made an offering worth four hundred thousand [rupees?]; having taken excellent food, and keeping the worship-day, she went into the palace; and reclining upon the royal couch, she fell asleep, and had the following extraordinary dream: Four Nat kings came to where she was lying, and taking up the couch, carried her to *He-ma-woon-ta* mountain; near the *Na-wa-dat* lake, under the En-gyen tree which is eighty-four miles high, upon a precious stone seven thousand two hundred miles broad, they placed the couch, and remained in suitable positions. Then the queens of the four Nat kings came, and taking her to the lake, washed her from the impure perfume of the country of man; and when she was bathed, they dressed, ornamented, and perfumed her, in the manner of the Nats. Near this lake is a silver mountain, and in the mountain a golden palace. When they had borne her to the golden palace, they placed her head to the East, and caused her to sleep on the couch of a Nat. At that time the embryo deity had the appearance of a perfect white male elephant, feeding on a golden mountain, which was near the silver one, where the queen was; he descended the golden mountain, and ascended the silver one, and at the end of his trunk, which was like a wreath of silver flowers, he held a white lily, and uttering a pleasant sound, he entered the palace on the North side, and taking three turns to the right, around the queen, he opened her right side, and appeared to enter into her. This the queen dreamed.

The next morning, when the queen arose, she went into the presence of the king, and related her dream. When the king heard the words of the queen, he called sixty-four *Pong-nas,** of the highest order, to interpret the dream. Having prepared a favorable piece of ground, by making it smooth with cow-dung, etc., he strewed it with flowers. He then made them sit down, and placed before them butter, honey, sugar, milk, etc., with other kinds of food, in gold and silver vessels, and then presented them with new pasōs, milch cows, etc., until they were satisfied. When they had done feasting, the king related the dream, and asked of them the interpretation. When the Pong-nas heard the dream, they said, "O king, do not be anxious; the queen has this day conceived, and the embryo is not a female, but a male;

---

* Astrologers, priests.

and he is not of the inferior or middle classes, but is of superior glory. If what is conceived of the queen shall remain among men, he will be king, and rule over the four great islands, and the two thousand smaller ones. If he is a priest, he will verily become Boodh." Thus they gave the interpretation of the dream.

At the time of his conception, there was a great earthquake, and a violent shaking throughout the ten thousand systems; and thirty-two different omens appeared. There was a brightness and glory diffused which cannot be equalled; those who were blind received sight; the ears of the deaf were opened; the dumb spake; and all who were humpbacked, crooked-legged, or deformed in any way, were made perfect; all who were confined in prison were liberated; all the fires of the great and small hells were quenched; the thirsty and starving *Peik-ta* people* received food and drink; the beasts were delivered from every calamity; all mankind became healthy and free from all diseases; all those who had been enemies became friends, and conversed together with joy; the horses and elephants expressed their joy by playfulness; all musical instruments of their own accord played sweetly, without the agency of man; a glory appeared in the dresses of all the people; the eight points of the compass† were exceedingly clear and light; the winds became quiet and gentle; out of season, it rained violently; water gushed out of the earth, and ran over it; the birds stopped flying, in the air; the waters of the rivers stood still; the waters of the ocean became sweet like those of the Ganges; the ten points of the compass‡ were as if overspread by the five kinds of lilies; all land and water flowers blossomed simultaneously; the trunks of the trees were covered with one kind of lily, and the branches with another; the creepers bore another kind of lily; the rocks split in pieces, and another kind of lily came forth; the heavens were as if hung in wreaths of flowers and lilies; it rained flowers; all the musical instruments of Nat country played of their own accord; and the whole ten thousand systems arrived at that state of beauty as if they were adorned with all kinds of flowers, either for beauty or odoriferous smell, in wreaths and bouquets, and sparkled like a fan made of the tail of the *Za-ma-ree* bird. Thus the thirty-two signs appeared.

---

* Peik-tas are beings inferior to man, inhabiting one of the states of suffering.

† The four cardinal, and the four subdivisions.

‡ The above eight, with the zenith and nadir.

As to the queen, and the embryo deity, who had been conceived amid so many supernatural signs, though they should have been crushed beneath *Meyn-mo* mount, yet no evil could have come to them; notwithstanding, on account of their great glory and power, four *Za-du-ma-ha-reet* Nat kings, each holding swords, guarded the four points of the compass around the palace, and also four in each of the ten thousand systems kept watch, during ten months, even until he was born, to prevent any evil happening to the mother, or child. From the day of his conception, the queen suffered none of those evils, or inconveniences, which usually attend the bearing of children, but remained comfortably enjoying herself amidst her attendants. Like as a white silk string is seen through a ruby on which it is strung, so if any one stood in front of the mother, and looked at her, he could see through to her back, and behold the child sitting cross-legged; the place where he sat was like a pagoda, and he, like an image in the niche of a pagoda. It was a place too sacred for any other being to occupy, and therefore all the mothers of Boodhs die the seventh day after the birth of a Boodh, and become male Nats in *Toke-the-ta* Nat country. Some women exceed, and some come short of ten months, and are delivered just as it happens; but the mothers of Boodhs go just ten months, and are invariably delivered standing. As a priest carries his rice-pot in a band passed over the shoulder, the mother, having so carried the young Boodh ten months, had a desire to go and see her relatives, and she said to the king, "O king, I have a desire to go and see my friends in *Da-wa-da-ha* country." The king said, "Very well, you can go." When he had caused the road to be made even, from country to country, and to be covered with white sand, flags, and cotton handkerchiefs, and banners to be erected on the sides, he caused the queen to be borne by one thousand noblemen on a golden palankeen, surrounded by numerous attendants, towards the country of *Da-wa-da-ha.* Between the two countries there is a beautiful garden of En-gyen trees, called *Lōng-ba-nee.* On that day, the trees were in full bloom throughout, both the trunks and the branches; and amidst the branches, and openings of the flowers, large blue beetles and birds came out, and flew around, singing melodiously. The whole garden was as beautiful and pleasant for enjoyment as *Sein-da-la-ta* garden in *Ta-wa-deing-tha* Nat country, and as pleasant as a royal festival. The queen, surrounded by her numerous attendants, when she saw the garden, had a desire to amuse herself for a while in it, and caused her bearers to take her there. When she entered the garden, she descended from the palankeên, and accompanied by her younger sister, *Pa-za-pa-tee-gau-da-mee,* and supported on each side by her attendants, proceeded to the propitious En-gyen tree. When they arrived at the tree, the queen wishing to take hold of a limb which was wholly covered with flowers, as a young ratan bends in the fire, it bent down to meet her hand. The queen taking hold of the limb with one hand, and her sister with the other, she was seized with labor, on which the young maids in attendance made a screen, and put the men on the outside. As easily as oil glides from one golden cup to another, and with the dignity with which a priest descends from his pulpit, the boy arose from his cross-legged posture, and being perfectly free from all impurity, came standing into the world. At that moment, four Brahmans from *Aga-neik-ta,* came with a piece of gold-lace net-work, each taking a corner, stood before the mother, and received the child upon it, saying to her, "O most excellent queen, be joyful, you have received the treasure of a son." The boy, like a precious stone upon a *Ka-tha-ka-reet* cloth, shone most brilliantly. Thus was the great Boodh born. Though he was free from all impurity, the Nats, wishing to make an offering, caused two streams of water to fall down from the clouds, the one warm, the other cold, for the bathing of the mother and child. From the hands of the Brahmans, who held the boy on the gold-lace, he was received by four kings of *Za-du-ma-ha-reet,* on a very fine piece of cloth, by whom he was handed over to the female attendants, who took him on a new piece of cloth, which had not been used; from that, he descended to the ground. Standing, and facing the East, he said, "Is there any one in the world more excellent than I am?" and looking, he saw, perfectly, through more than one thousand of the *Sekya* systems; and all the Nats and Brahmans who were in those systems, said, "As you have no equal, where shall we look for a rival?" and then presented offerings of flowers and perfumes. Looking to the ten points of the compass, and not seeing his equal, the boy walked seven paces to the North. While he was going, the Brahmans held over him a white umbrella; the *Thu-ra-ma* Nat fanned him with a fan made from the tail of the Za-ma-ree bird, another carried the royal sword, another, the royal shoes, some, the ornaments for the head, others, the kingly ornaments. When he had walked the seven paces, he stopped, and said, "There is none in the world more excellent than I am." This he uttered with a loud, fearless voice. (When this same Boodh was born in the states of *Ma-hau-tha-ta* and *Wa-than-dria*, the two last before this, he spoke audibly as soon as born. When he was born in *Ma-hau-tha-ta* state, while his mother was in labor, the *The-gya* king came and put a piece of sandal-wood in his hand, and went away. So the boy was born holding the sandal-wood in his hand. When his mother saw him, she said, "My son, what have you brought in your hand?" He replied, "Mother, it is medicine." Because he was born holding medicine in his hand, he was called the Little Medicine-boy. The sandal-wood was put into a pot, and afterwards, whoever came, with whatever illness, was cured by the use of the medicine. Afterwards, on account of the fame of his medicine, he was called *Ma-hau-tha-ta.* When he was born in *Wa-than-dria* state, as soon as he was born, he stretched out his hand, and said, "Mother, have you any goods in your house? I wish to make an offering." Thus was he born in the act of asking to make an offering. His mother replied, "My son, there is a great variety in my house," and she put in his hand a bag containing one thousand [rupees?]. When he was born in the state of *Gaudama*, he uttered the words I have just narrated.)

At the same moment when he was born, *Ya-thau-da-ya,* who became the mother of *Ya-hu-la,* his cousin *Anan-da,* the two noblemen *Sanna* and *Ka-lu-da-ya*, and the horse *Kan-da-ka,* were born. Also, at the same moment, the great Banyan tree, under which he was perfected, sprang up, and four golden pots appeared. One of these golden pots was called *Then-ka,* and measured three miles in circumference; one called *A-la* was six miles, one called *Oke-pa-la* was nine miles, and the last, called *Pong-da-re-ka,* was twelve miles, in circumference; the depth of each was equal to that of the earth. These seven, appearing at the same moment he was born, are called his *Pwa-bets.**

At this time, all the people in *Da-wa-da-ha* and *Kap-pe-la-wqot* were in great commotion, going to convey the boy to his father's house. On the day when it was known in *Ta-wa-deing-tha* Nat country, that a son was born who would become Boodh, the Nats rejoiced greatly, with music and dancing, throwing up their pasōs, and making other demonstrations of joy. At that time, the sage of king *Thoke-dau-da-na,* when he had eaten his morning's rice, went to the country of Nats, and seeing their exceeding joy, inquired why they were so much more joyful than at other times. They replied, "There is a son born to king *Thoke-dau-da-na,* who will become Boodh, and we shall see him, and hear the law from his lips; therefore we rejoice." The sage hearing this, descended to the palace of the king, and said, "O king, I hear that a son is this day born to the king; where is he? I desire to see him." The king then caused him to be brought in his princely ornaments, and placed before the teacher, that the boy might bow to him. But the boy placed his foot upon the head of the sage. And wherefore? It is said to be true that there is no person to whom a Boodh should bow. If, through ignorance, the embryo Parâ should happen to be placed towards the feet of the teacher, the teacher's head would immediately be split into seven pieces. The sage, observing the movements of the boy, and thinking in himself, "There is no reason why I should sit here, and be destroyed," arose from his place, and worshipped the boy. When the king saw this extraordinary movement of the sage, he also worshipped the boy. As to this sage, he had the ability of knowing what had taken place in forty worlds before this, and also what would take place in forty worlds to come, and when he saw the wonderful appearance of the boy, he considered whether he would become Boodh, or not, and when he perceived that he would certainly become Boodh; he said, "As to this boy, he is a wonderful being," and smiled. He then considered whether he should see him after he became Boodh, and perceiving that he would die before that event, he said, "Alas! I shall not have the privilege of seeing the most excellent Boodh, for, though he should come in his own person one thousand times to preach the law, it would not avail any thing to me, who will then be in the world of spirits. Great is my loss." On that account his mind was greatly troubled, and he wept. The nobles, seeing the sage one moment smiling and another weeping, asked the reason. And when he had given them an answer, he next considered whether any of his relatives would see the Boodh, or not, and he discovered that his nephew *Na-la-ka* would. He went immediately from the palace to the house of his sister, and asked for *Na-la-ka.* When he appeared, he addressed him thus: "My nephew, there is this day a son born to the king, who will thirty-five years hence become Boodh; and in order that you may see him after that time, you must leave your wealth, and become a priest." When *Na-la-ka,* who was worth eight hundred thousand millions, heard this, he thought, "My uncle will advise only what is for my interest," and he instantly purchased the articles necessary for a priest, had his head and beard shaved, and worshipping towards where the embryo Boodh was, by the five kinds of shekoing,* he said, "Whoever in this world is accounted the most excellent priest, I desire to excel him," and departed for the mountain *He-ma-woon-ta,* and there remained, increasing in the wisdom of priests. Afterwards, when Gaudama arrived at the state of a Boodh, *Na-la-ka* went to him, and heard the law of *Mau-na-za,* and then returned into the jungle, and lived near a golden mountain; he kept that law for seven months, at the end of which time, while he was in a standing posture, he, body and spirit, disappeared, and attained *Neigban.* The law which he had kept, was that which only one person to every Boodh can attain to. It has three degrees of severity. Because he kept the most strict, he lived only seven months. Those who keep the next most difficult degree, live seven years; and those who keep the other, live twelve years.

---

* A Pwa-bet is that which is born, or appears, at the same moment another is born.

The fifth day after the child was born, they washed his head, in order to name him; and having perfumed him with four kinds of perfume, and scattered five kinds of flowers around, they called one hundred and eight Pong-nas, of whom eight were the same who interpreted the dream of the queen, and who were more skilled in the interpretation of signs, etc., than others. When these eight had explained the signs, seven of them raised two fingers, to show that he would be one of two things, and said, "If the boy remains among men, he will become king of the whole island; but if he becomes a priest, assuredly he will become Boodh." The other, who was the youngest, holding up one finger, said, "There is no reason to think that he will remain among men, but he will verily become Boodh." This Pong-na was in the highest state of wisdom, and surpassed the other seven in the signs of the Boodh. On that day, they gave him the name of *Theik-dat*, because he would be a blessing to all mankind. When he was seven days old, his mother died, and, on account of her great merit, became the son of a Nat in *Toke-the-ta.*

---

* Various ways of holding the hands, and prostration.

After the Pong-nas had interpreted the signs, they returned to their own houses, and calling their sons, said, "Beloved sons, we are old; whether we shall live to see the son of the king as Boodh, or not, we cannot tell; in order that you may receive his instructions after he becomes Boodh, we desire you to become priests." Seven of these Pong-nas died, and failed of seeing the Boodh; but the youngest, who was free from disease, lived to a great age. When the prince left the habitation of men, and went into the jungle of *Uru-wa-la,* and there remained practicing the virtues of a priest, this Pong-na heard of it, and he went to the sons of the other Pong-nas, and said, "*Theik-dat* has become a priest, and he will assuredly become Boodh; truly, if your fathers were now alive, they would go to the jungle, and become priests." He asked them if they would not that day become priests, and said, "Let us all go to him, and become his priests." All did not consent; three had no desire to become priests, but four went with him, and they five became priests to Gaudama.

When the king heard the interpretation of the signs, he asked the Pong-nas why they supposed he would become a priest? They replied that, if he should see an old man, a sick man, a dead man, or a priest, he would take warning, and therefore become a priest. The king rejoined, "If that be the case, we must prevent his seeing these four things, for I have a great desire to see my son reigning over the four great islands, and surrounded by his court four hundred and thirty-two miles in extent; what profit will it be if he becomes Boodh?" Therefore, in order that no old man, sick man, dead man, or priest, should come to the city, a guard was placed for three miles around, to prevent any from entering. The royal family, that day assembled, numbered eighty thousand. All these relatives said, "O king, whether your son becomes king, or Boodh, we desire, each of us, to give a son to attend him, and truly, if he becomes Boodh, he will have eighty thousand of the royal race for his priests, and his going from place to place will be very splendid; or, if he is only a king, there will then be great majesty in his travels." The king gave him nurses who were beautiful, and free from all blemishes and diseases. Thus the child grew, surrounded by numerous attendants.

On a festival-day, for sowing rice, the whole country was as beautiful in appearance as Nat country; and the servants and slaves, dressed in new clothes and perfumed, assembled in the palace of the king, who ordered one thousand ploughs to be brought, and eight hundred cattle to be ornamented, seven hundred and ninety-nine with silver trappings, their horns, their neck-yokes, and the leading reins. The king's plough-handle was ornamented with gold, and the cattle with gold trappings. Going out of the city with numerous attendants, he caused his son to accompany him with suitable ceremony. In the place to be ploughed, was a tree which had very thick leaves, and a cool and pleasant shade; and under this tree they placed the boy's couch, with a spangled canopy over and around it, surrounded by his body-guard. The king, with all his nobles splendidly attired, went to the field to plough. There the king held the golden plough, and the nobles the seven hundred and ninety-nine silver ones. The remaining ploughs were used by the common people. The king and nobles went to and fro across the field, while ploughing. In this there were many things beautiful to behold. Then the nurses of the child went outside, to see these pleasant things. The boy looked around him, and seeing no person, rose up quickly, seated himself in a cross-legged posture, and entered the first state of a *Zan-tha-ma-bat.** The nurses, in viewing the work of the king, and in preparing food, remained sometime outside. At a short distance from where the boy was, were other trees, the shadows of which changed from the natural position, and shaded the one under which the child was. The shadow of the tree the boy was under, was round, and did not change. When the nurses bethought themselves that the child was alone, they suddenly raised the curtain, and entered the enclosure, where the child sat cross-legged upon his couch, and under the round shade of the tree. They then went and told the king the wonderful story of the shadows of the trees, and of the boy's sitting. The king, on hearing this, came immediately, and seeing the miracle, said, "My dear son, I even now worship you." This was the second time the king had worshipped his son.

---

* There are five Zans, or states of mind which enable the possessor to traverse different worlds. 1. Thought, design. 2. Consideration, reflection. 3. Pleasure, joy. 4. Bliss, happiness. 5. Permanency, immutability.

When the prince was sixteen years old, his royal father built him three palaces, one for each season. One had nine gradations of roofs, one seven, the other five. He then had forty thousand dancing women procured; and the appearance of the prince was like the son of a Nat, surrounded by the daughters of Nats. He was entirely surrounded by women, and by their singing and dancing was made exceedingly happy. . As the three seasons came round, he changed his residence from one palace to another. *Ya-thau-da-ya*, who became the mother of *Ya-hu-la*, was his chief princess. In this manner the young prince enjoyed himself.

It happened, on a day when he was in this state, that the following conversation took place among his relatives: "As to this young prince, he is accustomed only to walk to and fro, enjoying himself; he knows nothing; in case of war, what could he do?" His father, hearing of this, called his son, and said, "My dear son, your friends say there is nothing that you understand, as yet, except enjoying yourself in pleasure. In case of war, and the enemy should come upon us, how would you feel and act?" He replied, "My father, there is no reason for my learning; if you have a desire to see and know what I can do, let all be called within seven days, and I will show my friends what I can do." The king did as the son directed. On the day appointed, the young prince called two famous archers; and in the midst of the people, he and they went through the twelve exercises of the bow and arrow. When the relatives had seen this exercise, all their doubts of his skill in war vanished.

After this, the young prince desired to go to the garden for his amusement, and ordered the chariot to be made ready. When the chariot was decorated and ornamented with its trappings, it was suitable for a royal person. Four flying horses, which were in appearance like lilies, were harnessed; and the chariot, like the mansion of a Nat, being made ready, the young prince mounted it, and drove directly towards the garden. The Nats, knowing that he was near becoming a Boodh, exhibited a sign. A son of a Nat assumed the appearance of an old man, who, with white hair, broken teeth, hump-backed, holding a staff in his hand, went tottering along. No one but the charioteer and the prince saw the person. When the prince saw him, he said, "O charioteer, who is this? Indeed, his appearance is not like that of other men." The charioteer replied, "My lord, this man is only old. All men who are born, come to grey hairs, wrinkled skin, a crooked back, broken teeth, etc., and in old age are not able to do as they desire, and become miserable." When the young prince heard this, he said, "Truly, then, what is born is disgusting." He was troubled in mind, and immediately ordered the chariot back to the palace. When they arrived, the king said, "My son, why do you return so soon?" When he understood that he had seen an old man, and remembered its having been said, that if he saw an old man, he would become a priest, he said, "Why do you desire to destroy my son?" and he caused the dancers to be called immediately, and thought, "When he enjoys himself with the music and dancing, he will forget his fright," and he increased the guard to the distance of six miles.

Again the young prince desired to go to the garden, and the Nats sent a sick man for him to see; and when he inquired who it was, and was informed, he was again disturbed, and returned to the palace. When the king heard the cause of his sudden return, he caused a festival to be made for the pleasure of his son, and increased the guard to nine miles. Again he set out for the garden, and the Nats placed a dead person for him to see; and when he inquired and learned what it was, he was exceedingly terrified, and hastened back to the palace. When the king learned the cause of his return, he ordered a dancing party for his amusement, and increased the guard to twelve miles around the palace. Once more he set out for the garden, and the Nats sent a priest in his best and most splendid habit, and the young prince inquired, "Who is this?" and was informed. The charioteer was ignorant of the merit and benefit of a Boodh, but knew the glory of the Nats, and extolled the state of a priest. The prince was pleased with the appearance of the priest, and they proceeded to the garden. Here he remained all day enjoying himself; and before sunset, having bathed in the propitious tank, he had a desire to dress and ornament himself upon a large, smooth stone which was near the tank. At this time, the attendants, holding various-colored cloths, his ornaments, and the perfumery, came around him. At that moment, the great stone on which the king of *Ta-wa-deing-tha* sat, became very hot, and he reflected, "What is the cause of this? Do they wish to remove me from being king?" and then he perceived that the embryo Boodh desired to be ornamented, and he immediately called a Nat, and said, "O Nat, the embryo Boodh will this night make a gracious departure into the jungle, and desires these ornaments. This will be his last ornamenting. Do you go to the garden and put on these ornaments." The Nat replied, "Very well, O king," and departed. On account of his power as a Nat, he arrived in a moment, assumed the appearance of a barber, and put a turban from Nat country upon the head of the prince. When the prince felt the hand of the Nat upon him, he thought, "Surely, this is not the hand of a man, but that of a Nat." As the Nat wound the turban each time around his head, each turn became a thousand, in brilliancy of appearance like so many rubies. As he wound it around ten times, there were of course ten thousand turbans upon his head. Though his head was small, and the turbans many, and though we cannot understand how his head could bear them all, yet it is not suitable to doubt the truth of it. Among the ornaments of this turban was one like a *She-sha* flower, and one like a *May-o* flower; and the whole head was like a *Jak* flower in full bloom. After this, his attendants danced and sang, made merry before him, and said, "Let him be superior to the Pong-nas, and let them reverence him." Those who understood the *Thu-ta-men-ga-la*, wished all kinds of blessings upon him. While they were thus blessing him, with all his ornaments upon him, he ascended the royal chariot. At that moment, he heard that the princess was delivered of a son. The king his father sent the news to him, and he said, "Here is one tie upon me." The king inquired what his son said, and when he heard, he said, "From this day let my grandson be called *Ya-hu-la.*" The prince, attended by an innumerable company, beautifully attired, made a splendid entry into the city of *Kap-pe-la-woot.* At that time, a young princess was sitting in a *Pyat-thad,** and seeing the beautiful appearance of the prince, as he took his turns three times around to the right, was exceedingly joyful, and said, "Whoever is the mother of such an excellent son, must be happy; whoever is the father of such a son, must be very happy; whoever is the wife, must be as happy." When the prince heard this, he said, "Understanding what true happiness is, she has thus spoken," and he thought, "But how are they happy? what is happiness of the mind?" While he thus considered, his mind became free from all worldly passions, and he farther thought, "They are happy in whom the fires of anger, lust, pride, and ignorance are quenched. This young lady has said an excellent thing for me; I am seeking *Neigban,* and I will this night depart into the jungle to seek *Neigban;*" he added, "Let this gold necklace, which is worth one hundred thousand, be given to this princess, who has been as a teacher to me;" and taking it from his neck, he caused it to be presented to her. When she saw the necklace, she said, "The prince, because of his affection for me, has given me this present," and she was full of joy.

The prince went into his palace, and laid himself down upon a royal couch. Immediately, all the dancing and singing women, who were as beautiful as the fairies of Nat country, with their harps, and musical instruments, came and played, danced, and sang before him. But he, being free from all worldly passion, had no pleasure in these festivities, and in a few moments fell asleep. The dancing women then said, "We have exerted ourselves only to put him asleep, what shall we now do?" They then laid down their instruments, and went to sleep. The room was lighted with perfumed oil. When the prince awoke, he raised himself up, and sitting in a cross-legged posture, looked around upon them; he saw some sleeping with the saliva running from their mouths, some grinding their teeth, some snoring, some talking in their sleep, some very uneasy, and some curled up like a dog. When he saw them in this state, his mind was more free from all worldly passion than ever. The beautiful palace in which he was, though fit for the residence of a Nat king, appeared to him like a charnel-house, filled with loathsome dead bodies. The world of passion, the world of matter, and the world of spirit, appeared to him like a house on fire, and he said to himself, "Oh! you oppress exceedingly," and his mind was inexpressibly inclined to become a priest, and he said, "It is suitable that I even to-day depart into the jungle;" and rising from his couch, he went towards the door. There he saw a nobleman asleep, with his head against the door-post, and he inquired, "Who is this sleeping with his head against the door-post?" The nobleman replied, "My lord, it is I, *Sanna.* The prince said, "I have a desire to go into the jungle, make ready a horse," and *Sanna* replied, "Very well, my lord." He then, taking the saddle and bridle, went to the royal stable. In this stable, lighted with perfumed oil, under a painted canopy, stood the horse *Kan-da-ka* enjoying himself, and the nobleman thought, "It will be suitable on this occasion to prepare the horse *Kan-da-ka,*" and therefore he made him ready for the prince. When the horse was made ready, the horse knew that he was not prepared as usual; every thing was girded tighter, and he thought, "Well now, my royal master is going to the jungle;" and he was exceedingly joyful, and neighed most tremendously. The sound of his voice was so loud that he could easily have been heard throughout all the country; but in order that the people should not be disturbed, the Nats prevented the sound from being heard. After the prince had sent the nobleman for the horse, he said, "I will take another look at my son *Ya-hu-la,*" and going to the apartment of the mother, and opening the door, he saw the splendid paintings, the glaring lights, and the mother sleeping with the child on one arm, and the hand of the other upon its head. While he stood upon the door-sill, he thought, "If

---

* A building with graduated roofs.

I attempt to remove the mother's hand from the head of the child, she will surely awake, and that would be a hindrance to my going into the jungle; therefore, I will wait and see my son after I have become Boodh," and then he went down from the palace.

(In one of the sacred books it is said, that the prince went into the jungle when his son was seven days old, but as the other books do not agree with this, it is not suitable to receive it.) The prince, descending from the palace, and going towards the horse, said to him, "My noble friend *Kan-da-ka,* this very night assist me, extricate me from the whirlpool of existence, of Nats and men, bear me to the shore of *Neigban;*" and then sprang upon his back. The horse, from his neck to his tail, was eighteen cubits in length, and his height was in proportion; his whole body was perfectly white, and as beautiful as a new shell; the sound of his neighing, and the noise of his feet when he went, could be heard through the whole country; but now, that he might not be heard, the Nats put their hands over his nose, while to prevent his step being heard, they received his feet upon the palms of their hands. The prince, seated upon the middle of the back of the horse, caused the nobleman to hold on to the horse's tail, and they arrived at the city-gate about midnight. The father of the prince, in order that the son might not escape in an unguarded manner, had had the gates so prepared that they could not be opened without the aid of one thousand men. The prince was full of strength; if we compare it with elephants, it was equal to a line of ten millions of young elephants. If we compare it with men, it was equal to that of ten thousand millions of men. As they approached the gate, the prince thought, "If we cannot open the gate, then I will cling close to the horse, and, while *Sanna* clings to the tail, we will leap the wall, which is only eighteen cubits high." The nobleman thought, "If we really cannot open the gate, I will take the prince upon my shoulder, and clasp the horse, and thus we will leap the wall, which is only eighteen cubits high." The horse thought, "If we cannot open the gate, the prince will sit close to my back, and *Sanna* will cling to my tail, and thus we will leap the wall, which is only eighteen cubits high." If the gate had not been opened, they could easily have escaped by one of these ways; but when they arrived at the gate, they found the Nats waiting for them, with the gate wide open. At that time, *Mah-Nat* came in order to prevent the prince from going into the jungle; and remaining in the air, he said, "O son of the king, go not into the jungle, and in seven days from this time you will become king of the great and small islands; return." The prince inquired, "Who are you?" *Mah-Nat* replied, "I am the king, none other than *Mah-Nat* himself." The prince rejoined, "I know I might become the great king, but I have no desire for the state of a king;" and then he uttered with a voice which echoed through the ten thousand systems, "I will become Boodh." From that day forward, in order to discover some fault in the prince, this Evil One, like a shadow, followed him wherever he went. Although the state of king of all the great and small islands, had been within the grasp of the prince, yet he rejected it, as one does saliva, with no more desire for it.

On the full moon of July, at the time of a great festival of the Nats, he left the city of *Kap-pe-la-woot*. On leaving the city, he had a desire to take one more look at it; and as he was thus minded, the earth turned violently, like a potter's wheel, as much as to say, "O Excellent One, you have no business to have such a desire." Then the prince stopped, and looked full at the country. In this place where he stopped to look, the horse was up to his knees in flowers, and a pagoda was afterwards erected, to mark the spot. The prince rode forward in the way he wished to go, and amidst a profusion of offerings, in a splendid manner, sixty thousand Nats holding torches before him, sixty thousand behind him, and sixty thousand on each side; and the Nats at the edge of the world, holding torches, were innumerable. Other Nats, and the *Nagas** and *Galōngs*,† followed with perfumes and flowers from Nat country, and made offerings. The heavens were as if covered with all the beautiful flowers of Nat country. In Nat country itself, there was the sound of melodious singing. Around, were six million eight hundred thousand musical instruments; and the noise of the Nats singing and playing upon the instruments, was like the sound of thunder upon the great ocean. In this manner, the prince passed through three countries to the river *Anauma*, which is three hundred and sixty miles from his father's palace. Now, how could he do so much? Though the horse could have gone around the world before breakfast, yet the Nats and others poured down offerings of flowers so profusely, that the horse could go only three hundred and sixty miles. When they arrived at the river, the prince stopped, and asked *Sanna* what the river was called; who replied, "It is the river *Anau-ma*." When the prince heard this, he said, "The state of a priest is not a mean one;" and spurring the horse, he gave him the hint, and the horse at once leaped the river, which was seventy yards wide. When the prince had dismounted from the horse, and was standing upon the silvery sand-bank, he called *Sanna*, and said, "You take my ornaments and the horse, and return; I shall now enter the priesthood." *Sanna* replied, "My lord, I also will become a priest;" but the prince said it was not suitable that he should, and then delivered to him his ornaments and the horse. The prince then thought, "My hair is not suitable for a priest;" and it not being proper for any other to cut it off, he took his sword in his right hand, and laying hold of his hair with the left, he cut it off at a blow, leaving it just two fingers long upon his head; and it never grew more, so that this was its length during his whole life. At the same time, he cut off his beard, which never grew afterwards. Holding the hair he had cut off in his hand, he said, "If I am truly to become Boodh, let this hair remain in the air; if not, let it fall to the ground," and then he threw it into the air. The hair ascended twelve miles, and there remained. The king of *Ta-wa-deing-tha*, by his Nat vision, saw it, and received it in a flower-basket, which was twelve miles [wide, or deep], and taking it to Nat country, deposited it in a pagoda called *Su-la-ma-nee*. The prince then thought, "My pasō is not suitable for a priest." At that time, in one of the Brahman countries, a Brahman who did not grow old, had in a former state been a friend of the prince, and he thought, "My old friend is about to become a priest; it is suitable that I furnish him with a priest's things." Now the things necessary for a priest, are these: three yellow pasōs, a rice-pot, a short-handled knife, a needle, a water-dipper, and a girdle. These eight things are allowed to a priest who is diligent in performing the duties of his order. The Brahman came and presented these eight things to the prince, who received them from him; and without any instruction, he put them upon his person properly, because he had learnt how, formerly, in other states. Having swung his rice-pot, he called out to *Sanna,* and said, "Now, *Sanna,* you must return, and tell my royal father and mother that I am very well;" thus he dismissed him. *Sanna,* having made his obeisance to him, turned three times to the right around the prince, and departed. The horse *Kan-da-ka,* understanding the conversation between them, thought, "I shall never more see my master, in this world," and in the very place where he stood, he died of a broken heart, and became a Nat in *Ta-wa-deing-tha.* *Sanna* was at first much distressed to leave his master, but when he saw the death of the horse, he went wailing and crying along the way. The prince then entered upon the priesthood, and passed seven days in a jungle, and then went three hundred and sixty miles in one day, to the country of *Ya-za-gro.* When he arrived at the gate of the city, he thus thought, "Now if the king hears that the prince, son of king *Thoke-dau-da-na,* has come, he and his people will come with many valuable offerings, and it is not proper that a priest should receive such offerings; therefore, it will be best for me to go to the city as if to receive rice, with my rice-pot. He then slung his rice-pot, and entering the East gate of the city, went from house to house to receive rice. When the people saw his appearance, the whole city was in commotion, as if the elephant *Na-la-gee-ree* had arrived, or as when the Nat who occasions eclipses, enters Nat country. The men went to the king *Peing-ma-tha-ya,* and said, "There is a person of such and such an appearance; who has come into the city, and is going about in search of food; whether he be a Nat, or a man, or a *Naga,* or a *Galōng,* we cannot tell." The king, going to the outside of the palace, saw the prince-priest, and thought, "Surely, he has a very extraordinary appearance," and he said to some of his officers, "If he is really a *Be-lu,* he will disappear from the country; watch him. If he is a Nat, he will go up to the heavens; if he is a *Naga,* he will enter the earth, and disappear; if he is really a man, he will eat whatever he obtains." After the prince-priest had gathered what the people gave, rice, beans, corn, currie, etc., all mixed together, he thought, "I have obtained a sufficiency;" and he went out of the city at the same gate he entered by. He went a short distance, and sat down on the East side of a mountain, to eat what he had collected. At that time, he became very sick at the sight of his food, and was ready to vomit at the strange mixture. He had never before seen food so mixed, and therefore it was very loathsome. Nevertheless, he reproved himself, and said, "Prince, have you not come into the jungle expecting to eat whatever you can get, even if it be refuse? and have you not desired to rival the priest who could go about and eat whatever he could get, even the parings and slops of the people, and be indifferent as to the body?" When he had thus reproved himself, his repugnance to his food left him, and he began to eat. When the officers saw this, they returned, and reported it to the king. When the king heard their report, he ordered the elephants, horses, and chariots to be made ready; and when they had ridden as near as was suitable with the horses, the king descended, and approached near the prince-priest, and entered into conversation with him. After they had conversed some time, the priest preached words suitable to be remembered by the king as long as he lived. When he had done speaking, the king addressed him thus: "My lord, you are very young, you are yet in your prime, your appearance is comely, your complexion and stature are very fine. You are of a good race, you are even like a prince. I will give you elephants and horses, and people; enjoy yourself in the pleasures of the world, surrounded by elephants and horses, and much riches. If I should ask my lord his race, will he tell me?" When the king thus inquired, the priest thought to himself, "This king does not know that I am a prince, therefore he has thus asked; I will make him understand;" and pointing towards the palace from which he came, he said, "Near the side of *He-ma-woon-ta,* is a beautiful village, and the residence of the descendants of king *Kau-tha-la;* they are possessed of all riches and honors, and are of the *Sha-ga-wen* race. Having come of that race, and having no desire for the pleasures of the world, I am now a priest." When the king heard this, he said, "I have heard it said, that, if prince *Theik-dat,* the son of *Thoke-dau-da-na,* should see four things, he would become a priest;" and having looked at the priest, and thinking he was *Theik-dat,* he said, "You will verily become Boodh; and after that, the first thing you do, pray visit my country." The priest engaged to comply with his request. After he had thus agreed with the king, in one of his travels, he fell in with a sage named *A-la-ya,* and of him he inquired about the art of flying in the air; *A-la-ya* could only teach him seven kinds; when the priest inquired if this were all, he replied, "This is all I know; but *Ya-da's* son *U-da-ka* understands more." When he heard this, he went to *U-da-ka* and inquired farther; whereupon *U-da-ka* taught him all he knew. When the prince-priest had learned these mundane arts, he thought, "If I do not learn more than this, I shall never become Boodh. The duties and precepts of righteousness, which are suitable for Nats, men, and priests to repeat continually, I must acquire." He then went to *Uru-wa-la* jungle, and having entered it, he thought, "This is the place for me to enjoy myself;" and there he remained, diligently repeating the *Kam-a-tan.*[*] At that time, five priests, headed by *Koon-da-nya,* passed through the jungle on their way for rice, and came where the prince-priest was. He had then been there six years, and they received the impression that he was soon to become Boodh. They therefore remained with him, sweeping the enclosure, cooking rice, and doing other things suitable to be done. The prince-priest having arrived near the time of his change to Boodh, attempted a very long fast, and refused to eat even the least kernel of rice. The Nats then came and inserted Nat food through the hairs of his body. Thus, by his extreme fasting, he became exceedingly faded, and his appearance, though formerly like the purest gold, was now black, and the thirty-two signs of his Boodhship disappeared. While thus fasting, he entered into the *Ana-pa-na-zan* state, and being overcome by his extreme hunger, fell down in the place where he was walking, in a most pitiable manner. While he lay in this fainting fit, some of the Nats said, "The priest Gaudama is dead." Others said, "No, he has only fainted, on account of his great fasting." Some who supposed he was dead, went immediately to his father, and said, "O king, your royal son is dead;" and the king inquired, "Did he die after he became Boodh, or before?" When he heard that he had only fainted through fasting, he said, "I do not believe my son will die before he becomes Boodh." The reason why he thus thought was, that on the day when he was placed before the sage, and the day when he was under the *Sa-bu-tha-bya* tree, extraordinary signs were seen. When the prince-priest had recovered a little, he arose, and the Nats told his father that he had revived, and could walk again. The king said, "I knew my son was not dead." The fame of the prince-priest, after he had spent six years in repeating the *Kam-a-tan*, spread abroad like the sound of a great bell hung in the heavens.

---

* Sea-dragons.

† Fabled birds of great size, with a human face and a bird's beak.

---

[*] Short sentences for repetition, of which there are forty.

After this, he considered that abstinence was not the means by which he should obtain the Boodhship, and took his rice-pot, and went forth again for food. When he had so done, and eaten, the thirty-two signs of his becoming Boodh again appeared, and his appearance was again like gold. The five priests who were with him, said, "He has been six years doing penance for the sake of becoming Boodh, and he cannot attain that state; therefore he goes out again in search of food. If he continues to use the mixed food he obtains, when will he become Boodh? He has left the *Kam-a-tan,* and now goes about only with the view of becoming rich. As a person who wishes dew to wash his head with, must look for it, so, if we cannot obtain *Zan-met-poh** in his presence, we must go where we can get it. Of what profit is he to us?" They then left him, took their rice-pots, and went into *Na-me-ga-da-woon* jungle, which was distant one hundred and forty-four miles. At that time, in the jungle of *Uru-wa-la,* was a village called *Tha-na;* in that village was a rich man who had a daughter called *Thu-za-ta.* She had arrived at the state of puberty, and was in the habit of praying at the foot of a certain Banyan tree, thus: "Verily, if I can obtain a husband who will be a suitable match for me, and by him a son, O Nat of the trees, I will annually offer you one hundred thousand." Her prayer was granted. On the full moon of May, after Gaudama had been in the jungle six years, this *Thu-za-ta* prepared her offering for the Nat. In the first place, she had one thousand cows fed in a place of sweet vines, and their milk given to five hundred cows; then, the milk of the five hundred was given to two hundred and fifty; in this manner she kept milking and feeding them, till she had reduced the number to eight. Thus this milk was some hundred times richer and sweeter than common milk. *Thu-za-ta* wishing to make her offering early on the full moon of May, arose and milked her eight cows. The calves of the cows were not near them, nor had they drawn any of the milk; yet, as soon as she set her pot under the udder, the milk began to flow in streams. When she saw this extraordinary thing, she took the milk with her own hands, and put it into a new pot, and set it over a fire which she had herself kindled. The milk, while cooking, sent up large bubbles, and each, after turning three times to the right, sunk again, and not a drop boiled over. Not the least particle of smoke arose from the fire. While the milk was boiling, four Nat kings came and watched it. A Brahman came and held an umbrella over it. The king of *Tawa-deing-tha* came and kept up the fire. The Nats put honey, and other Nat food, into the pot. On this occasion, and on the day he entered *Neigban,* the Nats put their food in, while the pot was boiling; on other occasions, after the food was cooked. *Thu-za-ta,* discovering so many strange signs, called a female servant, and said she had never seen so many signs before, and directed her to go and clear away a place under the tree, and she would come with the offering.

---

* See note on page 15.

On the night previous to this, the prince-priest dreamed five things. 1. He slept upon the earth, and *He-ma-woon-ta* mountain was his pillow; he put his left hand upon the Eastern ocean, his right upon the Western ocean, and his feet upon the Southern ocean. 2. A kind of grass, called *Te-re-ya,* sprung up from his navel, and reached the heavens. 3. A certain white insect came out of his feet, and covered his legs as far as his knees. 4. Birds of all colors came from the four points of the compass, and alighting at his feet all became white. 5. He was walking upon a filthy mountain, and none of the filth adhered to him. Thus he dreamed. Then he considered, "Of a truth, I shall become Boodh this day;" and then he washed his face, and watched for the dawning of the morning. As soon as it was light, he went forth, and at the foot of the Banyan tree, which was made brilliant by his glory, sat down; and he was there when the girl came to prepare a place for the offering. When the girl saw him, looking at the Eastern world, and his appearance, and that of the tree, which was shining like gold, she thought, "Our Nat has come in person to-day, and is waiting to receive our offering with his own hands." Filled with joy, she ran and informed her mistress. When *Thu-za-tà* heard the words of the girl, she was exceedingly joyful, and said, "You shall hereafter be to me as a daughter;" and from that day forth, she gave her a daughter's dress and ornaments.

On the day when embryo Boodhs become Boodh, it is customary for them to receive golden cups worth one hundred thousand; and on that account, it was so ordered that *Thu-za-ta* was minded to put her preparation of milk intô a golden cup; and she ordered another, worth one hundred thousand, to be brought, when she took the pot and poured the milk into the golden cup; and as water slides from the leaf of the lily, without leaving traces, so the milk glided from the pot to the golden cup, and just filled it. She then put over it another golden cup, dressed herself with all her ornaments, placed the golden cup upon her head, and with elegance in her steps, went to the Banyan tree. When she saw the priest, supposing him to be the Nat of the trees, she approached courtesying, until she arrived near him, and then she took the cup from her head, and placed it by him, together with a pitcher of perfumed water. At this time, the rice-pot, given him by the Brahman, disappeared, and he, looking about, and seeing no rice-pot, reached out his right hand, and received the perfumed water. She then placed the golden cups, with the boiled milk, upon his hand. He then looked at her. When she saw him looking at her, considering what it could be for, she said, "O Nat king, I offer the golden cup with the milk; do with it as you please." When she had worshipped before him, she said, "May the mind of the Nat be as joyful and happy as mine is, in the possession of my precious son." Thus, having offered the golden cup with the same feelings with which she would have offered it, had it been only a leaf-cup, she returned home. The prince-priest arose from his place, and going three times to the right around the Banyan tree, took the cup and went to the bank of the river *Nay-yen-za-ya*, where there was a bath in which more than one hundred thousand Boodhs had bathed on the day of their receiving infinite wisdom. Having set down the cup, and bathed, he put on the pasō which more than one hundred thousand Boodhs had worn before him, and remained with his face to the East. He then divided the milk into forty-nine equal parts, each about the size of the palm-fruit. He then returned to the Banyan tree, and took no other food than one of these portions of boiled milk, each day; and on the forty-ninth day, he became Boodh. There he remained, without bathing, or stretching, but passed away the time in the happiness of the *Zan-tha-ma-bat.** When he had eaten the last of the milk, he took the cup, and said, "If I am verily to become Boodh to-day, let it go up the river; but if I am not, let it float down the stream." This said, he threw the cup into the river. The cup floated into the middle of the stream, and then went up the river, with the velocity of a very swift horse, for eighty cubits, was then engulphed in a whirlpool, and went down to *Naga* country; and making a noise by striking the three golden cups of the last three Boodhs, it stopped under them. The *Naga* king, hearing the noise of the cups striking together, said, "Yesterday there was one Boodh, to-day there is another;" and in more than one hundred stanzas he repeated praises to the Boodh, and arose from his sleeping place.

The prince-priest spent the day in an En-gyen grove, where the whole trees blossomed, and in the cool of the evening walked to and fro in a road made by the Nats, five hundred and sixty yards wide, strewed with flowers. Having enjoyed himself in this walk, he returned straight to the Banyan tree. The Nats, *Nagas, Be-loos,* and *Galōngs* made offerings of flowers to him, and the musical instruments of Nat country played music. The whole ten thousand systems were at once perfumed and filled with flowers, and all people simultaneously sang praises to him. When he was on his way to the Banyan, he met a grass-cutter by the name of *That-tee,* who, knowing he had a desire for some of the grass, made an offering of eight handfuls to him. The priest took the grass; and when he had arrived at the Banyan, he stood on the South side, facing the North. The moment he stood in this way, the ground where he stood sunk down as low as hell, and the North side flew up as high as heaven, and he said, "Surely, this is not the spot for me to become perfected." Then he turned to the right around the tree, and stood on the West side, facing the East.

---

* See note on page 15.

When he had thus done, the West side sunk down and the East rose up; he then said, "This is not the spot." Then turning to the right, he stood on the North side, with his face to the South, when the North side sunk down and the South rose up, and he said, "Neither will this spot do." He then went to the right, and stood on the East, facing the West. Now the East side is the place where the throne of all the Boodhs has been, and it remained firm. He then said, "This is the place where the other Boodhs have been perfected, and this is the place for cutting off all worldly desires." He then took the eight handfuls of grass by the ends, and shook them, when a throne twenty-one feet long, more beautiful than any painter can paint, immediately made its appearance. Placing his back against the Banyan, with his face towards the East, with a firm mind, he said, "Though my skin, muscles, and bones be destroyed, I will not arise from this cross-legged posture, until I become Boodh." Thus he remained, and though there had descended upon him an immense collection of thunderbolts, he would not have been moved. Thus he remained, sitting in a posture which would not be suitable for any other person, and one in which no other person could long sit. While he sat thus, *Mah-Nat* said, "I have no desire that prince *Theik-dat* should pass my kingdom. I will not give him permission;" and going to the place where all his warriors were collected, calling to them with a loud voice, he told them his wishes. His army was one hundred and forty-four miles deep before him, and the same on each side; and behind him it extended to the end of the earth, beside being one hundred and eight miles solid above him. When this army shouted, they could be heard twelve thousand miles off, and the sound was as if the earth itself roared. *Mah-Nat* then rode upon the *Ge-re-may-ga-la* elephant, which was six hundred miles in length; and having made himself one thousand arms, he held in each a weapon. His officers, in order to be distinguished from each other, made themselves of different shapes and colors, and with different weapons all came down upon the priest. At that time, all the Nats in the ten thousand systems were repeating praises to the priest. The king of *Ta-wa-deing-tha* was playing upon his conch-shell, one blast of which was four months in dying away. The *Naga* king was repeating his praises in an innumerable number of stanzas, and the Brahman king was holding a white umbrella over him. When *Mah-Nat* approached the Banyan, the Brahman, Nat, and Naga kings all fled to their own places, for they could not stand before him. The *Naga* king disappeared in the earth, to the distance of six thousand miles, and covering his face with both his hands, went asleep. The king of *Ta-wa-deing-tha*, swinging his shell upon his shoulder, fled to the edge of the world. The Brahman king, holding the white umbrella by the end of the handle, as if still over the priest, made off directly for his own country. Not one of them could stand before *Mah-Nat.* Thus the prince-priest was left alone. *Mah-Nat* then addressed his followers, "My good fellows, *Thoke-dau-da-na's* son, prince *Theik-dat*, has no one who equals him. It will not do for us to attack him in front, let us make an attempt behind." The priest looked to the right and left, and in front, and discovered that his admirers had all left him alone, and that all was still. When he looked to the North, and saw *Mah-Nat* with all his great army, he thought, "He has taken great pains to get a large army to fight a single person; in this place I have neither father, mother, brother, nor friend. The ten virtues are like soldiers, like many days, like weapons, to me; therefore, of these ten virtues I must make men, shields, spears, swords, bows, fire-rockets, cannon,* and small arms. With these, I shall probably destroy *Mah-Nat's* army." Thus he remained considering the ten virtues. Meanwhile, *Mah-Nat* thought to drive him away by a storm, and caused a great whirlwind. In a moment, the winds from the four great quarters arose, and the tops of the mountains, to the depth of six, twelve, and twenty-four miles, were broken off, and torn away by the winds. The trees of the forest were torn from their roots, and hurled into the air, their roots and branches intermingling; then falling, they crushed villages to atoms. Yet the prince-priest, on account of the power and splendor of his virtues, remained surrounded by glory, and the wind could not come near him; even a corner of his pasō was not shaken by it. After this, *Mah-Nat* thought to drown him by water, and caused an exceedingly violent rain from more than one thousand clouds. On account of the violence of the rain, the earth was split asunder. Although the trees of the highest forests were covered, not even so much as a dew-drop fell upon the priest. *Mah-Nat* then caused a shower of rocks and stones from the tops of the highest mountains, accompanied with smoke and fire; but the rocks fell down at the feet of the priest, and became Nat flowers. *Mah-Nat* then sent a shower of two-edged swords, knives, spears, bows and arrows, shells, cannon, guns, and all manner of warlike weapons; these, emitting smoke and flame, as they came through the air, fell down at the feet of the priest, like beautiful red and white Nat flowers. *Mah-Nat* then sent a shower of hot ashes. When the ashes fell at the feet of the priest, they were like various kinds of perfumed dust. This was followed by a shower of sand. It was an exceedingly fine sand, and, as it came through the air, emitted fire and smoke; but all fell as flowers at the feet of the embryo Boodh. *Mah-Nat* then caused a shower of mud, and, though it came through the air smoking, it fell like Nat perfumery. *Mah-Nat* then sent an exceedingly frightful darkness, and thought by this to make him flee. The darkness, however, around the priest, was like the meridian sun. Thus, *Mah-Nat* having caused a whirlwind, a shower of water, of stones, of warlike instruments, of fire, of hot ashes, of sand, of mud, and of thick darkness, yet by these nine things he could not move the embryo deity. Then *Mah-Nat* cried out with a loud voice to his men, "Why do you stand looking on? run upon the prince, and make him flee;" and he, riding upon his elephant, holding his weapons, rode towards the prince, and said, "Prince *Theik-dat*, arise from that throne; indeed, that throne is not for you; it is for me alone." When the prince heard this, he said, "Ha! *Mah-Nat*, you have not practised even the lowest, much less the middle and higher, virtues; you have not made the five great offerings; you have not endeavored to promote the welfare of your friends, much less of others; you have not sought the welfare of mankind; you have not practised any of those virtues by which you could be entitled to the Boodhship. I am complete in the thirty virtues, the five great offerings I have made, and the three other duties I have observed; therefore, this throne is not for you; *Mah-Nat*, but is for me alone." At that, *Mah-Nat* became exceedingly angry, so much so that he could not restrain himself, and he let fly a Nat weapon at him. But as the prince steadily considered the virtues, the weapon remained over his head as a canopy of flowers. When *Mah-Nat* saw this, he with his officers said, "We will now make him arise from his seat;" and they hurled stones as large as the tops of mountains, and as sharp as razors, which cut asunder every thing in their way, as if it were tender grass. The prince remained pondering the virtues, and they fell before him like large wreaths of flowers. At this moment, all the Nats in the systems, rising up, and stretching out their heads, looked towards the prince, saying one to another, "The prince's glory must have now departed; what will he do?" The prince then said to *Mah-Nat*, "This throne, which appeared on this day, in which I am to become Boodh, you say is not for me, but for you; if it belongs to you, who are your witnesses that you have made suitable offerings?" *Mah-Nat* replied, pointing his finger around, "Even all these are my witnesses;" and they said, "I am a witness," "I am a witness," etc. etc., the sound of whose voices made the earth ring again. Then *Mah-Nat* said, "If it is for you, where are your witnesses that you are entitled to it?" The prince replied, "I have not one living witness, but, setting aside the offerings I have made in all my states, except *Wa-than-dria,* and the forty-nine great offerings I made in that state, even the inanimate earth will witness for me;" then, taking his right hand from his pasō, and pointing to the earth, he said, "O earth, will you bear witness to my forty-nine great offerings when in the state of *Wa-than-dria?*" When he thus inquired, the earth replied as if in a hundred thousand voices, which thrilled through the whole army of *Mah-Nat,* "I will bear witness to the offerings made at that time." When the earth uttered the voice, the elephant *Ge-re-may-ga-la,* on which *Mah-Nat* rode, bent its knees, and worshipped the prince. *Mah-Nat,* finding all his efforts unavailing, fled to his own country of *Wa-tha-wut-tee,* and his army fled in every direction, not any two of them taking the same road. In their haste to depart, some left their head-dresses, clothes, and ornaments, behind them in the way. The other Nats, seeing the destruction of *Mah-Nat's* army, shouted, "*Mah-Nat* is overcome, the prince has conquered! let us make presents and congratulate him on his victory." Thus the Nats called to the *Nagas;* the *Nagas,* to the *Galõngs;* and the *Galõngs,* to the Brahmans; and holding perfumery and flowers in their hands, they came into the presence of the prince. All being thus assembled from the ten thousand systems, and shouting, said, "This victory is the victory of our glorious Boodh, and the failure, that of the vile *Mah-Nat.*" They then remained under the Banyan, joyfully repeating the praises of the Boodh. Thus the prince, long before the setting of the sun, had succeeded in scattering and destroying the whole army of *Mah-Nat.* Even the leaves of the Banyan fell down upon his clothes, like the most beautiful red coral, as offerings.

---

* These were probably added by some modern copyist, as the text purports to have been written long before the invention of gunpowder in Europe.

During the first watch of the night, he meditated upon what he had been in his former states. At midnight, he received the vision of a Nat, and until morning he meditated upon the future. While he was considering these things, the whole ten thousand systems shook twelve times, and "Most excellent person!" was echoed throughout all the systems. In the morning, he attained infinite wisdom. At that time, all the systems were beautifully ornamented, flag-staffs were planted on the earth, and the streamers from those on the Eastern edge, touched the Western; and the Northern, those of the Southern. The flags which were planted on the earth, reached as high as the Brahman country; those in the Brahman country descended to the earth; and from the ten thousand systems they brought trees which were covered with flowers and fruit, trunk, limbs and all. All the various kinds of lilies bloomed; the rocks opened, and a beautiful lily of different colors sprung forth. The whole universe was as if covered with beautiful flowers. The distance between the different systems is ninety-six thousand miles, and in this space are some of the hells, in which the seven suns had never shone; yet at this time they were illuminated by a dazzling brightness; and the waters of the great ocean, which is one hundred and eight thousand miles deep, became sweet. The waters of the rivers ceased to flow, and stood still. The blind received their sight. Those born deaf, heard. Those who had been born lame, walked. All prisoners became free. Thus, innumerable signs, suitable to such an occasion, appeared.

Having received infinite wisdom, Boodh kept saying to himself, "You have endured the misery of the whole round of transmigration; now you have arrived at infinite wisdom, which is the highway to annihilation." Here he remained, under the Banyan, sitting on his throne, during the night of the full moon of June; and for seven successive days, he remained without moving from his place, sitting in a cross-legged posture. At that time, there were some of the Nats who thought there were other duties yet for him to perform, ere he attained perfection, and did not believe that he had attained infinite wisdom. On the eighth day, in order to dispel doubts, he arose, and ascended into the air, and showed various signs of his power; and when he had satisfied them, he descended, and stood on the North, at a short distance from his throne. The golden throne which he had deserved for an innumerable number of ages, and the Boodh-Banyan, being before him, he looked at them unmoved for the next seven days. He then walked to and fro, for the next seven days, between the place where he stood and the throne. This place where he walked, is called *Ma-za-dee.* After this, to the West of the Banyan, the Nats created a house, of precious materials. In that house, in a cross-legged posture, he meditated the seven *A-be-da-ma** books. While he was considering the first of these books, the six glories did not emanate from his body. He then considered the book called *We-ben,* and after that, the *Da-tu-ka-ta,* then, the *Po-ga-la-pe-gnyat,* then, the Book of merit, then, the books of the *Da-ma-then-ga-nee;* after all which, the six rays of glory went not yet forth from his body. He then considered the most excellent *Pa-dan*, a work of twenty-four volumes. In these volumes he displays his infinite wisdom. Here he seemed to be in his element. As the great fishes *Te-me-ya* and *Ta-being-ga-la* find room to sport and enjoy themselves only in the great ocean, which is one hundred and eight thousand miles deep, so the Boodh found depth for his mind in this law. While he was considering this superlative law, the purple, gold, red, brown, glittering, and white rays of glory proceeded from his divine body. From wherever his body was dark, as from his hair, beard, and the pupils of his eyes, the rays were dark. The glory of his body was like a golden carriage, or like the farina of flowers. These rays glittered, as a fan made of a precious stone glitters, when it is waved to and fro, or like a *Key-oo*-pasō. The golden rays went forth from the golden color of his skin. The glory of his body was like a golden carriage, etc. From his flesh and blood, which was of a red color, the red rays issued. They were like a beautiful piece of *Kam-ba-la,* which is softer than velvet, or as if he had been painted with vermilion. From his teeth and bones, the rays were white, like a most beautiful silver fan, which glitters as it is waved, like a variety of white flowers. From the bottom of his feet, the palms of his hands, etc., the brown rays issued forth, like a reddish brown precious stone. From his forehead, the glittering rays issued, like lightning, or like the reflection of the sun's rays from a mirror, or from the purest gold. Thus these six glories, as they issued from his body, penetrated the earth, which is three million three hundred and sixty thousand miles deep, and made it glisten like a mass of gold; and the waters under the earth, which are five million seven hundred and sixty thousand miles in depth, were as if filled with golden sand; and the air, which is eleven million five hundred and twenty thousand miles deep under the waters, was like a beautiful bar of gold. Thus the rays penetrated beneath the earth, water, and air, until they entered vacuity. These six glories also ascended through the six Nat countries in succession, and through the nine first Brahman countries. There are sixteen reasons for its penetrating the country of the Brahmans, and these reasons are given in a soliloquy of the Brahmans. 1. Because we are not perfect in giving like the Boodh, therefore we are not like him. 2—11. Because we are not perfect as he is in the nine virtues, therefore we are not like him. 12. Because we are not capable of knowing what others do, whether right or wrong, therefore we are not Boodhs. 13. Because we are not fully acquainted with those who are in the whirlpool of fate, we cannot feel compassion for them as he does, and therefore we are not Boodhs. 14. Because we have not the power to create fire, water, etc. 15. Because we have not power to sustain the earth, and direct it, etc. 16. Because we do not understand all law, therefore we cannot be Boodhs.

---

* A grand division of the Boodhist Scriptures.

From the ninth Brahman country, the rays ascended all the higher Brahman countries, beyond those of matter and spirit, until they entered vacuity. In fact, there is no computing the distance the rays penetrated. In the places where the rays shone, the sun, moon, stars and planets were so far surpassed that they were as nothing. The glory of the residence of the Nats is as nothing in comparison, and the glory of the great Brahmans, which shines through thousands of millions of worlds, was, in comparison, as the glow-worm to the meridian sun. The sun, moon, stars and planents were as mere specks. Thus the glory of the Boodh shone. This great glory was not in consequence of his vowing, nor of his rigid devotion to contemplation; nor was it in consequence of his meditation of the law; but it was in consequence of the clearness and pureness of his blood, spirit, and skin. Thus he spent the seven days in contemplating the seven books of the *A-be-da-ma* from beginning to end. The place where he sat, is called *Ya-da-na-ga-ra* pagoda. When he had thus spent forty-nine days under the Boodh-Banyan, he went East to another Banyan, where he remained seven days in a cross-legged posture, enjoying himself. This tree is called *Za-pa-la.* While he remained under that tree, the great *Mah-Nat,* who had been continually following him, said to himself, "I have been looking to find something against this priest, and I cannot find any thing; he will pass my kingdom;" and he sat in the road considering the sixteen reasons why his power was surpassed by the Boodh. At that time, the three daughters of *Mah-Nat,* not seeing their father, said, one to another, "Where is he?" and when they looked, and saw him on the ground, they were unhappy, and went to him, saying, "O father, what troubles you? Why is your countenance sad?" He replied, "My beloved daughters, I have been all this time seeking for something against this priest, and I find nothing; therefore I am unhappy." They replied, "Dear father, do not give yourself any more trouble on that account; we will contrive something to bring him into our father's power;" to which he replied; "My daughters, there is no one who can bring him into my power, he is immovable in his virtue." They said, "Our father, we will even now entrap him in the net of passion; therefore, dear father, be not anxious." Thus saying, they approached the Boodh, and said, "Our lord, we desire to remain at your feet, and become your servants." The Boodh gave not the least heed to what they said, nor even opened his eyes to look at them. His mind was swallowed up in thinking of the place where there is no passion, that is, annihilation. They then considered that the fancies of men were various as to women; some preferred them young, virgins; some, of middle age; some, past the middle age; and they thought, "It will be well for us to assume these different ages." They then changed their appearance before him, saying, "We desire to remain at your feet, and be your servants." But he paid no attention, and considered annihilation. (Some books say that the Boodh cursed them, saying, "Let their teeth become broken, their hair white, and let them become old;" but it is not suitable to believe this, and why? because the Boodh never said so.) Wishing to ask why they thus appeared before him, as if he were not free from passion, he said, "Daughters of *Mah-Nat*, as to the most excellent Boodh, who has overcome the passions, which it is suitable he should overcome, no one has the power to bring him again under their influence; more than this, the Boodh who is possessed of wisdom without end, and is free from the causes of passion, by what means do you suppose you can overcome him? You cannot overcome." When he had thus spoken, the daughters of *Mah-Nat* said, "Our father was right; he is worthy of the homage of Nats and men; he is very excellent, capable of instructing in all that it is suitable for men to know." Then they returned to their father.

At that time, a Brahman of obscure birth, who indulged in excessive anger, came to the Boodh, and entered into conversation. After hearing many things worthy to be remembered his life long, he addressed the Boodh thus: "O Boodh, how long must a priest practise duties, in order to become a Brahman, and what are the laws suitable for one to know?" As the Boodh understood the laws of the Brahmans, he answered as follows: "A priest who does nothing bad outwardly, one who does not get angry, one who is free from passion, one who keeps all the rounds of duty, one who is perfect in the five great virtues, will arrive at annihilation. But one who practises these things only in the sight of men, and not in truth, will not attain annihilation."

When the Boodh had spent the seven days under this tree, he arose and went to the South-east of the Boodh-Banyan, to a *Ky-ee* tree, near the lake *Mōng-za-lein-da*, where he spent the next seven days. During these seven days, there was a most violent rain. The rain and cold wind were very oppressive. Therefore, the *Naga* king of the lake came from his place, and having wound himself in seven folds around the Boodh, spread out his exceedingly great cheeks over his head, and prevented the cold, the rain, the heat, insects and snakes, centipedes, scorpions, and toads, etc., from hurting him. Though this *Naga* had power enough to have created a fine building for the Boodh, yet, that he might obtain the more merit, he used his own person. The inside of this circle made by the *Naga,* was like the *Lau-ha-pa-da* building. The centre was like a throne. The sides were as if lighted with perfumed oil. When the Boodh had thus spent the seven days, and the *Naga* saw that the clouds were clear, he unfolded himself, and assuming the appearance of a young man, bowed, and worshipped the Boodh. When the latter perceived this, he said as follows: "Those who are complete in the laws of annihilation, who are perfect in the four laws of righteousness, who understand all law, are happy. Those who have no anger towards any of the human race, those who are free from oppression, those who are free from the influence of the five senses, who have overcome pride, are happy."

When the seven days were passed, he arose and went to the South, and sat down under a *Len-lun* tree, and enjoyed himself in the prospect of annihilation. At the end of these seven days, at dawn, he had a desire to eat; which, when the king of *Ta-wa-deing-tha* knew, he presented him with a She-sha fruit, and the Boodh ate it. The king then gave him water to wash his hands and face, and the Boodh took the water and washed.

Two brothers, merchants, by the name of *Ta-poke-tha* and *Pauleka,* who were travelling from the distant village of *U-ka-le,* came along to the place where Gaudama was. At that time, the family Nat of these merchants prevented the wheels of their carts from moving. When they perceived this, they were troubled, and said, "What can be the cause of this?" and made offerings to the Nat who watched over the road. Their guardian Nat then assumed a visible form, stood before them, and said, "Friends, the most excellent Boodh is in this place, at the foot of a Len-lun tree. From his knowledge of the four great laws, he has ascended until he is now Boodh. Do you go and prepare several kinds of bread with honey, and present them to him; it will bring great benefit to you for many days and nights to come."

The merchants, having prepared their bread, etc., went into the presence of Gaudama, and having made obeisance, remained in suitable places, saying, "O most glorious Boodh, we desire you would accept our offering of bread and honey. If you condescend thus to accept it, it will be much to our advantage in time to come." At that time, the rice-pot, which was given, by *Ga-te-ga-ya*, had been lost some time, even when *Thu-za-ta* made the offering of milk; he had no pot wherein to receive the offering. Gaudama thought within himself, "How have former Boodhs received their offerings, and how shall I do?" While he was thus considering, four Nats came from the four quarters of the earth, and knowing the thoughts of the Boodh, presented him, each, with a rice-pot made of *En-ga-me-la* stone, and said, "Please to accept these pots to receive your rice and honey in." He received them, not because he greatly needed them, but merely to show that he approved of the good intentions of the givers. Having taken them, he said, "Let these pots become one;" and having placed them one upon the other, he pressed them together, and they became one, with four rims around the top. Though he thus reduced the pots to one, the merit of the Nats was none the less. He then received the bread and honey in this new pot, and ate it. When he had done eating, the two brothers addressed him thus: "O excellent Boodh, from this day forward, we approach you as our place of refuge; consider us as your followers." These two merchants were the first disciples he had in all the world. As they were about to depart, they said, "O Boodh, when we are separated from you, what shall we venerate as an object of worship?" He then stroked his head, and some of the hairs adhered to his fingers, which he gave to the merchants, saying, "Take these hairs with you." When the brothers received the hairs, they were very joyful, and worshipping him proceeded on their journey.*

Gaudama then removed from the foot of the tree, to a place called *A-za-pa-la*, where he considered, "This law which I know and understand, is very high and very deep, and very hard to be understood; very excellent, very suitable, and none but the wise can understand it. Now, of a truth, all creatures enjoy themselves only in the gratification of their senses. And this gratification is the cause of change or transmigration. This law of change is very difficult of comprehension. That, and that alone, which ends all change, is annihilation. Now this law of annihilation is exceedingly hard to be understood. If I should preach this law to others, they will not be able to understand it. This being so, if I preach it, I shall only get weariness and fatigue to myself for my labor." Thus considering, he was disinclined to preach to others. When the Brahman king *Tha-hau-pa-dee* knew the mind of Gaudama, he thought, "O all mankind, you are lost! He who is worthy to receive offerings of all creatures, and who of his own wisdom knows all law, is disinclined to preach." He then left the Brahman country, and appeared before the most excellent Boodh; and having adjusted his clothes, and his Brahmanic string, he kneeled on his right knee to the earth, with his hands together before his forehead, and addressed the Boodh thus: "O most excellent Boodh, thou who art perfect in the six glories, preach the law of annihilation. There are beings who have very little of the filth of passion, who, if they do not hear the law, will be great losers. There are those who will easily understand the law. In the country of *Ma-ga-da-reet,* are many who are under the influence of their passions, believing a false doctrine, one not worthy to be believed; open to them the door of annihilation." Thus he besought the Boodh. This Brahman king was a priest in the days of the Boodh *Kat-tha-ba,* and had now been a Brahman the age of a world. When Gaudama had considered the request, he felt some compassion for creatures; and when he had looked over the world with the eyes of a Boodh, he saw some who had much worldly passion, and others who had but little. He then promised the Brahman king that he would preach. When the king had thus gained consent, he turned three times to the right around the Boodh, and returned to the Brahman country. Gaudama then considered to whom he should first preach, and who would be quick to understand. He thought, "The sage *A-la-ya,* of the race *Ka-la-ma,* has very keen perception; and his passions are nearly subdued. I will therefore first preach to *A-la-ya;* he will understand the law." At that time, an invisible Nat said to Gaudama, "*A-la-ya* has been dead seven days." When Gaudama considered, he saw *A-la-ya* in one of the Brahman countries, and thought,

---

* Another book relates that these hairs are enshrined in Rangoon Pagoda.

"Oh! the loss of *A-la-ya* is very great; if he could have heard my law, he would have easily understood it." He then again reflected, "To whom shall I preach?" and thought, "The sage *U-da-ka,* son of king *Yama,* has quick perception; he will understand, and to him I will preach." The Nat then said to him, "O Boodh, the sage *U-da-ka* died the night before last, at midnight." Gaudama then perceived him in one of the Nat countries, and thought, "If *U-da-ka* could have heard my law, he would have understood it; his loss is very great." He again considered to whom he should preach, and thought, "The favors of the *Peen-za-weg-gee* priests have been many to me; I will preach to them first. Where are they now?" Taking a view, he discovered they were in the jungle of *Ma-ga-da-woon.*

When he had enjoyed himself as long as he wished in *A-za-pa-la,* he went towards the country of *Ba-ra-na-thee.* On his way, between the Boodh-Banyan and *Ga-ya-thee,* the false priest *U-pa-ka* saw him. *Ga-ya-thee* is nine miles from the Boodh-Banyan, and *Ba-ra-na-thee* is two hundred and twenty-six miles. All the former Boodhs who have gone to *Ma-ga-da-woon,* did not travel the road, but soared through the air; but our Boodh, having an eye to this *U-pa-ka,* went on foot. This *U-pa-ka* afterwards became a true priest, and entered the right road to annihilation. When he saw Gaudama, he said, "My lord, you have admirable command of yourself; your appearance is very pure and shining; under whom did you become priest, who was your teacher, and what law do you most approve?" When he had thus inquired, Gaudama answered, "*U-pa-ka,* I am above all law, I understand all law, I am not under the influence of any passion, I have no teacher. Among Nats and men, there is no one like me; and because I have overcome all the vile laws of demerit, my name is *Ze-na* [Boodh.] I am going to preach the *Da-ma-sek-ya* law, in the country of *Ba-ra-na-thee.*" When he had thus replied, *U-pa-ka* said, "You must be the lord Gaudama;" he then shook his head, turned from the road, and went off to the village of *Wen-ga-ha,* and Gaudama went on his way to *Ba-ra-na-thee.* The five priests [who had left him,] saw him coming at a distance, and they said among themselves, "The priest Gaudama is coming; he is practising the priest only that he may obtain a large stock of goods. He has left the practice of austerities, and now travels that he may get more of the yellow cloth. It is not suitable that we should make our obeisance to him, take his rice-pot, or arise from our sitting, at his approach; if he desires, he will sit down. Thus they agreed among themselves. But when Gaudama drew near to them, they were unable to fulfill their designs, but all arose to meet him; and one took his rice-pot, another, his clothes, one brought water and a bowl to wash his feet, another, a potsherd to scrape his feet. When the excellent Boodh had seated himself, he washed his feet, and the priests called him by name, the most excellent Boodh. When he heard them, he said, sarcastically, "Do not call me Boodh; me who know all law, by my own wisdom, and have come like all the Boodhs from *We-pa-tha* down to the present time, do not call me Boodh. Now, priests, listen; I have received the law of annihilation; I will instruct you." He then proceeded, "Whoever practises according to my instructions, will, before long, leave the society of men, and become a priest; for the end of the attainment of unrivalled law, is annihilation. Now, by your wisdom, keep this before you. Whereas you said formerly, 'As to you, Gaudama, you are practising rigid austerities, and eating only a handful of rice; you will never obtain infinite wisdom, or exceed other good persons; you go about only to add to your clothes, you have apostatized; when can you obtain infinite wisdom?' now, priests, I did not then practise for the sake of adding to my clothes, neither had I apostatized; but I have come like all the other Boodhs from *We-pa-tha* until now. I understand, of my own wisdom, the law of righteousness. Priests, listen, I will preach the law." When he had thus spoken, the priests addressed him as before, calling him the excellent Boodh. When he had spoken to them three times not to call him thus, he said, "Priests, formerly, while I was practising austerities, did you ever hear me call myself Boodh?" And they said "Nay." "Very well, then, I can convince you that I am now Boodh." They then listened to his words, and in consequence afterwards attained the highest state of *Areeyas*.* Even at this time, one named *Koon-da-nya* attained the first state of an *Areeya*. He then received them as his priests.

---

* See note ‡ p. 3.

When they had thus heard the law, the Nat who watches over the country of *Ba-ra-na-thee,* and *Ma-ga-da-woon* jungle, cried with a loud voice, "The law which has now been preached, is such as no priest, Pong-na, *The-gya,* or Brahman can teach." When he had thus cried again and again, it was heard in the first Nat country, and the people in that country caught the words, and repeating them, were heard in the next Nat country, and so on, until the cry reached the Brahman countries; and the whole ten thousand systems trembled. The Boodh then uttered to himself these words: "O priests, *Koon-da-nya* has received it." In consequence of this remark, he was called *Anya-ta Koon-da-nya.* Having attained the law which is suitable to be believed, and having all doubts removed as to his being the real Boodh, and considering it would be unsuitable to believe in any other, they said, "O Boodh, we wish to become your disciples;" and he replied, "Priests, come, the law worthy of being preached, which ends all misery, now keep and obey." Thus, on the full moon of July, all the Nats and Brahmans who heard his preaching, to the number of one hundred and eighty millions, received the law of deliverance. On the first day after the full moon, the priest *Wee-pa* entered the first state of an *Areeya.* On the second day, priest *Bad-da-ya.* On the third day, *Maha-nan.* On the fourth, *A-tha.* On the fifth, the Boodh called them all together, and preached the law of mutability; at the conclusion of this preaching, they all attained the highest state of an *Areeya.* Thus they all became his priests. During this five days' preaching, the rice that three received was eaten by six. At this time, there were only six *Rahandas,* including Gaudama, in all the world.

In the country of *Ba-ra-na-thee,* there was then a rich man's son, named *Ya-tha,* who was very amiable. He had a Pyat-thad* for each of the seasons, in which he enjoyed himself. Without any men about him, he enjoyed himself surrounded by female singers and dancers, and spent his time in pleasure. While he was living in this manner, he fell asleep early one evening, and his attendants also fell asleep. Lights were kept burning during the night. He awoke first, and seeing one girl holding her harp under one arm, another with her drum, and others scattered about in unseemly postures, he reflected, "It is suitable to mortify all the passions of the body;" whereupon he put on his gilt sandals, and went to the door of his apartment, and the Nats, that no one should prevent him, opened the door, and he went out and came to the gate of the town, where the Nats again opened the gate, and he went on to *Ma-ga-da-woon* jungle. Very early in the morning of that night, the Boodh had arisen, and was walking to and fro in the veranda of the monastery. When he saw *Ya-tha* coming at a distance, he descended, and remained in a place suitable for the Boodh. When *Ya-tha* approached the place, he uttered these words to himself: "These passions must be subdued." The Boodh said to him, "O *Ya-tha*, if this is the law of annihilation, it is not suitable to reject it, or dislike it; O *Ya-tha*, come listen, I will instruct you." When *Ya-tha* heard this, he took off his sandals, was very joyful, and having shekoed* in a very respectful manner, remained listening. The Boodh then showed him the advantages of giving freely, of keeping the precepts, of leaving the society of men and becoming a priest; and *Ya-tha*, when he heard this, had a very pure mind, and was delighted with what he heard. When the Boodh saw that he was pleased, he continued preaching other laws. When he had done preaching, to use a comparison, *Ya-tha* was like a white pasō, just dyed with red and yellow. He was as free from the dust of the passions as a pure white pasō; and as that easily receives coloring, so he received the law, and arrived at the first state of an *Areeya*. While he was thus listening to the law, his mother went to his Pyatthad, and not finding him, went to his father, and said, "My lord, our son is gone; where is he?" The father immediately sent messengers to the four points of the compass, and went himself to *Ma-ga-da-woon* grove, in search of his son. On the way, discovering the tracks of his gilt sandals, the father followed them; and when Gaudama saw him coming at a distance, he thought it would be well for him to prevent the father from seeing his son, who was near to him; and he did so. The father approached Gaudama, and said, "My lord, have you seen *Ya-tha?*" Gaudama replied, "Sit down, my friend; you shall see your son in this place." The father, hearing this, was full of joy, and having made obeisance, sat down. Gaudama then went on preaching to him; and in the end he arrived at the first state of an *Areeya,* and receiving it with all his heart, said, "O Boodh, this is indeed very good; to use a comparison, it is like the discovery of lost goods, or a traveller's finding his lost way, or a blind person's receiving sight. I adhere to you, as my object of worship, and the priests. From this day forward, as long as I live, I desire to be considered as your disciple." This rich man was the first layman who became his disciple. While Gaudama was preaching to him, he considered what he saw and heard, and his mind was free from change, and he became fixed in the way to *Neigban.* At this time, *Ya-tha* had not yet put on the yellow cloth, and Gaudama thought thus: "Whoever in the time of hearing the law, according to what he sees and considers, believes, it is unsuitable for such an one to fall away and return to the pleasures of the world; now *Ya-tha* has heard and believed, and obtained the mind of a *Rahanda,* it will be unsuitable for him to return to the pleasures of sense; therefore, now is the time for me to permit his father to see him;" and he did so. When the father saw his son near him, he said, "My beloved son, your mother's distress and crying is very great; return, and give life to your mother." *Ya-tha* then looked to Gaudama, to know what to do. Gaudama then said to the father, "What do you think? As you have seen yourself, so *Ya-tha* has seen the height of the law of righteousness; according as he has seen and heard, he has believed, and is free from worldly pleasures, and has escaped from the law of change; now, would it be proper for *Ya-tha* to return and mingle with the world as before?" The father replied, "My lord, it would be by no means suitable; whatever advantage he has gained, let him keep; by whatever favor he has attained the mind of an *Areeya,* let him enjoy it, and hold it fast. O Boodh, this day, in order that I may obtain merit, come and receive my rice, with my son following you as priest;" and Gaudama assented by remaining silent. When the rich man knew that Gaudama had accepted the invitation, he arose; and turning three times to the right, he shekoed, and went his way. Soon after his departure, *Ya-tha* said, "O Boodh, I desire to become a priest in your presence;" and he became a priest. Now there were seven priests in all the world. Early in the morning, Gaudama arose, and putting on his priestly garments, took his rice-pot, and with *Ya-tha* as an attendant priest, went to the house of the rich man, and seated himself in a place provided. When he had thus sat down, the mother of *Ya-tha,* and his wife, came and shekoed very respectfully to Gaudama. He then preached the law to them, and they arrived near to the state of freedom from transmigration. Thus the law suitable to be received, was believed by these lay sisters, and they said, "We trust in you as our object of worship, and we also worship the law and the priests. From this day forward, consider us as followers of the three objects of worship." These two women were the first female disciples he had in all the world. At this time, *Ya-tha's* father, mother, and wife fed Gaudama and himself with food prepared by their own hands; and after they had done eating, Gaudama again preached the law to them, and then returned to his place. Four young rich men, who had been the companions of *Ya-tha,* hearing that he had shaved his head, and put on the yellow cloth, thought thus, "If *Ya-tha* has left the society of men and become a priest, then the law of the priests can not be bad, and the state of a priest can not be mean." Then they went to see him; and when they arrived, they shekoed to him; whereupon he took them into the presence of Gaudama; to whom having shekoed, they sat down reverently. *Ya-tha* then addressed Gaudama, "These four persons, when I was in the world, were my dear friends, whom I much loved; will you please to instruct them?" Gaudama then preached the law of giving, keeping the precepts, etc.; and when they heard, their minds became very gentle and quiet. He then preached the law of righteousness; at the end of which, they attained the first state of an *Areeya.* These four then said, "O Boodh, we desire to become priests in your presence." He then admitted them. Now there were eleven *Rahandas* in the world.

---

* See note on page 19.

---

* See note on page 13.

In a village not far distant, there were fifty persons of the same rank as *Ya-tha,* with whom he was acquainted, who heard that he had left society and become a priest; and they thought, "If *Ya-tha* has left the society of men and become a priest, then neither the law of the priests, nor the state of a priest, can be mean;" and they came to see *Ya-tha,* who took them to Gaudama, and said, "When I was in the society of men, these were my acquaintances; now will you please to instruct them." Gaudama then preached to them as he had done to others, and at the conclusion they arrived at the same state; and, before they removed from their places, they desired to become his priests, and he received them. Now there were sixty-one *Rahandas.*

Gaudama then called all his priests together, and said, "My beloved sons, whatever net of worldly gratification there is into which other men and priests may have fallen, I have escaped, and you have escaped; now, my beloved sons, in order to increase the happiness of multitudes of men, and also of Nats, go about and preach, and let no two go the same road. In your teaching, preach the whole law, and let your conduct be pure. There are those who are under the influence of passion, and that because they have not heard the law. I also will go to the village of *A-nee-tha-na,* which is near the grove of *Uru-wa-la.*"

At that time, the exceeding vile *Mah-Nat* said, "O priests, whoever, Nats or men, are entangled in the worldly net of sense, it is suitable they should remain so. I shall not liberate them from my kingdom." Gaudama replied, "O you vile *Mah-Nat!* whoever, Nats or men, are entangled in the nets of worldly sense, I free them; you, *Mah-Nat,* are conquered." *Mah-Nat* replied, "You priest, though you may fly in the clouds, you are not free; by my nets I will still trouble you. You are not yet escaped from my kingdom." Gaudama replied, "*Mah-Nat,* the pleasures of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling, these which are pleasing to men, I have risen above; you are conquered." At that time, *Mah-Nat,* who is viler than the vilest, thought, "Ah! the excellent Boodh knows me;" and in the bitterness of his mind he even in that place disappeared.

As the priests went about in the various villages, whomsoever they found, who wished to become a priest, they brought to Gaudama; and as he saw that in this way his priests would become fatigued, as well as those who came from a distance for the sake of becoming priests, he had this thought, "It will be well for me to give my priests power to receive into the priesthood, in the villages where they travel, those who desire it." After this, in the cool of the evening, he arose from his resting-place, and having called his priests together, addressed them thus: "My beloved priests, while I was alone, I had this thought: 'My priests, as they go about from village to village, and find those who desire the priesthood, bring them to me; but in this way my priests will become fatigued, and those who desire the priesthood will be disheartened; it will be well for me to empower my priests to receive into the priesthood.'" Then he said to them, "The rules for admitting priests are the following: 1. Cut off the hair and beard. 2. Put on the yellow cloth in proper mode. 3. Let them sheko to the feet of the priest in a squatting posture, with their hands closed before their foreheads, and repeat, 'I worship the Boodh, the law, and the priests.' My beloved *Rahandas,* I thus give you permission to make priests."*

At the end of Lent, Gaudama called his priests, and said, "My dear *Rahandas,* by treasuring in my mind wisdom, and by diligence, I have attained the unrivalled state of *Ar-a-hat-ta-poh.*† This state I keep in view, or constantly before me. My dear priests, attain that which I have attained, and keep it constantly before you." Then vile *Mah-Nat* appeared, and addressed Gaudama as he had done before, and receiving the same answer, again disappeared. Gaudama then went to *Uru-wa-la* grove. On his way, he turned from the road into the jungle, and sat down at the foot of a tree. While he remained there, thirty young princes, with their princesses, except one, (and he had brought a harlot,) had been enjoying themselves in the grove; and while they slept at night, the harlot stole their ornaments and treasure, and fled with them. While they were in search of her, they discovered Gaudama sitting under the tree. They approached, and inquired, "My lord, have you seen a woman pass this way?" He said to them, "Why are you in search of a woman?" They replied, "We are thirty persons, who with our wives came hither to enjoy ourselves; but one of our number brought a harlot; and while we slept, she stole our treasure and fled; therefore we are going through the woods in search of her." He then said, "Princes, is it best to seek that woman, or to seek yourselves?" They replied,

---

* There are eight orders of priests. It would seem that Gaudama first gave permission to admit to the lower order, and afterwards to the higher.

† The rewards of one who has attained the fourth state of an Areeya.

"Of course, lord, it is best to seek ourselves." He then said, "If so, wait a little, and I will preach to you the law." They replied, "Very well, lord, we will wait." And then he preached the law; at the end of which, some attained the first, some the second, and some the third, state of an *Areeya*. In a former state, these persons were drunkards; but having heard the Boodh preach in that state, they reformed, and kept the five commands.* After Gaudama had done preaching to them, he proceeded to *Uru-wa-la* grove. There were then in that grove three hermits, brothers, named *Uru-wa-la Kat-tha-ba, Na-da-ka Kat-tha-ba,* and *Ga-ya Kat-tha-ba.* The first had five hundred disciples, the second had three hundred, and the other, two hundred. Gaudama went to the monastery of the first, and said, "*Kat-tha-ba,* if you have no objections, I should like to remain in your cook-house for a night." *Kat-tha-ba* replied, "I have no objections; but the *Naga* who watches my cook-house, is of great power, and his poison is quick and dreadful; he will probably trouble you; you must take care of yourself." Gaudama replied, "He will not disturb me; I only ask your permission." *Kat-tha-ba* said, "Very well, enjoy yourself as well as you can." Gaudama then entered the cook-house, and having prepared a place with grass for sitting, sat down in a cross-legged posture, and began counting his beads. When the *Naga* perceived him, his anger rose, and he sent forth a great smoke; whereupon Gaudama thought, "It will be well for me to make this *Naga* feel my power, without doing him any injury." He then caused a smoke in return. The *Naga* not liking the same that he gave, then sent forth flame. Then Gaudama sent forth flame. The appearance of the cook-house was as if all in a blaze. The hermits then came around the cook-house, and said, "The appearance of this great priest is very beautiful; it is a pity he should bear the abuse of this *Naga.*" Thus Gaudama spent the night. In the morning, he caught the *Naga* without hurting him, and put him in his rice-pot; and carrying him to *Kat-tha-ba,* said, "This is no other than your *Naga*; I have overcome his power." When *Kat-tha-ba* saw this, he thought, "Really, this priest has great power; this cruel *Naga,* by trusting in his own power, has lost it, and yet this priest is not my equal." However, he was pleased with Gaudama, and said to him, "Do you stop with us; I will feed you." This overcoming the *Naga* was the first display of divine power exercised by the Boodh. Gaudama then took up his abode not very distant from *Kat-tha-ba's* monastery.

---

* The five duties, or commands, are: 1. Take no life. 2. Take not another's goods. 3. Commit no adultery. 4. Drink nothing that intoxicates. 5. Refrain from every evil deed.

While he remained there, one night, past midnight, four Nats, assuming a very bright appearance, so that the whole grove was lighted by it, came and shekoed before Gaudama. In the morning, *Kat-tha-ba* came and said, very respectfully, "Great priest, the time for eating has arrived, the rice is all ready; come. Last night, past the midnight-watch, the grove was lighted, as if with four great fires; what was the reason of it?" Gaudama replied, "It was only four Nats who came to me, to listen to the law." Then *Kat-tha-ba* thought, "This priest possesses great power, if the Nats come to hear him; but he is not a *Rahanda,* as I am." After Gaudama had eaten, he returned to the place of his abode. On another night, the *The-gya* came, and put the whole grove in one blaze of glory. In the morning, *Kat-tha-ba* came to call him to eat, and said, "Who came last night, to produce such an extraordinary light?" Gaudama replied, "It was no other than the *The-gya* king, wishing to hear the law, who came to me." *Kat-tha-ba* then thought as before. After this, one of the great Brahmans came down, and his glory lighted the grove as before; in the morning, the same inquiries and answers were repeated. At this time, there was to be a great festival, or feast, to *Uru-wa-la Kat-tha-ba,* and all the people of the kingdoms of *En-ga* and *Ma-ga-da* were coming to bring offerings, etc.; and *Kat-tha-ba* thought that, if he should invite Gaudama, he might make some display of his power, and the people would leave him and follow Gaudama; therefore he would not invite him. Gaudama, knowing the mind of his host, went to the Northern island, where he gathered his rice, and came back to the shore of the *Ana-wa-dat* lake, where he ate his rice, and spent the day. The day after, *Kat-tha-ba* came as usual to ask him to eat, and inquired, "Why were you not here yesterday? we wondered you did not come, and have put by a portion of the food for you." Gaudama then said, "*Kat-tha-ba,* did you not have this thought: 'To-day I am going to have a great feast, and the people of *En-ga* and *Ma-ga-da* will bring me many presents and offerings; if this priest should make any display of his power, the people will give their offerings to him, and not to me; therefore the offerings to him will be many, to me few; it will not be well for him to come to-morrow'? Now, *Kat-tha-ba,* knowing your mind, I went to the Northern island, and received my rice, and then spent the day at *Ana-wa-dat* lake." *Kat-tha-ba* then thought, "He must be wise, to know my thoughts; but he is not a *Rahanda,* as I am." Gaudama, after eating his rice, remained as before. After this, Gaudama's yellow cloth having become dirty, he desired to wash it, and looked about for a place. The *The-gya* king, knowing his wishes, came down and dug with his own hands a four-cornered tank, and said, "O Boodh, wash your clothes in this tank." He next thought, "What shall I rub it upon?" The *The-gya* king then placed near him a large flat stone, and said, "O Boodh, rub your cloth upon this stone." He then desired a place to hang it for drying; and when the Nat who watched the trees, knew his wishes, he bent down the limb of a *Yay-ka-dat* tree, and said, "O Boodh, hang your cloth upon this limb." He then thought that he would spread it out, when the *The-gya* placed another flat stone, and said, "O Boodh, spread your cloth upon this stone." The next morning, when *Kat-tha-ba* invited him as usual to eat, he said, "Great *Rahanda,* formerly, there was no tank in this place, neither was there this great stone, but now they are here; who dug this tank? and who placed this stone? Formerly, this *Yay-ka-dat* limb was not bent down as it is now, what is the cause of this?" Gaudama replied, "*Kat-tha-ba,* I had a dirty cloth which I wished to wash, and the *The-gya,* knowing my wishes, dug the tank and placed the stone, and said, 'O Boodh, wash your cloth in this tank, and rub it on this stone.' When I was thinking where I should hang my cloth, the Nat of the trees bent down the limb, and said, 'O Boodh, hang your cloth on this limb.' Afterwards, when I wished to spread it out, the *The-gya* said, 'O Boodh, spread your cloth on this stone.'" When *Kat-tha-ba* heard this, he thought, "Well, well, this *Rahanda* must be great, if the *The-gya* comes and aids him in small matters; but, though he is great, he is not so great as I am." The next day, he came to call Gaudama as usual, and Gaudama said to him, "Do you go, and I will come." When *Kat-tha-ba* was gone, he went to the North end of the island, and having plucked a fruit from the *Sa-bu-tha-bya* tree, he returned, and took his seat in the refectory, before *Kat-tha-ba* arrived. When he came and saw Gaudama already there, he said, "*Rahanda,* by what road did you come? I came first, and you were to come after me; how is it that you arrived first?" Gaudama replied, "*Kat-tha-ba,* after you left, I went and plucked this fruit, and came and waited for you. This fruit is full of fragrance and beauty, and is delicious to the taste. If you have a desire for it, take it." *Kat-tha-ba* said, "Great *Rahanda,* it would not be suitable for me to eat it, it is for the great *Rahanda;* therefore please to eat it yourself." When he had said this, he considered, "His power must be very great, to go to the end of the island, pluck this fruit, and return before I came; but yet he is not a great *Rahanda* like me." The next morning, when he came to call Gaudama, as usual, the latter said, "Do you go, I will come." He then went to the head of the island, plucked a *Mango* fruit, and arrived first at the refectory, as before. For several mornings in succession, Gaudama went and gathered fruit in this manner. Afterwards, he went to *Ta-wa-deing-tha* Nat country, and brought a lily, and was at the refectory before his host. *Kat-tha-ba* then thought, "This is wonderful; he has been to Nat country, gathered this flower, and arrived before me; however, he is not so great a *Rahanda* as I am." At another time, as *Kat-tha-ba* was splitting wood, he found a stick which he could not master, and he thought, "I will get the *Rahanda* to do it by his power;" so he asked Gaudama to split the wood. Gaudama then took the axe, and with one stroke split five hundred sticks. Then *Kat-tha-ba* thought, "His power is really wonderful, but he is not equal to me." When *Kat-tha-ba* wished to kindle his fire, he could not make it burn. He then thought, "I will ask the *Rahanda* to try." When he asked Gaudama, he immediately set the five hundred sticks in a blaze. Then there was too much fire, and as *Kat-tha-ba* could not put it out, he asked aid of Gaudama, who instantly quenched it; when *Kat-tha-ba* thought as before, "Though he is great, I am greater." In the cold season, at night-fall, these three *Kat-tha-bas* were in the habit of bathing in the river *Na-yin-za-ya.* One evening, when they had been bathing, Gaudama made five hundred chafing-dishes, and they warmed themselves by the fire; they all acknowledged his great power, but the great *Kat-tha-ba* still thought himself the greater priest. Soon after this, as they were at their monasteries, there suddenly came up a great rain; the ground was overflowed with water, except where Gaudama was, and there the ground was not wet. He drove back the water for some space, and as he walked on it, the dust arose. *Uru-wa-la Kat-tha-ba* then thought, "Do not let the great priest be drowned," called a boat, and taking a great number of men with him, went out after Gaudama. When he drew near, and saw him walking to and fro, with the dust driving before him, he called out, "Great *Rahanda,* is that you?" Gaudama replied, "It is even I," and then ascended into the air, and descended into *Kat-tha-ba's* boat; and still *Kat-tha-ba* thought of himself as before. Gaudama then thought this: "This *Kat-tha-ba* thinks himself a *Rahanda,* and that no one is his equal; he has thought, 'This great priest has power, but he is not equal to me,' for a long time; it will be well for me now to frighten him thoroughly," and he said, "*Kat-tha-ba,* you are not a *Rahanda;* you have not attained the state of an *Areeya,* neither do you practise the duties of an *Areeya.*" When he had said this, *Kat-tha-ba* bowed his head at the feet of Gaudama, and said, "O Boodh, I desire to become a priest under you." Gaudama replied, "You are the teacher of five hundred disciples, first go and ask permission of them; see what they will think of it, and do as they desire.". When he had thus said, *Kat-tha-ba* went to his monastery, and said to his disciples, "I desire to become the disciple of the great priest, what do you think of him?" They replied, "O teacher, we have been a long time with you, and very much love you; if you go and become his priest, we shall all go with you." Thus saying, they took their mats, and all their utensils which belonged to them as priests, and threw them into the river. They then went to Gaudama, and bowing at his feet, said, "O Boodh, we desire to become your disciples." He gave them permission. When *Na-da-ka Kat-tha-ba* saw the utensils of his brother and his followers floating on the water, he thought, "I hope no evil has befallen my brother," and immediately sent off some of his followers to see what it meant, and soon followed with the remainder, to where his brother was, and said, "My brother, in doing this, do you do well?" His brother replied, "I do well." When he heard this, *Na-da-ka* and his followers threw their vessels into the river, and prostrating themselves before Gaudama, said, "O Boodh, we desire to become priests in your presence," and he granted permission. When *Ga-ya Kat-tha-ba* saw the things floating on the water, he thought, "I hope no evil has befallen my brothers," and immediately set out with his two hundred followers, to see what was the matter. When he arrived, he inquired of his elder brother, whether he was doing right, who replied, "It is very well." When he heard this, he and his followers threw their things into the river, and prostrating themselves before Gaudama, made the request to become his priests, and were admitted. Thus they all became priests to the Boodh. When Gaudama willed that the wood of *Kat-tha-ba* should not split, it did not; and when he willed that it should split, it parted into five hundred pieces; and when he willed that they should not burn, they did not; and when he willed that they should, they did burn. When he willed the chafing-dishes, they appeared.. He had to make three thousand five hundred and sixteen displays of his power, before these priests would believe.

When Gaudama had enjoyed himself as long as he desired in the *Uru-wa-la* grove, he left with his one thousand followers, and went to the village of *Ga-ya-thee-tha,* and there remained for a time. This village, being near the river *Ga-ya,* and because it was near a mountain with a large rock shaped like an elephant's head, received the name of *Ga-ya-thee-tha.* This rock was so large that the one thousand priests could sit upon it. While they remained at this village, Gaudama called all his priests together, and addressed them thus: "O priests, the three states of change are like a burning fire. If we ask, what law of change burns, we answer, that it is vision. Whatever is visible, burns. And whatever is visible to the mind's eye, burns. Whatever we see by the eyes of the body, or mind, what we consider pleasurable, is only misery; and that misery burns. If we ask again, the fires of lust, of anger, and of ignorance, burn. The fires of existence, of old age, of anxiety, of death, burn. Whatever comes to us through the ears of the body, or mind, burns. Whatever we hear of pleasure or of pain, is only miserable; and this misery burns. Weeping, and sighing, and distress of mind, burns. All that comes by the sense of smelling, only tends to misery, and burns. All that comes by the taste, pleasant, or disagreeable, only ends in pain, and that pain burns. Whatever comes by the sense of feeling or touch, burns. We are burned by pride; whatever we experience, whether pleasurable or painful, in consequence of our pride, only ends in misery. O priests, those who hear and understand the law which I preach, and are dissatisfied with what they hear and see, and the pleasures of sense, are free from passion, and have attained the state of an *Areeya,* and are no more subject to transmigration. They have no more need of the sixteen laws, for they are above them." When he had thus preached to this one thousand, they were freed from transmigration.

When the most excellent Boodh had enjoyed himself as long as he desired in *Ga-ya-thee-tha,* he went with his one thousand priests to *Ya-za-gro* country, complying with a request of its king *Peing-ma-tha-ya,* made before the Boodh became perfected. When he arrived near the country, he halted in a grove of palm trees, and took his seat under a tree covered with thick leaves. The king heard that priest Gaudama had arrived at the palm-grove. Thus the fame of Gaudama was spread abroad, and the people said, "The priest Gaudama understands all that is in this world, and in the Nat and Brahman countries; he understands the beginning, middle, and end of *Thadda,** and can preach it; and his conduct is as pure as a new white shell. This priest, he is so full of goodness that, if we can get even a sight of him, it will be of some advantage to us." The king called together his officers and soldiers to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and went forth to visit the priest. When he arrived before him, he shekoed, and remained in a suitable place, and his followers, with Pong-nas, Brahmans, and rich men, remained before the priest in a prostrate, shekoing posture. Some of them, having conversed with the priest, and heard things worthy to be remembered as long as they lived, took suitable places. Others sat with their hands to their foreheads. Others, in a manner suitable to their rank. Some remained quite silent. At this time, the one hundred and twenty thousand men thus thought, "Does the great priest practise virtue in the presence of *Uru-wa-la Kat-tha-ba*? or does the latter practise under the great priest?" As Gaudama knew their thoughts, he addressed *Kat-tha-ba* thus: "You who lived in *Uru-wa-la*, being a teacher of *Zán-gees* who had become lean by their austerities, what have you discovered that caused you to give up your accustomed sacrifices? I ask you the reason of this." *Kat-tha-ba* replied, "O Boodh, of great glory in countenance and in voice, I have practised in the way of taste, and women, and all the pleasures of sense, and found all to be like filth; therefore I have ceased to take delight in making either little or great offerings, or sacrifices." When he had thus replied, Gaudama again inquired, "If you have ceased to enjoy yourself in that which is beautiful, pleasant to the ears, or to the taste, and in the gratification of the senses, in what country of men or Nats does your mind enjoy itself? Answer me this." *Kat-tha-ba* replied, "O Boodh of great glory, whatever state is peaceful, and free from a body, from passion, and from fear, and where one is freed from matter, where birth, old age, or death, is not, and there is freedom from transmigration, this is the only desirable state. That state I see, and in that I enjoy myself; therefore I have no pleasure in great or small offerings." When he had thus answered, he arose, and having adjusted his outer cloth, approached Gaudama, and prostrating himself at his feet, said thus: "O Boodh, the Most Excellent is teacher; as to me, I am a disciple." This he repeated thrice, and the one hundred and twenty thousand knew that he was practising virtue in the presence of the great priest. Gaudama, knowing their thoughts, then preached to them the standing laws, which consist of giving to the priests, becoming priests, and practising the five commands. These are always preached. At that time, the hearts of the audience were melted, and they went forth after Gaudama in love; and then he preached the law worthy of bringing forth fruit. These laws are the four great laws. As he concluded preaching these laws, the people were like a pure white pasō, which had been dipped in an excellent dye; the king and one hundred and ten thousand of his followers attained the first state of an *Areeya*, and the remaining ten thousand became laymen who support religion. When a great multitude of the people of *Ma-ga-da* country, together with their king, had obtained the *Areeya* state, the king addressed Gaudama thus: "O Boodh, formerly, when I was heir to the throne, I had five desires; these desires are now fulfilled. The first was, that I might receive the crown; the second, that the most excellent Boodh might come to my country; the third, that I might have the privilege of worshipping him; the fourth, that I might hear him preach the law; the fifth, that I might understand the law when I heard it preached. The law which the Boodh has preached, is very, very excellent. It is like turning a pot that has been bottom upward, or like a lost man who has found the road. I worship the Boodh, the law, and the priests; from this day forward, to the end of life, consider me as your disciple. To-morrow, together with your priests, please to eat my rice." Gaudama consented, by remaining silent. When the king saw that he had consented, he arose, and turning to the right around Gaudama, returned to his palace. When the night had passed, the king arose early in the morning, and caused all manner of good eatables to be prepared, and then he sent to Gaudama, and said, "The food is ready, please to come and eat." That morning, Gaudama arose, dressed, took his rice-pot, and with his one thousand priests entered the city. At the time he entered, the *The-gya* king, assuming the appearance of a young man, walked at the head of the priests, singing,

---

* To will, to feel a pleasure in doing any thing, or to act from pure motives.

> "Gentle of heart, free from the passions,
> Like the purest gold in appearance, the excellent Boodh,
> With his one thousand priests, who were formerly sages,
> Enters *Ya-za-gro* country.
> Freed from transmigration,
> He enters, with his one thousand priests, *Ya-za-gro* country."

Thus thrice singing, he followed Gaudama. When the people saw him, they said, "This young man is very handsome and of a lovely appearance; whose son can he be?" which when the *The-gya* heard, he answered, "O people, to the most excellent Boodh, who is full of wisdom, of an unwavering mind, who has overcome the passions, who is all gentleness, who is free from all worldly desires, who is worthy to receive the homage of men and Nats, who preaches the most excellent law—to this excellent Boodh I am a servant." When Gaudama arrived at the palace, he took his seat in a suitable place provided for him. The king waited upon Gaudama and his one thousand priests in person; and when they had finished eating, and Gaudama had put his rice-pot on one side, the king took his place in a shekoing posture, before him. The king then thought in his mind, "Where will it be suitable for the Boodh to remain? A place not very far from the city, nor very near to it, where there is much going and coming, where those desiring to see him can easily find him, where there will not be too much noise in the day, and where it will not be too still at night, where there will be freedom from the vapor and bustle of men going and coming, where those who desire solitude can have it—such a place will be suitable for Gaudama to reside in. My garden of *Wa-la-woon* is neither too far from the city nor too near, the road to it is good, and those who wish to see him can easily find him, it is neither too noisy in the day nor too still at night, it is free from the bustle of men, and a fit place for those who desire solitude. It will be well for me to make an offering of this garden to Gaudama and his priests." When he had thus thought, he took the golden pitcher, and said, "I give the *Wa-la-woon* garden to Gaudama and his priests," and the offering was accepted. After Gaudama had preached the law, he left the palace. Soon after, he called his disciples, and said, "My beloved priests, I give you permission to become the heads of other priests, and to receive offerings."

In *Ya-za-gro*, there was a false priest named *Theing-zee*, who had two hundred and fifty followers. Among them were *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* and *Mauk-a-lan*. These two persons, before they became his priests, had other names, and had each five hundred disciples. Having gone upon the mountain, to have a view of the multitude who were around them, when they saw the crowd, they reflected, "Before one hundred years pass away, all these people will have fallen into the jaws of death." After their audience had retired, they conversed together, and, because they had extraordinary desires, they brought death before them, and conversed about it thus: "If there is a part that dies, there must be a part that does not die. Now, we will seek for a law that teaches about the part that does not die." They then called their attendants, and went and became priests to *Theing-zee.* When they had been two or three days with him, and did not find what they desired, they asked him, "Teacher, is there nothing more than this? Is there no law which has substance?" and the teacher said, "There is none." These words they had to hear. They then thought, "In what is taught here there is no substance," and they agreed to look farther; and the one who found it first was to make it known to the other. At this time, one of Gaudama's priests named *A-tha-zee*, having arisen in the morning, and dressed himself, took his rice-pot, and going with a very lovely appearance, observing all the rules required of priests, entered the city. At this time, *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* saw him going into the city, and he thought, "If there is any person in this world worthy to receive homage, and who has attained *Ar-a-hat-ta-poh*,* this must be one. I will follow him, and inquire who is his teacher, and what law he listens to. It will not be well for me to ask him now, as he is after his rice; I will keep my eye upon and follow him." When *A-tha-zee* had received his rice and come out of the city, he stopped and rested himself against the wall. *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* then approached the place where he was, and made obeisance. When *A-tha-zee* had eaten his rice and washed his hands, they entered into conversation. Having heard most suitable and joyful words from him, he said, "O priest, your gravity is extraordinary, and very admirable, and your appearance is very pure. O priest, in whom do you trust? who is your teacher? and what law do you follow?" *A-tha-zee* replied, "There is the excellent Boodh, who is of the *Sha-ga-wen* race—this person is my teacher, the law he preaches I follow." He then inquired, "And what is the doctrine of your teacher? and how does he preach?" *A-tha-zee* replied, "I am but a novice, and can give you only a little, but, according to my ability, I will preach to you." *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* begged him to do so. *A-tha-zee* then said, "The laws that teach what the body is composed of, and how to keep it under, he teaches." When *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* heard this, he became free from the dust of passion, and the filth of worldly desires, and received the wisdom of a *Thau-ta-pon*, even before the priest had done speaking; and he said, "While I have been going about, seeking this law of annihilation, these priests have attained it; what I have, for innumerable ages, been seeking, they have attained." When he had said this, he arose and went to *Mauk-a-lan,* who, seeing him coming at a distance, said, "Priest, your gravity is very admirable, your face is glorious like a ripe palm-fruit. O priest, how is it? have you found the law of annihilation?" and he replied, "O priest, I have found it." He then inquired, "How did you find it?" and was informed. When *Mauk-a-lan* heard this, he also became a *Thau-ta-pon. Mauk-a-lan* then said, "*Tha-re-poke-ta-ra,* let us go to the Boodh, we will have no other teacher beside him." *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* replied, "These two hundred and fifty disciples are looking up to us, and are here with *Theing-zee.* Let us tell them of our purpose, and see what they will think of it; and as they say, let us do." Then they went to their disciples, and said, "O priests, we are going to the Boodh, he is our only teacher." When the priests heard this, they said, "We trust in you; if you go and become priests to the great Boodh, we shall follow you." They then went to *Theing-zee,* and said, "We are going to the Boodh, he is to be our teacher," and he replied, "Priests, such a step will not be at all suitable, do not go; we three will be equal in teaching our disciples." They then again asked permission to leave, and he again refused to let them go; then they asked the third time, and were refused; then they called their two hundred and fifty disciples, and went to *Wa-la-woon* monastery. This *Theing-zee* died even where he was, vomiting hot blood from his mouth.

---

* See note † p. 50.

When Gaudama saw these two teachers and their followers coming, he called all his priests together, and said, "Beloved priests, these two friends who are coming, will be my most excellent and zealous disciples; they have wisdom in understanding deep things, they have in their minds the unrivalled wisdom of annihilation." They then approached the Boodh, and having shekoed with their heads to his feet, addressed him thus: "O Boodh of great glory, we desire to become priests in your presence;" and he gave them permission, saying, "Priests, come and practise those virtues which will put an end to misery." When he had thus said, they became priests having the appearance of those who had passed sixty Lents, like old men in dignity; and their two hundred and fifty followers also became priests. When they had been priests seven days, *Mau-ka-lan* became a *Rahanda*, and in fifteen days, *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra.* After this, most of the people of the first rank in the country, became priests in the presence of Gaudama. Some, reviling, said, "This priest Gaudama is striving to destroy the race of men, by making all priests, thus making widows, and thus preventing the birth of children. He has just now made priests of the sages with their one thousand followers, the disciples of *Theing-zee,* and the most respectable in the country." Thus they ridiculed and mocked, through the country. In their taunts, they used the simile, "The great priest holds *Ya-za-gro* country, like a great cow-pen enclosed by five mountains. The disciples of *Theing-zee* have come, who next will come?" When the priests heard the reviling of the people, they told it to Gaudama, who said, "These words will not last long. In seven days, they will all be quiet, and we shall hear no more of it. This being the case, whenever you hear any one reviling, reply as follows: 'Truly, of what profit will it be to feel malice towards the great Gaudama, who is making exertion to extend the law of righteousness?'" After this, when the people reviled, the priests replied as he had instructed them. When the people heard what the priests said, they were convicted, and said, "This priest who is of the *Sha-ga-wen* race of kings, will not be likely to do any thing which is contrary to the law;" and so, in seven days, the reviling ceased.

While Gaudama remained in *Wa-la-woon* monastery, his father, who had been listening to reports of his son, from the time of his going into the jungle, had heard of his six years' labor, that he had become Boodh, and was now in *Wa-la-woon* monastery. He called one of his noblemen, and said, "My friend, take one thousand men, go to the country of *Ya-za-gro,* and tell my son that I have become old, and desire to see him before I die. It has been a great while since I saw him." The nobleman replied, "O king, I will go." Having called his one thousand attendants, he went to Gaudama, whom he found sitting in the midst of his disciples, preaching. The nobleman thought that he would wait until he was done, before he made known his errand, and remained outside of the people, listening to the preaching. While he thus listened, he and his one thousand followers obtained *Ar-a-hat-ta-poh*, and asked permission to become priests. Gaudama stretched out his hand towards them, and they all became priests having the appearance of having passed sixty Lents. From this time, they forgot the errand on which they came, and did not tell Gaudama. The king, after waiting some time, and hearing nothing of them, called another nobleman and one thousand men, and sent them on the same errand. They, like the former one thousand, heard him preach, arrived at the same state, and forgot their errand. The king then sent seven other noblemen, one after the other, each with one thousand attendants, who all arrived at the same state, and forgot for what they were sent.

As the king heard nothing from his son, and he did not come, he thought, "Even among all my subjects, there is not one who has any regard for me, and who will bring me news of my son; what shall I do?" He then considered his officers and noblemen, and thought of *Ka-lu-da-ya*, a nobleman who was born at the same moment that his son was, "He is able to accomplish whatever he undertakes, and, more than that, is acquainted with my son; they were playmates." He then called him, and said, "Having a great desire to see my son, I have sent nine thousand men, and nine noblemen, to bring me intelligence of him, and not one has returned, or given me any information. I cannot tell when I may die, and am very desirous to see my son before I die; can you call my son, and show him to me?" *Ka-lu-da-ya* replied, "Though I should have to become a priest, I can do it." The king then said, "Whether you become a priest or not, do show me my son." *Ka-lu-da-ya*, bearing the king's message, then went to *Ya-za-gro* country, and, as in former cases, Gaudama was in the midst of his disciples, preaching. He remained outside, listening; and he and all his attendants became *Rahandas*.

When Gaudama first became Boodh, he spent his first Lent in *Ma-ga-da-woon* grove. After Lent was over, he went to *Uru-wa-la*, where he remained three months, until the *Kat-tha-bas* and their followers became his disciples; and on the full moon of February, attended by his disciples, he came to *Ya-za-gro*, and had now remained there two months. Thus five months had passed since he left *Ba-ra-na-thee*. When *Ka-lu-da-ya* arrived, the cold season was passed, and when he had been with Gaudama seven or eight days, on the full moon of March, he addressed him thus: "The cold season is now passed, the warm season has arrived. The people have taken their rice, and gone to their proper places. The earth is now covered with green grass. The forests are now in full bloom. The road is now good for travelling. All the varieties of flowering trees are in blossom, and the fruit trees are covered with fruit. The time for the singing of birds and peacocks is come. It is not very cold, neither is it very warm. The road is in beautiful order for going forward." Thus, by fair speech, he invited Gaudama to visit his race and friends in *Kap-pe-la-woot*. At that time, Gaudama said, "What is this? What means the speech of *Ka-lu-da-ya?*" He replied, "O Gaudama, your father, king *Thoke-dau-da-na,* has a desire to see you. Will you in mercy go and preach the law to your royal race?" When he had thus requested, Gaudama consented, and said, "I will go, let the priests know it, and let every thing be made ready." *Ka-lu-da-ya* then informed the priests. Being attended by ten thousand people from *Kap-pe-la-woot*, and ten thousand from *Ya-za-gro,* he left for the residence of his father, seven hundred and twenty miles distant; and that they might not travel too fast, they went only twelve miles a day. *Ka-lu-da-ya,* as Gaudama set out on the journey, flew through the air, and came into the presence of the king. When the king saw him, he was very joyful, and caused him to be seated in the most honorable place, and ordered his rice-pot to be filled with food from the royal table. He then informed the king of all the circumstances of his journey. The king said, "Sit down and eat," to which *Ka-lu-da-ya* replied, "I will eat with Gaudama." The king inquired where he was, and was told, "Gaudama, attended by twenty thousand, will soon come." The king, when he heard this, was exceedingly over-joyed, and begged he would eat the rice, saying, "From this day, until my son arrives, do every day eat rice from the palace;" and he consented to do so. Then the king, ordering the rice-pot to be cleaned with perfumed water, and filled with the choicest food, desired *Ka-lu-da-ya* to present it to his son; who took the rice-pot, and, in the presence of all the people, ascended into the air, and bore it to Gaudama. In this manner he every day carried food from the palace to Gaudama. Thus, during the whole journey, he eat rice from the palace, and the king heard of his progress. In consequence of *Ka-lu-da-ya's* fair words, the people were much in love with Gaudama, even before they had seen him. On that account, Gaudama made him a chief, or one of the first priests, and said, "*Ka-lu-da-ya*, among the priests, has caused much good will to flow from the supporters of the priests; therefore let him be great." The *Sha-ga-wen* race then consulted as to the best place for Gaudama to stop in, and recommended the *Ne-grau-da* grove, as a fine place for enjoyment. However, they had all the groves cleared, and the roads prepared, adorned with flowers; and the boys and girls, with flowers in their hands, went forth to meet Gaudama. After them, the young princes and princesses, and then the people, holding perfumery and flowers in their hands, went to the *Ne-grau-da* grove, where they found Gaudama seated in the midst of his twenty thousand priests. The *Sha-ga-wen* princes, being very proud, said, "This prince *Theik-dat* is only our nephew, he is much younger than we are, he is only as our son, or grandson;" and they told the young princes and princesses, "Go forward and sheko to him, and we will take our places in the rear of you." When Gaudama saw that the old princes were not going to sheko to him, he thought thus, "They are not going to sheko to me. I will even now make them sheko." He then ascended into the air, and showered down upon their heads a white kind of Mango, like dust in appearance; he also caused the appearance of fire and water mixed. When the king saw these wonderful manifestations of his power, he said, "O Gaudama, on the day when you was born and presented to the sage, I saw the wonders, and shekoed; when I saw the wonderful shadow of the *Sa-bu-tha-bya* tree, I shekoed again; now, seeing these wonders, I sheko to you; this is the third time." When the others saw the king sheko, they could refrain no longer, and they all shekoed to him. When Gaudama had caused them all to sheko, he descended, and took his seat. The royal race were then all assembled, and filled with joy. Gaudama then caused the *Pauk-kara-wut-tha* rain, which was of a red color. Those whom he desired to have wet, it fell upon, while others were untouched by the least drop. When the princes saw this, they said, "Truly this is extraordinary, such as we never saw before." Gaudama then said, "This is not the only time this rain has fallen upon our race," and he told of a time in a former state, when the same had happened. They all listened very respectfully until he had ended, when they arose, shekoed, and departed. Among all the princes and noblemen, not one thought to ask him to eat rice. On the next morning, the most excellent Gaudama and his priests took their rice-pots, and went into the city to receive rice; when not a person gave them any, or even offered to take their rice-pots. Gaudama stood upon the sill of the city-gate, and considered, "Did the former Boodhs receive rice in the country? or did they go directly to the palace? or did they go from house to house to receive it?" While he thus considered, he perceived that the former Boodhs had never been to the palace for their rice, and determined that he would do as they had done. He then, with his followers, went from house to house, receiving rice. When it was known that prince *Theik-dat* was going through the city, receiving rice, the people, even to the third stories, opened their windows to look at him, and said, "The prince *Ya-hu-la* and princess *Ya-thau-da-ya* used to go through the country in golden palankeens; is it suitable for him to go about with a cup in his hand, to receive rice?" As they thus looked upon him from their windows, the glories issued from his body, and lighted the road. From his head to the soles of his feet, the glories issued, and the people extolled him in verse. It was soon reported to the king, that his son was wandering about the city, in search of food for his body. When the king heard this, he was frightened, and seizing the end of his pasō, ran out into the streets to meet him. When he came before him, he said, "O Gaudama, why do you thus disgrace me? what profit is there in going from house to house for food? Do you suppose I have not rice enough to satisfy you and these priests?" Gaudama replied, "O king, my father, the receiving of rice in this manner is praiseworthy in those of my race." The king then said, "You are of the great *Tha-ma-da* race, are you not? I never heard of one of that race going from house to house to seek his food." Gaudama replied, "The king, my father, is of this race, but I am descended from the Boodhs, and it has ever been their custom to go about and receive their rice." So, standing in the middle of the street, he preached the law to him, as follows: "O king, my father, it is proper for priests to go about receiving rice according to the law; those who do so are in the present state happy, and in the world to come are happy." At the conclusion of these words, his father became a *Thau-ta-pon.* Gaudama proceeded, and said, "Those who go about to seek rice, should go according to the law; those who seek rice as the law directs, are happy here and hereafter. Those who do not do so, ought not to go at all." When he had said this, his father became a *Tha-ga-da-gan.* When the king arrived at the palace, he repeated this second speech, and his aunt *Gau-ta-mee* heard him, and became a *Thau-ta-pon.* When Gaudama had preached one of the *Zats,*[*] his father attained the state of an *A-na-gan.* When he was near changing states, while he was reclining under the white umbrella, he attained the *Ar-a-hat-ta* state. Thus the father attained this state without going into the jungle, or practising the usual ceremonies.

When the king arrived at the state of the *Thau-ta-pon,* he took the rice-pot of Gaudama, invited him and all his priests to the palace, and fed them with excellent food. When they had all done eating, the queen and concubines came and shekoed to Gaudama. The attendants of the palace endeavored to persuade *Ya-thau-da-ya* to go and sheko to Gaudama. She said, "No, if he has any favor for me, he will come in person, and when he does so I will sheko to him;" thus she remained without going. Gaudama, giving his rice-pot to his father, and accompanied by two of his priests, went to the apartment of *Ya-thau-da-ya.* He charged his followers not to utter a word, and himself took a suitable seat. The princess *Ya-thau-da-ya* came very quickly, and clasping him by the ankles, shekoed by rubbing her face on his feet. The king then spoke of the great love the princess had for the Boodh, "From the day she heard that he had put on the yellow cloth, she has worn only yellow cloths. From the day she heard that he ate only once a day, she has eaten only once. From the day she heard that he had left a comfortable sleeping-place, she has slept on a poor cot. From the day she heard that he had lost all relish for flowers and perfumery, she has given them up. Although her friends have often wished to have her enjoy pleasure, she has had no desire for it. Thus my daughter has practised." When Gaudama heard this, he said, "My father, these present austerities are not so wonderful. In a former state, when she had but little merit, the austerities which she practised at the foot of a mountain, were far more wonderful."

---

[*] A Zat is a history of one's own existence. The name is generally applied to the lives of Gaudama, five hundred and fifty of which are in the Boodhist Scriptures, but only ten of them particularly celebrated.

On that day, Gaudama's younger brother was to celebrate five ceremonies, his marriage, coronation, etc., etc. Gaudama, having transferred his rice-pot from his father to his brother, departed for the monastery, and his brother must of course follow with the rice-pot; whereupon his princess called to him, and said, "Return soon," and stood gazing at him as he went. As he did not dare to ask Gaudama to take his rice-pot, he followed even to the monastery. When he arrived, although he had no desire to become a a priest, he yet became one in spite of himself. Thus, on the second day after Gaudama's arrival, prince *Anan-da* became a priest. On the seventh day, the princess *Ya-thau-da-ya* dressed her son in his princely ornaments, and sent him to Gaudama, saying, "My beloved son, that great priest whose person is like to the Brahman kings, and whose appearance is like gold, who is surrounded by twenty thousand priests, is your father; go and see him. To your father belonged four large pots of gold, but, from the day he left for the jungle, they have disappeared; my dear son, go to your father, and say, 'My lord, I am heir apparent, I am to receive the white umbrella, and become *Sekya* king. Now, I desire wealth; give me riches. It is suitable that the son should receive an inheritance from his father.'" From the time when *Ya-hu-la* arrived in the presence of his father, he was very happy, and said, "O priest, your shadow is very refreshing," and other sayings suitable for a lad of his age to say. When Gaudama had done eating his rice, and given thanks, he arose from his sitting-place, and prince *Ya-hu-la* followed him, saying, "O priest, give me my inheritance." As Gaudama did not say to him, "Go back," none of the attendants dared to tell him so, and he followed them into the monastery. Gaudama then said, "The prince *Ya-hu-la* desires the inheritance of his father; as that property which is connected with the law of change, will only cause him trouble—the inheritance of the seven laws of the saints, which were received at the foot of the Banyan, these I will give; I will make him the possessor of a spiritual inheritance." He then called *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra,* and said, "My beloved son, the prince *Ya-hu-la* has asked for his inheritance. There would be no profit in giving him worldly goods, I shall give him a spiritual inheritance. In order that my royal son *Ya-hu-la* may obtain the spiritual inheritance, initiate him into the priesthood." When he had thus said, *Mauk-a-lan* shaved the head of *Ya-hu-la,* and put upon him the yellow cloth, and *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* gave him the initiatory ceremonies, and became his teacher, and the great *Kat-tha-ba* became assistant teacher. The king, *Thoke-dau-da-na,* in order that he might see his son, prince *Theik-dat,* enjoying the *Sekya* throne, to prevent his going into the jungle, guarded him, when young, from seeing a priest, an old man, a sick man, or a dead man; and had the gates of the city made so strong that it required one thousand men to open them; etc. and yet, after all his precautions, his son left the glory of the palace, and went to the jungle. Then he had the astrologers called, and they examined his younger son, prince *Anan-da,* and declared that he had the signs of a *Sekya* king, and his father thought, "I shall see my younger son enjoying the throne." But, after he had become a priest, he reflected, "Though my elder son and my younger son have both become priests, I shall see my grandson a glorious *Sekya* king." But, when he heard that *Ya-hu-la* had also become a priest, he became greatly distressed, and while reflecting that, when he was separated from his elder son, he thought it was more than he could bear, and that, when his younger son became a priest, he was greatly distressed, he thought, now he had heard that *Ya-hu-la* had also become a priest, that his race had come to an end, and he should never have the pleasure of seeing one of his family a *Sekya* king. He became greatly distressed, and thought, "If I, being a person who loves the Boodh, the law, and the priests, am so distressed that I can not bear it, how must others feel, in parting with their sons and grandsons?" Then he went to Gaudama, shekoed, and addressed him thus: "O Boodh, whoever desires to give a gift, does well in giving it, and no blame should be attached to him. Now I desire a gift, please to give." Gaudama replied, "O king, my father, speak." Whereupon he said, "O Boodh, when you became a priest, I was so exceedingly grieved that I could not bear it, my heart was broken; and in like manner, when your brother became a priest, I was very miserable: and again, when I heard that *Ya-hu-la,* my grandson, had become a priest, my sorrow was very great. O Boodh, my love for my grandson was so great that, when I heard he had become a priest, my skin, and flesh, and nerves, and bones, were as if broken, and it was as if the marrow of my bones had been touched. Now, what I desire is that, hereafter, you will not cause any to become priests, without the consent of their fathers and mothers." Gaudama, in reply, preached to him the law by which we can escape transmigration. The king listened until he had done, when he arose, shekoed, turned three times to the right around him, and departed. When he was gone, Gaudama called his priests together, and addressed them thus: "My priests, it is not suitable to receive to the priesthood those who have not the consent of their parents. If any priest shall receive one who has not this consent, let him be excommunicated."

One day, when Gaudama was at the palace, and had eaten rice, the king said to him, "O Boodh, while you were practising austerities, a certain Nat came and told me that my son was dead; but I did not believe him, and told him that my son would not die before he had become Boodh." Gaudama replied, "In this state, it is not to be supposed you would have believed him. In a former state, when your virtue was weak, you were told that your son was dead, and were shown his bones, and other evidences that he was dead, and then you did not believe it." He then preached one of the *Zats,* which contains this account. At the conclusion, his father attained the state of an *A-na-gan.* When Gaudama had caused his father to attain the three first states of an *Areeya,* he called his priests, and they set out for *Yä-za-gro.* On their way, they halted for a time in *Yen-deik* grove. While they remained there, a rich man was travelling with five hundred carts of merchandize to *Ya-za-gro,* and put up at the house of one of his friends. When he heard of Gaudama from his friend, he arose early in the morning, and, by the favor of the Nats, found the monastery-door open, entered, and heard the law. At the end of the preaching, he attained the state of a *Thau-ta-pon.* On the next day, he made a great offering to the priests, and invited

Gaudama to go to *Tha-wut-tee* country; and when he had obtained his consent, he built a monastery every twelve miles, on the way, the distance being five hundred and twenty miles, and made offerings to the amount of one hundred thousand. Then he bought a grove of prince *Zay-ta,* at the price of one hundred and eighty millions, and built a monastery in it; in the centre of which he prepared a room on purpose for Gaudama, and around this, eighty rooms, for the elder priests, beside a larger room for them all to assemble in, and *Zayats* on the outside, with tanks, temples, and walking-places, and also some for enjoying the sun, and others for the cool of the evening. When he had spent one hundred and eighty millions in preparation, he sent a messenger to Gaudama, inviting him to come and take possession. When Gaudama received the message, he left *Ya-za-gro,* and went to *Tha-wut-tee.* The rich man, having made preparation for giving the monastery to Gaudama, had his sons dressed in their gold and silver ornaments, and attended by five hundred in front, followed by five hundred children, each carrying a flag of five different colors; who were followed by his two daughters, attended by five hundred damsels, each bearing a pot of water, and next to them his wife, in suitable attire, attended by five hundred matrons, each bearing a pitcher of water. In the rear of all, came the rich man himself, attended by five hundred other rich men, each dressed in entirely new pasōs. In this order they proceeded into the presence of Gaudama, who was at the head of his priests, in appearance inexpressibly splendid, like a peacock's tail. Thus they entered the *Za-da-woon* monastery. The rich man then asked Gaudama, "What will it be suitable for me to do with this monastery?" Gaudama replied, "Rich man, give this monastery to my priests, who come, or may come, from whatever quarter, at any future time." The rich man said, "Very well, my lord;" and taking a golden pitcher in his hands, he poured the water out upon Gaudama's hand, saying, "The *Za-da-woon* monastery I give to the great priests of Boodh, who have come, or may come, from whatever point of the compass." Gaudama accepted the offering, and, in order to consecrate it, preached. The rich man, on the second day after, prepared to make offerings to the monastery. His wife held a festival for the monastery, of four months, while his own festival continued for nine months, in which time he expended one hundred and eighty millions more, in offerings. Thus, on one monastery were spent five hundred and forty millions. Formerly, when *Wa-pa-thee* was Boodh, a rich man named *Thu-meik-ta* bought the ground where the monastery was, paying a gold *oke* for it, and enclosed it for twelve miles around, and presented it to the priests. When *Tha-ka* was Boodh, another person bought it, and paid the price in gold flowers, and encircled it for the distance of nine miles. In *Wa-the-bu's* time, another bought it, and paid a gold elephant's foot, and enclosed it for six miles. In *Kau-ku-than's* day, another man purchased it for a gold oke, and enclosed it for three miles. In *Gau-na-gong's* time, another man paid a gold turtle for it, and made an enclosure for twenty-four miles. In *Kat-tha-ba's* time, another paid gold spears for it, and enclosed eight thousand eight hundred and sixty cubits square. In Gaudama's time, it was bought for one hundred and eighty millions, and enclosed for four thousand four hundred and thirty cubits square. This *Za-da-woon* place has been occupied by all the Boodhs.

At the time when Gaudama lived in *Ya-za-gro* country, in *Wa-la-woon* monastery, the country of *Way-tha-lee* was in a very flourishing condition, with numerous inhabitants. It had seven thousand seven hundred and seven Pyat-thads, seven thousand seven hundred and seven spires, seven thousand seven hundred and seven enclosures, and seven thousand seven hundred and seven tanks. In this country, dwelt a courtezan named *Am-papa-le-ka,* who was beautiful and much to be desired. She was very skillful in music and dancing. All who wished to enjoy her society, gave her fifty an evening. Many wealthy people came, on her account, from other countries, and thus *Way-tha-lee* became a rich country. A rich man of *Ya-za-gro,* having business in *Way-tha-lee,* observed its wealth and numerous inhabitants, and the seven thousand seven hundred and seven wonders, and the beauty of the courtezan who was the cause of the country's prosperity. Finishing his business, he returned, and when he went to the king *Peing-ma-tha-ya,* he said, "My lord, the king, having business I went to *Way-tha-lee,* and there saw its wealth, prosperity, etc., and also the beautiful courtezan who is skillful in singing and dancing. It is on her account that the country is so flourishing. O king, it would be well for us to have such a courtezan in *Ya-za-gro,* would it not?" The king replied, "Very well; my friend, if you can find a suitable one, find her." There was then a damsel in the country, who was very beautiful and very cunning, and the rich man raised her to the rank of a courtezan. The people of the country gave two hundred thousand, the king gave one hundred thousand, beside an enclosure of ground, with carriages, cattle, etc., and each one paid a hundred for one evening's visit. She had not long enjoyed her state, when the king's son, *Aba-ya,* visited her often, and she became pregnant. When she found herself in this state, she considered that her fame would cease, if it became known, and that her presents would cease, and that it would therefore be well to feign sickness. When she had thought thus, she called the porter, and said, "If any one comes, say that I am ill, and cannot see company." The gate-keeper obeyed. When the time arrived, she was delivered of a son. When the mother saw him, she called a female servant, and said, "Take this child, put it on a winnowing fan, wrap it up, and throw it outside the wall, where the refuse is thrown." The servant obeyed. That morning, as the young prince *Aba-ya* was going very early to the palace, he observed a great collection of crows, hovering over the place where the child was, and he called a servant to go and see what caused the gathering. The servant, when he had looked, said, "It is a child, my lord." The prince inquired if it was yet alive, and being informed that it was, ordered it to be taken to the palace, and a nurse to be provided for it. Because the prince asked if it was yet alive, they named the child *Zewa-ka,* [Life,] and because the prince provided for it, it was called *Ka-ma-ya-beet-sa.* Before the child had lived long, he discovered uncommon brilliancy of parts; and when he became old enough to play with other children, and they disputed, the children would call him the boy without father or mother. When the children had festivals, their parents would give them presents; but when no one gave to *Zewa-ka,* he considered why he had no friends, and went to the prince, and said, "My father and mother, who are they?" The prince replied, "Your mother I do not know; you are my adopted son, I am therefore your father." *Zewa-ka* afterwards thought that to live in the palace, and obtain no business, would make it difficult in after life to obtain a livelihood, and that it would be well for him to have some business. If he learned to take care of horses, or elephants, he would have to learn to oppress and beat them. "With the knowledge of medicine," he thought, "I can be a relief and comfort to others, therefore I will study medicine." This *Zewa-ka*, in a former state, one hundred thousand ages before this, on seeing a doctor administer medicine to the Boodh of that time, had a great desire, in some future state, to become doctor to a Boodh; and his desire was so great that he made offerings to the priests for seven days in succession, and prayed that he might become physician to some future Boodh. It was on account of this prayer, that he now felt impressed with a desire to study medicine.

Some merchants from *Tek-ka-tho* country were at this time on a visit to the king, and *Zewa-ka* inquired where they came from, and if there were any in their country who understood medicine; and being informed that there was a great doctor, whose fame was on the four winds, he desired to know when they were about to return. When the time came, without telling his father *Aba-ya*, he departed with the merchants to *Tek-ka-tho*. When he arrived, he went to the great doctor, and, after he had paid his respects, the teacher said, "My son, who are you?" to which he replied, "I am grandson to king *Peing-ma-tha-ya*, and son to prince *Aba-ya*." He then inquired why he had come, and was informed that he came to study medicine; when the teacher said, "If so, study." When *Zewa-ka* thus had permission to study, he applied himself diligently, and soon became master of the science of medicine. The other young men who studied, were furnished with books, etc., but he worked for the teacher a part of the time, and of course had only a part of the time for study. Notwithstanding, in consequence of his former prayer, he remembered easily, and had quick perception. What it took others sixteen years to learn, he acquired in seven months. The *The-gya* king, perceiving that *Zewa-ka* would become physician to Gaudama, thought it would be suitable for him to lend his assistance. He therefore gave him skill, so that by one application of medicine he cured all diseases which were not caused by fate. When he had been seven years with the teacher, and had learnt all about medicine, he thought thus: "I have learned medicine, and become skillful; all I have studied I remember; it is now seven years, I cannot stay the sixteen years." When he thus thought, the *The-gya* king said, "This man is well versed in the knowledge of medicine, it will be well to do something so that the teacher will dismiss him." *Zewa-ka* went to the teacher, and said, "O teacher, I have become wiser than my fellows, in the knowledge of medicine; all I have ever studied I remember; I have been now seven years studying, I think I cannot remain much longer. When will my time be completed?" The teacher, knowing it to be not on account of his skill, that he had learned so fast, but that the Nats had helped him, said, "*Zewa-ka,* do you take a spade, and go out for four successive days, the distance of twelve miles around the city, and bring me specimens of all the trees that are not medicinal." *Zewa-ka* then took his spade, and going out at each gate, searched during the four days, and not finding any tree which was not medicinal, went to his teacher, and said, "As you desired, I have searched, and have not found even one tree from which medicine may not be obtained." The teacher then said, "*Zewa-ka,* you have acquired a complete knowledge of medicine, you are now able to take care of yourself." He then gave him a little money, and dismissed him. The reason why he gave him but little money, was this: he considered, "He is of the royal family, and, if I gave him much, would soon forget it, amid the plenty at the palace; but if his money was spent on the way, and he was forced to use his skill in medicine, he would understand the favor of teaching him." *Zewa-ka* took what the teacher gave, and departed. When he arrived at *Tha-ka-ta* country, on his way back, his money was all spent, and he thought, "The road I am to travel is difficult, and without money, to provide food or drink, I cannot go." He therefore concluded to try to earn something. At that time, there was a rich man's wife who had had a disease in her head for seven years; and though she had had all the great doctors, they could not cure her. They only took off her gold and silver, without any profit to her. *Zewa-ka* inquired of the people, who were diseased, and where he could give medicine, and was informed of this woman, and advised to go to her. He therefore went, and when he arrived, desired the porter to say that a physician had come who wished to see her.

The porter told his mistress. She inquired of the porter the appearance of the stranger, and was informed that he appeared young and inexperienced. She then said to the porter, "As all the old experienced physicians have done me no good, what benefit shall I receive from a young one? None of them do any thing but carry off my gold and my silver." The porter returned and told him that, as she had had the old physicians, and they had only consumed her money, and had not relieved her at all, she thought he would not be able to help her. When *Zewa-ka* heard this, he sent the porter again to his mistress, and said that she must not give him any thing, until she was cured. The woman then said, "Very well, let him come." He was then invited in. When he had looked at her, and considered her case, he asked for a spoonful of butter, and when he had received it, mixed it with several other medicines, and caused the patient to lie upon her back, on a cot, and then to smell of the compound. When she smelled it, it went into her head, and caused her to throw up. When she vomited into a spittoon, she caused the servant to take out the butter upon some cotton. When *Zewa-ka* saw this, he thought, "This is wonderful, she must be exceedingly niggardly, indeed. She being a rich woman, for her to take this filthy butter, which is only fit to be thrown away, is strange. I have prepared an expensive medicine for her, but, judging from present appearances, I shall get nothing for it." When the patient perceived that he looked anxious, she said, "Doctor, why are you distressed? If you do me any good, and cure me, I and my family will be very grateful to you. This butter which I told the servant to take, may be useful for a lamp, or to rub upon the feet; therefore I had her save it. Do not be uneasy, I will suitably reward you for your trouble." When the medicine had been applied once, the pain in her head left her, and she was perfectly cured. She then gave him a present of four thousand, and her son gave four thousand. Her daughter-in-law gave four thousand, and the husband gave four thousand. The latter also gave him male and female servants, horses, and chariots. Then *Zewa-ka* took his sixteen thousand, his male and female servants, etc., and proceeded to *Ya-za-gro,* into the presence of prince *Aba-ya.* When he came before the prince, he said, "My lord, this sixteen thousand, with the servants, etc., are my first earnings in the practice of medicine; please to accept them." The prince replied, "You are my son, they are your property; let them be brought into the palace." *Zewa-ka* replied, "Very well, my lord," and all were brought into the palace.

The king, *Aba-ya's* father, was troubled with the piles, and he called his son, and said,* "My beloved son, my disease is such that the queens and concubines laugh at me, and I am so ashamed that I have no place to hide my head in. Do try to find a physician who can help me." *Aba-ya* replied, "O king, our *Zewa-ka* is very skillful, though young; let him try;" and the king consented. The prince then called *Zewa-ka* to cure the king, who, taking some medicine in his hand, went into the presence of the king. When he had considered the king's disease, he applied some medicine once, and he was cured. When the king was perfectly restored, he had his five hundred concubines called together, and said to *Zewa-ka,* "The ornaments of these ladies are yours." *Zewa-ka* then considered, "If I refuse to take these, then I shall be often called to the palace, and become the king's physician." Prince *Aba-ya* thought that, if he should accept the offer, they would all be angry. *Zewa-ka* said, "This property belongs to my grandmothers, it will not be suitable for me to receive it. Let the king only remember my favor, that will be sufficient." Then the king was very much pleased with him, and gave him a house well furnished, with a Mango-garden, and a village worth one hundred thousand a year, beside many other presents. He then said to *Zewa-ka,* "Hereafter, do you be physician to myself, to my concubines, and to the priests;" to which he assented.

In that country, there was a rich man who had had a disease in his head for seven years, and had spent much money upon physicians to no purpose. They had given him over; some said he would die in five days, others that he would die in seven days. A friend of his thought thus: "My favors to the king and his subjects have been many; now, that the doctors say my friend must die, in five or seven days,

---

* Literally: The king, *Aba-ya's* father, was troubled with bloody piles, and his clothes were often marked with blood. His queens and concubines, laughing about it, said, "He is a woman, and will soon be having children." When they thus made sport of him, he was much ashamed, called his son, etc.

—the king's physician, *Zewa-ka,* though young, is said to be very skillful—it will be well to petition the king to let *Zewa-ka* come and cure him." When he thus reasoned, he went to the king, and said, "O king, my friend has done much for the country and kingdom, he is now very ill, the doctors say he must die in five or seven days; will the king do the great favor to send *Zewa-ka* to give him medicine?" The king called *Zewa-ka*, and said, "Go." When *Zewa-ka* arrived, and considered the disease, he said, "What will you give me, if I can cure you?" The sick man replied, "Let all my property be yours, and I will become your servant." *Zewa-ka* then asked him, if he could lie on one side for seven months, and he said that he could. He then wished to know, if he could lie on his back for seven months, and he said that he could. *Zewa-ka* then caused him to be tied to a cot; when he opened his head, and took out from within his skull two worms, and said, "My friends, look, here are two worms, one large, and one small." The doctors who had said he would die in five days, when they saw the large worm, said, "In five days, this worm would have eaten into the brain, and he must have died;" and others said that the small worm would have killed him in seven days. *Zewa-ka* then closed the wound, and put on medicine. After he had lain on his side seven days, the patient said, "Doctor, I cannot lie in this way for seven months." He replied, "You agreed to do so, did you not?" "I did, truly;" said the man, "but, if I must lie so long, I shall surely die." *Zewa-ka* said, "Then lie on both sides for seven months." When seven days more had elapsed, he said, "Doctor, I cannot lie on both sides for seven months," and the doctor replied as before, adding, "Then lie on your back for seven months." When seven days more were passed, he said, "Doctor, I cannot lie thus for seven months, I shall die." *Zewa-ka* then said, "You need not. I knew you would be well in thrice seven days, now get up, you are well; and give me my wages. You need not give me all you have within doors and out, neither do I wish you for a servant; just give the king one hundred thousand, and me one hundred thousand." It was so done.

One of the sons of a rich man, in the country of *Ba-ra-na-thee,* standing on his head at play, had injured his bowels, so that he could not digest his food, not even rice-water. He became very thin, and his countenance very bad. The father then thought, "It will be well for me to go to *Ya-za-gro*, and petition the king for *Zewa-ka*." When he made his request, the king called *Zewa-ka*, and said, "Do you go to *Ba-ra-na-thee*, and cure this man's son." When he arrived, he considered the symptoms, and then caused a screen to be made, and the patient to be tied to a post; when, in the presence of the man's wife, he opened his belly, took out his bowels, and showing them, said, "Look at your husband's disease; on account of these knots, he cannot digest his food, and nothing passes him." When he had straightened them, he put them back, closed the opening, and applied medicine. In a short time, the man was in perfect health; upon which he gave sixteen thousand to the doctor, who then returned to the palace.

The king of *Oke-za-ne* country, being sick, and having many physicians who did him no good, but only took off his gold and silver, sent a message to king *Peing-ma-tha-ya*, with a request that he would send *Zewa-ka* to his aid. When the king heard the message, he sent *Zewa-ka* to cure him. When the doctor examined the king, he said, "O king, I shall have to prepare a medicine with butter in it, can you take it?" The king replied, "I have a great aversion to butter; if you can cure without it, do so." As the king had been poisoned by a scorpion, and butter will cure of that poison, he desired the patient to take it. When the doctor heard the king's dislike to butter, he thought, "I must so prepare a medicine that the king will not know butter to be in it, but it shall have the taste and smell of the juice of flowers. However, when the king has taken the medicine, the wind will rise from his stomach, and he will taste the butter, and being very passionate, will be very angry. I must prepare for my escape, or he will kill me." The doctor then went to the king, and said, "We doctors have very often to go out and dig medicine; therefore, be pleased to give an order that I may have a horse, or an elephant, and the gates opened, at any time I wish." The king then called his horse-keepers, and elephant-keepers, and gate-keepers, and ordered that whatever the doctor wished, they should do. This king had an elephant named *Ba-tha-wa-tee*, which could travel six hundred miles in a day. He had another named *Anara-gee-ree,* which could travel twelve hundred miles. He had two horses, one named *Sala-kau-na,* the other, *Maung-za-ka-thee,* which could travel fourteen hundred and forty miles in a day. He had a man servant named *Ka-kat,* who could travel seven hundred and twenty miles in a day. When this king, in a former state, before Gaudama came, had prepared rice for an offering, one day, a semi-Boodh came along, and stopped at the door. When some one said, "A semi-Boodh is at the door," he said; "Go quickly and bring his rice-pot," and the servant went as he was ordered, and brought it; and the king gave his own rice, etc., and ordered it to be presented to the semi-Boodh. As the servant carried the rice-pot, the king followed him, and said to the semi-Boodh, "O priest, on account of this offering, I desire to be complete in horses and elephants, in all my future states." The horses and elephants which we have just spoken of were in answer to this prayer. When *Zewa-ka* had prepared his medicine, he came to the king, and said, "My lord, be pleased to drink this flower-juice." When the king had drank the medicine, the doctor went to the stable, and called for the elephant *Ba-tha-wa-tee,* and mounted her, and left the city. When the king had taken the medicine, and the wind rose from his stomach, he perceived that he had been taking butter. He immediately called his servants, and said, "That vile doctor has been giving me butter, call him." They said, "O king, he has fled from the city on the elephant *Ba-tha-wa-tee.*" He then called his servant *Ka-kat,* who could travel seven hundred and twenty miles in a day, and said, "Go after him. He is full of cunning and deceit; therefore, if he asks you to eat or drink, do not receive it." He followed, and overtook him as he was at his breakfast, and said to him, "I have come for the doctor *Zewa-ka,* return into the presence of the king." *Zewa-ka* replied, "Wait a little, I have not done eating. Will you also have something to eat?" *Ka-kat* replied, "I have no desire to eat, and, more than that, the king told me, if you should offer me any thing, not to take it." *Zewa-ka* then took a She-sha fruit, and some medicine disguised, in his hand; and having divided the fruit, and eaten a part, he said, "It will do you no harm to eat a piece of She-sha, if you do not eat rice." *Ka-kat* thought, "Well, he has himself eaten a part, it cannot do me any harm," and he took it, and eat and drank as he had seen the doctor do. As soon as he had eaten, he was seized with a violent purging, became very much frightened, and said, "Doctor, shall I live?" The doctor replied, "Friend *Ka-kat,* be not afraid, you will soon be well. Your king is exceedingly quick-tempered, therefore I will not go back. If I should return, I know he would injure me, if not kill me; therefore, take the elephant and return." Thus he sent *Ka-kat* and the elephant back. When *Zewa-kä* returned to *Ya-za-gro,* he related to the king the circumstances of his patient, and how he had left him. The king replied, "It is very well you did not return, he is very passionate, and would have injured, if not killed, you." When the sick king had recovered, he sent to the doctor, saying, "Come, and I will make you a suitable recompense for what you have done for me." The doctor returned word, that he only wished the king to remember the favor, but should not go to him. After this, the king sent the doctor two pasōs, of much value. When the doctor received them, he thought, "These pasōs are only suitable, the one for my king, and the other for the most excellent Gaudama."

At that time, Gaudama was troubled with constipation, and called *Anan-da,* and said, "I am not well, I want some medicine." *Anan-da* replied, "Very well, my lord," and having shekoed three times, went to *Zewa-ka,* and said, "Doctor, the most excellent Gaudama is unwell, and desires some medicine which will be suitable for him." The doctor said, "Let him take a little oil for two or three days, and after that, diet for a short time." *Anan-da* returned, and having given the oil for a few days, went again to the doctor, and said, "Gaudama has taken the oil, as you directed, but I wish you to do something more. As he took the oil, the Nats mixed their food with his rice; though he is much relieved, he is not well; do more for him." The doctor then prepared a compound in three portions, and carried it himself, and said, "O Boodh of great glory, take one of these lilies in which is medicine, and smell it. When you smell it, you will have ten motions; then smell another, and you will experience the same; and so of the third." Then the doctor, wheeling to the right around Gaudama, departed. As he was going out at the door, he thought, "I have given Gaudama medicine for thirty motions, but he will have only twenty-nine, and then desire to bathe, after which he will have the other." Gaudama, knowing the thoughts of the doctor, when he had been moved twenty-nine times, called *Anan-da,* and said, "My son, when the doctor was at the door, he thought, 'Gaudama will desire to bathe,' etc.; now prepare some hot water." *Anan-da* assented, and ordered the hot water. Soon after, Gaudama was restored to perfect health, and the people prepared to make him offerings. The doctor then went to Gaudama, and said, "The people have prepared, and desire to make offerings; please to come into the city." *Mauk-a-lan* considered, "Where shall I to-day be likely to obtain rice suitable for Gaudama to eat?" and recollected that the son of *Thau-na*, a rich man, had a field which was only watered with milk; he thought he would go there for rice, and he went. When the young man saw him, he took his rice-pot and filled it with excellent food. After *Mauk-a-lan* had received the rice, he was about to return, when the young man desired him to eat, and he replied, "I came for food for Gaudama." On hearing this, he pressed him to eat, and said he would give more for Gaudama. When *Mauk-a-lan* had done eating, he took up his rice-pot, and had it washed and scoured with fragrant dust, and filled with rice, and carried it to Gaudama. The king also had that day thought, "What rice will be suitable for Gaudama to eat?" He went to the monastery, and when he saw the fragrant food before Gaudama, had a desire to eat some of it. Gaudama, knowing the king's mind, caused a small portion to be given to him. When the king had eaten, he inquired if it did not come from the North island. Gaudama said, "No, it grew in your own kingdom, it is the rice of *Thau-na's* son." When the king heard this, he had a great desire to see him, and had him called, and eighty thousand of his relatives. When they came into the presence of Gaudama, and heard the law, they all became *Thau-ta-pôns*, and the son became a priest, and attained the state of *Ar-ă-hat-ta-poh.* On account of Gaudama's seeing the advantage that would come to the young man, he gave the king the rice. When Gaudama had done eating, the doctor approached him with the pasōs, and prostrating himself, said, "O Boodh, I have a favor to ask." Gaudama desired to know whether it was a lawful one, and the doctor replied that it was lawful. Gaudama then said, "If so, make your request." The doctor then said, "O Boodh, the priests are accustomed to receive cloths of no value. I have two pasōs given me by a king, they are the most valuable out of one hundred thousand; I desire that you will receive these pasōs, and also give permission for the common people to give cloths to the priests." Gaudama accepted of the pasōs, and preached the law to him, after which the doctor became a *Thau-ta-pon*. He then shekoed, going to the right around him, and departed. After the doctor had gone, Gaudama called his priests together, and said, "I give permission for you to receive cloths from any of the people who desire to give; if any one desires still to wear the sack-cloth, let him wear it, but if any wish better cloth, let them receive it. O priests, I praise you for having been contented with poor clothing." Thus, permission was given to change the sack-cloth dress for better clothing. When the people of *Ya-za-gro* heard that Gaudama had given this permission, they were exceedingly joyful, and said, "Now we shall have an opportunity to get some merit;" and in one day, in the city of *Ya-za-gro* alone, more than one hundred thousand cloths were offered. When the people in the villages heard of it, they were very joyful, and made as many offerings of priest-cloths.

The most excellent Boodh spent his first Lent in *Ma-ga-da-woon* grove, in *Ba-ra-na-thee* country. The second, third, and fourth, in *Ya-za-gro*, in *Wa-la-woon* grove. The fifth in *Way-tha-lee* country, in *Ku-ta-gala* grove. The sixth he spent on *Ma-ku-la* mountain.

In that year, a rich man from *Ya-za-gro*, with his attendants, went to a river to bathe. While bathing, he saw a very valuable piece of sandal-wood floating on the river; and having taken it from the water, he had a priest's rice-pot made of it, which he then put into a sling, and suspended on the top of a bamboo sixty cubits high, and said, "Let a *Rahanda* come through the air, and take this rice-pot; and whoever does so, him I and my family will worship." This he wrote upon the rice-pot. There were then some heretics, called *Sa-that-tara*, who said, "This pot is suitable for us, give it to us." He replied, "If by flying up you can get it, take it." Six days after this, *Na-ta-poke-ta* said to his disciples, "Do you go to the rich man and say, 'This rice-pot is very suitable for our teacher, but it is too small a thing for him to take the trouble to fly for.'"

They went and said as directed, but the man replied, "If he can get it by flying, let him take it." They returned, and told what he said. He then, having a desire to go himself, thus contrived with his disciples. He told them that he would go, and, when he raised one foot and one hand, as if he were going to fly, they must seize hold of him, and say, "The wooden rice-pot is not a thing worthy of one who is an *Ar-a-hat-ta,* don't fly," and then pulling him by the feet and hands, bring him to the ground. Having thus given them the hint, he went to the house of the rich man, and said, "O friend, this pot is suitable for me, not for another; yet do not desire me to fly for it, but give it at once." The man replied, "If you can get it by flying, you shall have it." *Na-ta-poke-ta* then cried, "Out of my way, out of my way," and started forward, with one foot and one hand raised, as if going to fly; when his disciples immediately seized hold of him, and said, "Teacher, you are going to display the power of an *Ar-a-hat-ta* for only this wooden rice-pot, do not do it;" and pulling him by the hands and feet, they brought him to the ground. He then said to the rich man, "You see my disciples will not let me go; come, give me the rice-pot." But he replied, "No, if you can fly and take it, you shall have it." In this way, for six days, the heretics tried to get it, but did not succeed. On the seventh day, as *Mauk-a-lan* and another were going into *Ya-za-gro* to receive rice, they stopped on a large stone, to adjust their clothes a little. While doing this, they overheard some drunkards saying, "A rich man has erected on a pole sixty cubits high a sandal-wood rice-pot, and given out word that, whoever will come through the air and take it, he and his family will worship him. Six days have now passed, and no one has got it; the heretics have been trying, but have not succeeded; we shall now know whether there are any *Rahandas,* in the world, able to fly, or not." When *Mauk-a-lan* and his companion heard this, *Mauk-a-lan* said, "By this language the religion of Gaudama is defamed; now you have great power, go and take the pot." His companion replied, "No, you have greater power, do you take it; but if you do not, I will." *Mauk-a-lan* said, "Do you take it." He then, entering into the fourth *Zan,* took up the stone on which they were standing, which was nine miles in size, between his toes, as if it had been a bit of cotton, and threw it into the air; and as it went forward, darkening the country, some of the people covered their heads with their rice-baskets, sieves, or whatever came to hand, terribly frightened, expecting to be crushed. When the rock had been held over the country seven days, he divided it, and showed himself to the people. When the people saw him, they said, "Friend, hold fast the rock, and do not let us be destroyed by it." He then gave it a kick with his great toe, and away it rolled to the place from whence he had taken it, while he staid in the air, over the house of the rich man. When the rich man saw him, he said, "O priest, please to come down," and he came down, and seated himself in a suitable place; whereupon the rich man took down the rice-pot, and having filled it with butter, oil, honey, etc., presented it. He received the rice-pot, and straightway returned to the monastery. At that time, the priests who lived in the remote villages and jungles, not seeing the wonderful flight of this priest, assembled together, and begged that he would show them a sign, and followed him to the monastery. As they approached the place, Gaudama heard them calling out, and inquired of *Anan-da*, what the noise was about, who replied, "Most excellent Boodh, *Peing-dala* has taken the rice-pot; it is on that account." Gaudama then called *Peing-dala*, and asked if it was true. He said, "Most glorious Boodh, it is true." Gaudama inquired, "Why did you do it?" and then reprimanded him, broke up the rice-pot, and giving it to the priests for perfumery, said, "Be careful you do not make any more display of your power." When the heretics heard that Gaudama had thus ordered, they were very much pleased, and said, "Now we have got a licence; they will die sooner than break the command," and they went about the country, preaching, "We would not display our power upon the wooden rice-pot; but they have, and made themselves ridiculous in the eyes of all. Priest Gaudama, being cunning, has broken the rice-pot in pieces, and told them not to display their power any more." When the king heard this, he went to Gaudama, and said, "Most excellent Boodh, is it true that you have ordered that your disciples shall not make any display of their power?" and he replied, "King, it is true." The king then said, "The heretics now say that they will rival Gaudama, what will you do about it?" Gaudama said, "If the heretics wish to display their power, let them do it." "But," said the king, "you have ordered your disciples not to manifest their power in return." "Yes," said Gaudama, "but I have not told myself not to do so, and it is only for their good that I prohibited them." The king then said, "O Boodh, setting aside yourself, is it well to give such a command?" Gaudama replied, "King, I will ask you a question. You are a king, have you a garden in your kingdom?" The king replied, "O Gaudama, I have." Gaudama said, "Suppose people should go in and eat the Mangos, and other fruit, what would you do to them?" The king said, "I would have them punished." Gaudama then said, "If so, would it be right for you to eat the fruit yourself?" "Certainly," said the king, "what is my own, I have a right to eat." Gaudama replied, "Well, king, as you, who reign over thirty-six hundred miles, think it lawful for you to eat the fruit of the garden, but that it would not be for another, so for me, Gaudama, who reign over one hundred thousand million systems, though I should do what is forbidden to another, it would be right. I will myself show signs." When the heretics heard this, they said, "Priest Gaudama is now going to destroy us. It appears that his commands were only for the priests, he desires to show power only in his own person;" and they consulted together what was to be done. The king inquired of Gaudama, on what day he would display his power, and was informed that it would be in four months, on the full moon of July; and when he inquired in what place, he was told, "In *Tha-wut-tee* country." The reason why he named so distant a place, was that this was the country in which all the Boodhs had made the most excellent displays of their power. When the heretics heard this, they said, "In four months, Gaudama is going to display his power in *Tha-wut-tee* country; now, let us follow him whereever he goes, and when the people see us following him, they will inquire the cause of it, and we will tell them that we are going to contend with priest Gaudama; and when he hears this, he will run away, and as he runs we will follow after him."

After this, when Gaudama went into the city to receive rice, they followed him; and when he stopped to eat rice, they stopped. This happened in the morning. When the people asked why the heretics followed Gaudama, they answered as they had proposed to do. The people desired to see the great signs that were to be displayed, and followed. In the course of time, Gaudama arrived in *Tha-wut-tee*, and the heretics followed wherever he went. They exhorted the people to provide a shed worth one hundred thousand, for them to display themselves in, the posts to be of the *Sha* tree. This shed was built, and adorned with flowers, and they said that they would there display themselves. At that time, king *Kau-tha-la* went to Gaudama, and said, "O Boodh of great glory, the heretics have built themselves a great shed, now we will build one for you." Gaudama replied, "There is no necessity for building me one, I have some one who can provide for me." The king then said, "O Gaudama, if I cannot do it, who can?" Gaudama replied, "O king, the *The-gya* king can do it." The king then desired to know where he would display his power, and was told, "At the foot of the white Mango tree." When the heretics heard this, they told their attendants; and for twelve miles around, they caused all the Mango trees to be cut down, thus destroying the Mango trees.

On the full moon of July, Gaudama entered *Tha-wut-tee*. At that time, the king's gardener had discovered a very large ripe Mango in a white ant's nest; and when he saw it, he thought it a very desirable fruit, and made haste to present it to the king; on the way, he met Gaudama, and thought, "If I give it to the king, he will give me, perhaps, eight, or sixteen, [rupees,] and with that I can only feed this body for a short time; but if I give it to Gaudama, I shall receive benefit forever, as I go from one state to another." Having thus considered, he offered it to Gaudama. When he made the offering, Gaudama looked at *Anan-da,* who took out the stone rice-pot presented by the four *Za-duma-ha-reet* Nat kings, and having placed it in the hands of Gaudama, received the Mango, and made a sign for them to halt in that place. *Anan-da* spread a cloth for him to sit upon, and when he had seated himself, and *Anan-da* had mellowed and prepared the Mango, the latter presented it to Gaudama. When he had eaten the Mango, he said to the gardener, "Prepare the ground in this place, and plant the Mango-stone;" and he did so. When it was planted, Gaudama washed his hands over it. As soon as he had done washing his hands, a tree sprung up, as large as a plough-handle, and fifty cubits high. It put forth one branch to each of the four points of the compass, and another went straight upward, and each of these branches was fifty cubits in length. The limbs were immediately covered with blossoms and fruit. The priests who followed him gathered of the ripe fruit, and having eaten went their way. When king *Kau-tha-la* heard of this extraordinary tree, he ordered a guard to watch it, that it might not be destroyed. Because the gardener's name was *Gan-dappa*, the tree was named after him. When the drunkards came along, and ate of the fruit, they said, "O you vile heretics, when you heard that priest Gaudama was going to make a display at the foot of the white Mango tree, you had all the trees within twelve miles destroyed; as to this tree, it is no other than the *Gan-dappa* Mango." Thus saying, they threw about the stones of the fruit. Then the *The-gya* king sent the Nat of the winds, saying, "Cause the wind to upset the shed of the heretics, and utterly destroy it;" and he did as he was ordered. He then called to the Nat of the sun, to pour down all his heat upon them, which he did. He then called to the Nat of the winds, to cause a whirlwind around them. The heretics, having perspired much from the heat, were covered with the dust brought by the wind, which made them look like red baskets. He then called to the Nat of rain, to send a shower upon them, and they resembled muddy cattle. When the heretics came to this, they were greatly ashamed, and fled in every direction. As they were fleeing, one of the ploughmen of a heretic said, "Now I shall see my lord's power;" and unyoking the cattle, and taking his rice-pot, yoke, and harness, he went where his teachers were, and saw his master covered with shame; he said, "My lord, I have come in haste to see your power, to what place are you going?" The priest replied, "What profit will there be in my showing you a sign? give me that rice-pot and rope;" and taking them from the ploughman's hand, he went to the river. Tying the rope around the pot, and then to his own neck, he plunged into the river, and there rose and sunk with the waves, until he died and went down to hell.

Gaudama created a walk in the air, one end of which reached the eastern, and the other the western, end of the world. When he had collected an assembly four hundred and thirty-two miles square, he came out of his monastery, at noon, and said, "This is the time when I shall display my power." At that time, one of his female disciples, named *Gara-me,* approached him, and said, "O Boodh, it is not suitable that the lord should fatigue himself in showing his power, I will show my skill;" and he said, "My daughter, what will you do?" She replied, "My lord, I will fill a world with water, and then, like a young duck, I will dive in at the Western extremity and come up at the Eastern; and then diving again, will make my appearance at the Western; then I will dive in at the South and come up at the North; then dive in at the North and come up at the South. When inquiry is made, 'Who is this duck?' some will say, 'It is no other than Gaudama's daughter *Gara-me;*' and all will say, 'If one of Gaudama's female disciples can show such power, what must be his power?' Thus the heretics will take fright, and run away." Gaudama replied, "I know you can do this; but it was not on your account, that I had this multitude called together," and thus refused her. She then thought, "As Gaudama will not let me do it, there is some one who has more power than I, whom he will permit," and she returned to her seat. Then Gaudama, considering that there were many of the assembly who would come forward, as bold as lions, and offer to display their power, said, "What will the rest of you do? What sign will any one show?" Then many came forward with lion-hearts, and bold loud voice, petitioning him. Among them was a rich man, who said, "It is not suitable that you should trouble yourself, I will make a display." Gaudama inquired, "What will you do?" He said, "I will assume the appearance of the Brahman king, whose body is one hundred and forty-four miles in size, and, in the midst of this assembly, I will clap my hands, which noise will be like an exceedingly violent rain; and when the people inquire, 'What is this noise?' some will say that it is only the noise of *Anata-peing* clapping his hands. Then the heretics will say, 'If the power of one rich man be so great, what must be that of the Boodh?' and being afraid, will flee." Gaudama said, "I know you are able to do this," but refused him, as he did the other. Then a young girl, of only seven years, came, shekoed, and said, "I will display my power." Gaudama inquired, "My daughter *Saree,* what will you do?" She replied, "O Boodh, I will bring *Meyn-mo* mountain, the *Sik-yawala* mountain, and *He-ma-woon-ta* mountain, and having placed them in a row before Gaudama and the people, I will fly around and over them like a wild duck, without alighting; and when the people inquire, 'Who is this?' some will answer, 'The child *Saree;*' and the heretics will then think, 'If this child of seven years can do this, what must be the power of Gaudama?' and all enemies will flee." Gaudama replied, "*Saree,* I know you can do this," yet he gave no permission. Then a lad of seven years approached, shekoing, and said, "O Boodh, I will show a sign." When asked what he would do, he said, "O Boodh, I will take the *Sa-bu-tha-bya* tree, which is suitable for a flag-staff, and placing it on my shoulder, will shake it, and cause the fruit to fall for the assembly; and then I will bring flowers from Nat country." Gaudama said, "I know you can do this," but refused. Then a female disciple came, and said, "I will show a sign;" and when asked, "What sign?" she said, "O Boodh, I will become *Sekya* king, surrounded by a company one hundred and forty-four miles, and, with my attendants and those now assembled, will come and sheko to you." He said, "Daughter, I know your power;" but still refused. Then *Mauk-a-lan* came, and said, "O great Boodh, I will make a display." Gaudama replied, "My beloved son, what will you do?" He said, "O Boodh, I will take *Meyn-mo* mountain between my teeth, and chew it as fine as mustard-seed; then I will roll up the earth like a mat, and hold it between my fingers." Gaudama said, "My son, and what else will you do?" He said, "I will make the earth turn like a potter's wheel, and the inhabitants to eat the dust thereof." "And what else?" "I will make my left hand as if it were the earth, and with my right hand I will take all the people, and place them on my left, as if it were *Za-bu-deik* island." "And what else?" "O Boodh, *Meyn-mo* mountain shall be the handle, and the earth the cover like an umbrella, and I will become a priest, and walk to and fro with it over my head." Gaudama then said, "I know, my son, you can do all this," yet he gave no permission. *Mauk-a-lan,* supposing that Gaudama knew some one who had more power than he possessed, sat down. Gaudama then said, "My son *Mauk-a-lan,* I did not have this great assembly, of four hundred and thirty-two miles square, convened for your profit. This display of power is only for Boodhs. It is my business to make the display, not that there are no others who can do so. In former states, even when I was an animal, others could not do my work for me." *Mauk-a-lan* inquired what time he referred to, and he said, "At such a time and place, bearing a very heavy burden, I came to a deep pit, and what other bullocks could not do, I was harnessed to, and did."

Gaudama then ascended into his walk in the air, and looked down upon his assembly, four hundred and thirty-two miles on each side of him, and in the midst he displayed himself. The signs which he showed were in the following order, and they were displays of wisdom with which his followers had nothing to do. First, he caused a great fire to ascend from his head, and a stream of water from his feet; he then mixed the fire and water above and below him. Then he sent forth fire from his back, and water before him; then a flame of fire from his right eye, and water from his left; then the reverse; then fire from his right ear, and water from his left; then the reverse; then fire from his right nostril, and water from the left, and the reverse; and in the same manner, fire and water from his shoulders, hands, sides, legs, feet, thumbs, and great toes, all marvellous to behold. Then flowed, from one hair water, and from another, fire. He then sent forth his six glories, and walked to and fro in the air. At that time, there was the appearance of a former Boodh, who seemed to be standing, sitting, or lying down, as best pleased him, with Gaudama. These are the displays of the Boodh; and there was no mingling of the fire and water, therein, each went forth separate. The flame and the water ascended as high as the Brahman country, and went, on each side, to the end of the world. The six glories made him appear like pure gold, just poured from the crucible, and the glories extended as far as did the fire and water.

While Gaudama was displaying these wonders, he preached to the people at intervals, wholly to their comfort. Then all the people blessed him. When he looked upon the great multitude, he knew all their minds, and preached as he conceived suitable for each one. When he had thus preached, and shown his power to the people, they all obtained the law of righteousness. Not seeing any one in the multitude who could ask him questions, he caused the appearance of a former Boodh; and when he asked questions, the apparent Boodh would answer. When the appearance walked, Gaudama laid down, and the reverse. When Gaudama had thus displayed himself, he stood and considered where the former Boodhs had spent their first Lents, after making a display of their glories, and he discovered that it had been in *Ta-wa-deing-tha* Nat country, in preaching the law to their mothers. He then raised his right foot, and placed it upon the top of *U-gan-du* mountain, and his left he placed upon *Meyn-mo* mountain, and then at two steps he ascended one hundred and sixty-eight thousand miles. It is not proper to suppose that he made any effort to step forward, when he raised his foot; the top of the mountain came to receive it. Thus, as he stepped, the mountains moved to receive him, and he went to Nat country. When the *The-gya* king saw him, he thought, "The Boodh is going to spend his Lent upon the *Kam-ba-la* stone, it will be a great blessing to many Nats. While he is spending his Lent in our country, there will not be room for even a Nat to place his hand. This *Kam-ba-la* stone, which is seven hundred and twenty miles long, six hundred wide, and one hundred and eighty in thickness, will be as nothing." Gaudama, knowing the mind of the Nat king, spread his outer garment upon the stone, and it covered it all over. The *The-gya* then thought, "He has covered it all over with his outer garment, and it will be a small place for the Boodh." Gaudama, knowing this thought, contracted the stone, so that the cloth was like a large sheet upon a small bed, and then sat down upon it.

At that time, when the people looked for Gaudama, they could not see him; he was like the sun in an eclipse. As the people could not see him, they cried and wailed greatly. They said one to another, "O friends, has Gaudama gone to the top of *Seik-ta-koke* mountain? or has he gone to the top of *Kata-tha-ba* mountain? or to the top of *U-gan-du* mountain? The most excellent Gaudama, who is above men, Nats, and Brâhmans, we cannot see;" and then the whole assembly broke forth into loud wailing and lamentation. Some cried, "Gaudama has gone to a quiet place to enjoy himself;" others said, "Since he has displayed his wonders to the multitude, he has retired from their applause to some other country; and shall we see him any more?" others said, "The most excellent Gaudama, who is above all, has gone to enjoy himself in some retired place, and we cannot see him;" and then they greatly wailed again. Many then asked, "O *Mauk-a-lan*, where has the most excellent Gaudama gone?" He, knowing, but wishing to honor another, said, "Ask the Sage *Anu-yoke-da;*" who replied, "You inquire where the great Gaudama has gone, he has gone to *Ta-wa-deing-tha* Nat country, to spend the Lent in preaching the law to his mother." Then they inquired how long it would be before he would return, and were answered, "After he has preached the law for three months, on the full moon of October, he will appear again." Then the people said, "We will not return home without seeing him." They then erected temporary residences, and remained in *Tha-wut-tee.* The sky was their covering, and the earth their floor. None found fault with others, when they came in contact; and though much crowded, they put up with it. The ground was clean. Before Gaudama had left, he said to *Mauk-a-lan,* "Remain behind and preach to the people; you will be fed, and the assembly." So, every morning through Lent, they were furnished with rice, betel-nuts and perfumery; and *Mauk-a-lan* preached the law. Vast multitudes who had heard of the display of Gaudama, came from other countries, to see and hear, and he answered all their inquiries.

While Gaudama was preaching to his mother, on the *Kam-ba-la* stone, he was attended by all the Nats of the ten thousand systems. His glory was such that the shining of the Nats was not seen; and while he was thus eclipsing their glory, his mother, now a male Nat named *Enda-ka,* came from *Toke-the-ta* Nat country, and took her seat at his right hand. *Engura,* the son of a Nat, took his seat at his left hand. This Nat, *Engura,* when the powerful Nats came, had to take his place one hundred and forty-four miles in the rear of them; but *Enda-ka* retained his place at the right hand. When Gaudama looked on these two Nats, he had a desire that they might know the great advantage of giving to a person worthy to receive; he said, "*Engura,* during your long life of one hundred thousand years, placing the stones for cooking rice one hundred and forty-four miles apart, you placed your rice-pot upon them, cooked rice, and made a great offering, did you not? And because of this, you now obtain the privilege of being within one hundred and forty-four miles of my person. Why is it thus?" When he made this inquiry, his voice penetrated the whole of the systems, and all who were in them heard him. *Engura* answered, "O Boodh, though I made so great an offering, I did not give it to one who was worthy to receive it. He was like a heathen, therefore my merit was small." When he had thus answered, Gaudama inquired of *Enda-ka*, why he remained at his right hand, without moving further off. He answered, "O Boodh, like a good husbandman, who sows a little seed in good ground, and reaps abundantly, I made a small offering to the priests *Tha-la-wun* and *Gu-na-wun,* who were worthy priests; therefore my profit is great." As to *Enda-ka,* in a former state, when he lived in a small village, he met a priest named *Anu-yoke-da,* to whom he gave a handful of rice which he had prepared for himself, and though *Engura* had, for his whole life long, given his great offering, *Enda-ka* had much the greatest merit. Gaudama then said to *Engura,* "As to making offerings, it is well to select a good subject, on whom the benevolence shall fall, otherwise the reward is lost. In the field, it is well to destroy the weeds; among men, it is well to destroy passion; those priests who are free from passion, are those to whom it is most suitable to make offerings. Those who give to priests who are free from anger, ignorance, and worldly mindedness, will have the greatest reward. When he had ended this instruction, *Engura* and *Enda-ka* became *Thau-ta-pons,* and the preaching was of great profit to all the people of Nat country. After this, while in Nat country, having reference to his mother's former state, he preached the law of merit and demerit, and some others. When he had preached for the three months, without cessation, he went out to receive food, and created the form of a former Boodh, and said to it, "Continue preaching until I return." Gaudama then went to *He-ma-woon* grove; and having eaten a bud of the tree *Na-ga-la-ta,* he went to *Ana-wa-dat* lake, and washed his face, and then to the Northern island, where he obtained his rice, after which he went to the En-gyen grove to eat it. *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* went where Gaudama was, and waited upon him. When Gaudama had done eating, he said, "My son *Tha-re-poke-*

ta-ra, I have made so much progress, to-day, in preaching the *A-be-da-ma,* do you now go and preach to the five hundred *An-ta-wa-the-ka* priests." As to these five hundred priests, when Gaudama made a display of the fire and water, they were present, and were much pleased with him; therefore he sent to have the law preached to them, knowing that they were pleased, and would become his priests. When he had thus directed, he returned to Nat country, and commencing where his substitute left off, went on preaching the *A-be-da-ma.*

Tha-re-poke-ta-ra went and preached to the five hundred priests, and, while Gaudama was absent, they learned the seven books of the *A-be-da-ma.* These five hundred priests, in the time of the Boodh *Kat-tha-ba,* were bats, and hung about the sides of a cave; and as the priests were constantly walking to and fro in the cave, repeating the *A-be-da-ma,* they caught some of the sounds, and repeated them one to another; in consequence of the merit thus gained, when they changed states, they became Nats in *Ta-wa-deing-tha.* These bat-Nats enjoyed the happiness of the Nat state, during the time of two Boodhs, and then were born of good families in *Tha-wut-tee,* and were present when Gaudama displayed his power. When they now heard the law, they understood it much sooner than others had done. Thus, for three months, Gaudama preached the law, and eighty million Nats received the law of annihilation. The Nat who had been his mother, attained the state of a *Thau-ta-pon.*

The company who had been left on earth, and who were waiting Gaudama's return, thinking that in seven days Lent would be over, went to *Mauk-a-lan,* and said, "It is proper that we should know the day when Gaudama will return, we shall not return without seeing him." When *Mauk-a-lan* heard this, he replied, "Very well, let me dive through the earth, and, coming out at the foot of *Meyn-mo* mountain, ascend to Nat country, visible to all the people." As he said, so it was; and as a thread is seen through a precious stone, so was he visible to all the great multitude. As the people looked on, they said, "See, he has ascended one *Yuzana;*[*] two Yuzanas, etc.; he has arrived in the first Nat country, the second Nat country," etc. When he reached the presence of Gaudama, and shekoed, he said, "Most glorious Gaudama, the multitude who are assembled in *Tha-wut-tee* will not disperse until they have again worshipped the Boodh. I come to make known their desire, and to know the time of your return." Gaudama replied, "My son, where has your brother *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* spent the Lent?" and he answered, "O Boodh, he spends the Lent in *Then-ga-tha-na-go* country." Gaudama then said, "My son, in seven days from this, on the full moon of October, I shall descend at the gate of *Then-ga-tha-na-go.* Whoever have a desire to see me, let them assemble at that place. It is only three hundred and sixty miles from *Tha-wut-tee,* and there is no necessity for the people to take rice for the journey, but let them go fasting, as on a worship-day; go and tell this to the people." *Mauk-a-lan* then descended *Meyn-mo* mountain, and informed the people. Gaudama then told the *The-gya* king that he had finished his Lent, and was about to return to the country of men. Then the king had three flights of steps prepared, one of gold, one of precious stones, and the other of silver, which reached from the top of *Meyn-mo* mountain to the gate of *Then-ga-tha-na-go.* The flight of steps on the right, was of gold, and for the Nats to descend upon; that on the left, of silver, was for the Brahmans; the one in the middle, of precious stones, was for Gaudama. As Gaudama stood on the top of *Meyn-mo* mountain, the people were all looking upward, expecting him. The atmosphere was very clear, and the people could easily see as far as the Brahman country, and as far down as hell. While they were looking, the ten thousand systems became very clear, and all the Nats in these systems could see the people, and the people could see them, as if they were face to face. Gaudama then sent forth his six glories. When the immense multitude saw his glory, they every one raised a prayer for his favors. The Nats then descended the golden stairs, the Brahmans, the silver ones, and Gaudama, those of precious stones. One of the Nats, who played upon the harp, holding in his hand a harp shaped like the *Oke-sheet* fruit, stood on the right hand of Gaudama, and played melodiously, as they descended. On the left stood a Nat, and fanned him with the tail of a *Za-ma-ree* bird. One of the Brahmans held an umbrella over his head. Being thus attended by Nats and Brahmans, Gaudama descended to the gate of *Then-ga-tha-na-go*. Then *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* approached, and respectfully shekoing, said, "The glorious Gaudama descends! with a voice like that of the *Ka-ra-we* bird, he utters pleasant words, like those of a Brahman king.. Gaudama, the teacher of men, Nats, and Brahmans, this day descends from Nat country, and enters the gate of the city. I have never seen any thing like this before, nor has any one ever heard of the like." In this manner he manifested his great joy, and added, "O Gaudama, of great glory, all Nats and men this day love the Boodh." Gaudama replied, "My beloved son, is it only a Boodh who is perfect in every thing, whom the Nats and men love? Whatever Boodh, or holy person, there is, who has attained the *Zans*, and who is familiar with them, who is happy in the law of annihilation, which puts out the fires of passion, who is full of the glories of a *Zan-tha-ma-bat*—such an one the Nats and men love." When he had said this, thirty millions of the people obtained the law of salvation, and the five hundred priests of *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* attained the state next to annihilation. In the place where Gaudama displayed his power in Nat country, where he preached the law, and in *Then-ga-tha-na-go*, where he set down his right foot, pagodas were erected.

---

[*] A measure of distance, about twelve miles.

While Gaudama was in this country, the people asked him such questions as the *Thau-ta-pon* priests could not answer; these last asked those the *Tha-ga-da-gans* could not answer. *Mauk-a-lan* could not answer their questions, and *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* could not answer those of *Mauk-a-lan*. When a question was asked that *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* could not answer, he looked to Gaudama. The latter, beginning with his face to the East, looked all around, and discovered only one place of light. All the Nats and Brahmans, on the earth, and all the *Beloos, Nagas,* and *Galōngs,* in all the eight points, shekoing to him, said, "O Boodh, there is no one in this world who can answer this question, we look only to thee for an answer." Gaudama then said, "My son *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* is troubled for an answer, though he is in this world; now, as for the *Then-kata,* the *Thay-ka,* and the *A-thay-ka* laws, which you fully understand, can you answer me this question? I ask the way in which the *Thay-ka* and *A-thay-ka* priests may arrive at *Met-poh?*" He replied, "I cannot answer the question, and am in doubt as to your desire; unless you will give me a clue, I cannot answer it." When Gaudama had explained it a little, he saw it clearly. Gaudama then taught him, so that no one except himself was able to answer such questions. Then he stood before Gaudama, and with a bold voice said, "O Gaudama, of the drops of water which fall, some fall upon the ocean, and some upon the land, and I can tell the exact number of drops which have fallen on each for more than the age of a world, and can write them out in figures." Gaudama said, "My son, I know your ability thus to compute. In a former state, your knowledge was incomparable. You could answer questions innumerable, beyond the number of the sands of the Ganges." Though he was thus wise, when a question suitable for Gaudama to answer, was proposed, he could not answer it. When Gaudama heard that it was noised about, that *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* could solve doubts beyond the ability of others, he remarked, "It is not so only now, but it has been so in former states," and then showed that a wise child is better than a foolish king of one hundred years.

Thus Gaudama, after six Lents, spent the seventh upon the *Kam-ba-la* stone, preaching the law to his mother. The eighth was spent in *Beg-ga* country, in the city of *Than-tha-ma-ra-ge-re.* Here he fed with the law the people worthy to receive it. His ninth Lent he spent in the *Gau-the-ta-yŏng* monastery, in *Kau-tham-ba* country, where he preached the law to five hundred rich men, and others worthy to receive it. His tenth Lent he spent in *Pa-ta-lee* grove. While there, the king of elephants in that country paid him great reverence. His eleventh Lent he spent in a Pong-na village, in *Dek-ka-na-ge-re* monastery, preaching to a Pong-na and others, who were herdsmen. His twelfth Lent he spent in *Wa-ren-za-ra* country. The thirteenth, on *Zale-ya* mountain. The fourteenth, in *Za-da-woon* royal monastery. The fifteenth, in *Kap-pe-la-woot,* in *Ne-grau-da-woon* royal monastery. His sixteenth, in *Alawa* country, preaching the law to *Alawa-ke Beloo.* The seventeenth, in *Wa-la-woon* monastery, in *Ya-za-gro.* The eighteenth and nineteenth, on *Zale-ya* mountain, near the city of *Zale-ya.* The twentieth, in *Wa-la-woon* monastery. His remaining twenty-five Lents he spent in *Tha-wut-tee* country; nineteen of them, in *Za-da-woon,* and six in *Poke-pa-yŏng,* monastery. [The Burmese books differ widely as to where these last twenty-five Lents were spent.]

Thus, in preaching to those who were worthy to be delivered from transmigration, he travelled about the country; and when he was eighty years old, he spent some time on *Weik-sa-koke* mountain. While there, *A-za-la-that*, the son of a queen of *Ma-ga-da* country, desiring to make war upon the *Weik-sa* kings, said thus: "The *Weik-sa* kings are very powerful, and they are very wise; nevertheless, I will cut them off and bring them to poverty." He then called one of his noblemen, a Pong-na also, and said, "Do you go to Gaudama, and, as I tell you, sheko at his feet, and inquire if he is in health and prosperity, if he can bear travelling well, is full of strength, and happy, and say, 'O Gaudama, the *Ma-ga-da-reet* king desires to go to war with the *Weik-sa* kings, whom, though powerful and wise, he will cut off and destroy.' Gaudama will reply something, be careful to note his words, and come and tell me." The reason he sent this message was as follows. On the river Ganges there was a village, and six miles from this village each way was neutral ground, common to both. Near that village, at the foot of the mountain, was much treasure. *A-za-la-that*, hearing that this treasure was there, designed to go on the morrow and take it; but in the mean time, the *Weik-sa* kings had come and removed it. When he came and found the treasure gone, he was very angry, and returned home. The next year, the *Weik-sa* kings did the same, and he was very angry, and thought only of war. When he had prepared his army, he considered, "It is a very serious business to go to war, and I have not any ally; it will be well to consult some wise person, and none in the world is equal in wisdom to Gaudama. I will send to him, and, if I am to be victorious, he will remain silent, or, if not, will inquire, 'What profit is there in war?'" The nobleman, hearing the message of the king, said, "Very well, my lord," and ordering his horses and elephants to be made ready, proceeded on his way. When he came near the mountain where Gaudama was, he left his carriage, and walked into the presence of Gaudama, and there conversed with him, hearing words suitable to be ever remembered; then, in a respectful posture, he addressed Gaudama, "O priest Gaudama, king *A-za-la-that* shekoes at your feet, and inquires if you are in health, if you can still travel, and if you retain your strength, and are happy. And he inquires further, saying, 'I am about to crush the *Weik-sa* kings.'" At that time, though Gaudama had neither heat nor cold, *Anan-da,* being his servant, stood behind, fanning him. When he heard the words of the nobleman, instead of answering the inquiry, he turned to *Anan-da,* and said, "Have you heard that the *Weik-sa* kings are united, and often consult together?" *Anan-da* replied, "I have." He then said, "*Anan-da,* so long as they continue united, and consult together, they will prosper." He then inquired, "Have you heard that the *Weik-sa* kings issue new laws, and disregard the old ones, which former kings have made?" *Anan-da* replied, "My lord, I hear that they practise the laws of former kings, and do not make new laws." Gaudama then inquired, "Do they listen to the words of old age, and respect it?" *Anan-da* replied, "My lord, I have heard that they do." Gaudama then said, "So long as they respect old age, they will prosper, and not decrease." He then inquired, "Have you heard that these kings forbid their subjects the commission of the crime of rape?" and he answered, "Yes;" whereupon Gaudama said, "So long as they continue thus, they will prosper." He then inquired, "Have you heard that these kings have ordered that the Nats of *Weik-sa* country shall have their stated offerings, and that the pagodas shall be kept in repair?" and *Anan-da* replied that he had heard it was so. Gaudama again said, "So long as they do thus, they will prosper." He then further inquired, "Have you heard that they have ordered that the priests who are in that country, or who may come there, shall be furnished according to the law of priests?" and *Anan-da* replied that he had heard so; whereupon Gaudama said, "So long as they do so, they will prosper." Gaudama then addressed the nobleman, and said, "O Pong-na, I was once in *Way-tha-lee* country, in the place of a Nat called *Tha-rau-ta-ra,* and in that place I preached to the *Weik-sa* kings the seven laws. So long as they keep these seven laws, they will prosper, and cannot be injured." The Pong-na nobleman replied, "O Gaudama, you say that, so long as these kings keep the seven laws, they cannot be overcome, but will prosper; therefore, unless *A-za-la-that,* by his cunning, can get them to quarrel, he cannot destroy them." The reason why Gaudama said so much, and gave so many hints, was that he considered, "Unless I thus talk, the *Weik-sa* kings will all be destroyed in one day; but if I tell these things, it will take three years to destroy their union and power, and in that time they will be getting merit for the rest of their lives." The Pong-na seemed much pleased with the interview, and said, "I have much business to transact, I beg to be dismissed," and then returned to his master. The king then inquired what Gaudama had said, and the Pong-na replied, "O king, Gaudama says that no one is able to conquer the *Weik-sa* kings. He only gave me a hint that they could be conquered by drawing them into a quarrel with each other." The king then said, "By the time we can do this, my horses and elephants will be all gone; avoiding this, how can we succeed and conquer?" The Pong-na replied, "Let us call the counsellors, and have a consultation, and when it is over, I will get up and say, 'O king, do the *Weik-sa* kings eat up your property, or use it in agriculture, or in merchandize?' and leave the council. When they see me thus leave, they will say that I have transgressed, and ask if I mean to prevent the war. 'Will he have us,' they will say, 'to make presents to these kings in broad daylight?' When they criminate me, do not put me in irons, but have my head shaved, and banish me from the country. Then I will go to the country of the *Weik-sa* kings, and after I have examined their strength, or weakness, I will inform the king. Before long, I will have every thing prepared, and send for the king to come." *A-za-la-that* did as the Pong-na advised. When the *Weik-sa* kings heard that the Pong-na was coming from *Ya-za-gro,* they caused it to be proclaimed about the country, "Do not let him cross the river Ganges." Some of the people said, "This Pong-na is banished from his country," and others said, "If so, let him come to our country." The *Weik-sa* kings inquired of him why he came, and where he wished to go, and he related the circumstances of his banishment. The kings then said, "Your punishment is very unjust, it is very wrong to punish so severely for so small an offence," and inquired what office he held before he was banished, and were informed that he was a law-judge and nobleman. They then ordered that he should hold the same offices under them, and thus he became teacher of the laws to the sons of these kings. He soon became very respectable and popular. One day, he called one of the princes to go with him to the country, and on the way inquired if the young people followed farming, and was told that they did. He then inquired if they ploughed with two oxen, and was answered that they did. Without any other conversation, they returned home. When his associates and others inquired of the prince, what the Pong-na said to him, he related the above, and said, "This is all." When they heard this, they replied, "You do not tell the truth," and thus they began to be at variance. At another time, on a walk with one of the princes, he inquired what meat, flesh, or curry, the people ate, and nothing more. When they returned, the princes were asked what the Pong-na said; they were told, but he was disbelieved, and his hearers became angry. At another time, he asked one of them, if he was poor, and the prince said, "Such an one of the princes is poor." Another time, he inquired of one, if he was cowardly, and he replied, "Such an one is cowardly." Thus he went on for three years, until they were all so divided that no two of them would go the same road; and, though there was a notice for a council, no two would meet together. When he had brought them to this state, the Pong-na sent a letter to the king of *Ya-za-gro*, and said, "Now is your time, come quickly." The king immediately proclaimed war, and marched against the enemy. When the *Weik-sa* kings heard of his coming, they issued an order that he should not cross the Ganges. No one heeded the order; and though the gates of the city were ordered to be closed, no attention was paid to it, and the gates were left wide open, so that destruction soon came upon them. Though three years elapsed from the banishment of the Pong-na, wishing to finish the history of the *Weik-sa* kings, we left that of Gaudama, to which we now return.

Soon after the Pong-na had left Gaudama, the latter called *Anan-da,* and said, "Let all the priests in *Ya-za-gro* assemble in the place of assembly;" he replied, "Very well, my lord." When he had assembled them, he said, "O Gaudama, they are ready, you know your own time for coming." Gaudama then went to the place, and having taken his seat, preached as follows, "O priests, so long as you continue to assemble together often, and are agreed, you will prosper. So long as you keep the commands, and practise according to the precepts, so long as you reverence the elder priests, and listen to their voice, so long as you abstain from passion, and practise the law, and whatever laws are to come, you will prosper. Let the priests be mindful of these principles; and so long as these are practised, they will prosper." After he had preached these precepts, and enjoyed himself as long as he desired, he called *Anan-da,* and said, "Let us go to *Am-pa-la-da-ka;*" and *Anan-da* informed the priests. When Gaudama has staid as long as he desires in a place, there is no reason why he should remain any longer.

Surrounded by his concourse of priests, he went to *Am-pa-la-da-ka,* and stopped in the royal Zayat. There he preached the law, which brought much profit to the place. When he had remained there as long as he desired, he said to *Anan-da,* "I will go to *Na-klau-da.*" Thither he went with his attendants, and remained in a rich man's grove. While there, *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* came before him, and shekoing, said, "O glorious Boodh, there is reason for my love to you; the reason is that there is no one, never has been any one, never will be any one, who understands all law so well as Gaudama; therefore I exceedingly love him." Gaudama replied, "Your words are very free from unbelief. In a former state, a Boodh who was complete in the six glories, and, though thus excellent, practised virtue, was complete in wisdom, was happy, and free from some passions—now, my beloved son, can you distinguish such a Boodh from me?" He replied, "My lord, I have no such wisdom." Gaudama then said, "A Boodh perfect in the six glories will come, he will practise certain virtues, he will have certain dispositions, and certain kinds of wisdom, he will enjoy some *Tha-ma-bats,* and be free from some passions; now, my beloved son, could you discern the mind of such a Boodh? And now, in the present state, I am above all —do you know my mind?" He replied, "I have no such knowledge." Gaudama then said, "Then you do not know the minds of those who have been, are, or will be, Boodhs, and how dare you say that you love me, because I know more and am wiser than any who have been before me, or will come after me?" He replied, "Although I do not know the minds of present, past, or future, Boodhs, I suppose I understand the law. The city farthest from the palace, has a strong citadel, gates, etc., and the city has a gate-keeper, who is full of wisdom, understands all matters, has quick penetration, prevents those who are not wise from entering, and admits those who are; now, if that gate-keeper, in going about the city, should not discover any breach in the wall, even large enough for a cat to crawl through, he would think thus: "All people, great and small, beasts, etc., go into the city at the gate, and come out at it. So I understand the entrance to the law; and it is through the Boodh, who says he has infinite wisdom. Therefore I infer that he knows the present, past, and future. Him who is worthy to receive all praise, who is excellent, is of great glory, who has rejected all the fires of passion, and attained infinite wisdom, I suppose to possess the qualities which I ascribe to the Boodh."

When Gaudama had remained as long as he desired in *Na-klau-da* country, he called *Anan-da*, and said, "We will go to the village of *Pa-ta-lee;*" and they went. When the pious of that village heard of his coming, they went to him, and shekoing, said, "O excellent Boodh, we desire that you and your priests would occupy the Zayat for strangers." When the inhabitants heard that Gaudama had arrived, and was in the Zayat for strangers, they said, "He will probably preach the law, let us ask him to do so;" which they did, and he consented in his usual manner. When the pious knew that he had consented to preach, they shekoed, and turning to the right, prepared the Zayat with mats, water, flowers, etc., and then said, "O Gaudama, we have prepared the Zayat; please preach to us, at your convenience." On that morning, Gaudama, having dressed himself, took his rice-pot, and accompanied by his priests, entered the Zayat for strangers, and sat down against the middle post, with his face to the East, his priests sitting behind him; and the villagers sat on the East side, with their faces to the West, looking at the priests. He then preached the law to them as follows: "O disciples, to the person who is destitute of *Thela** these five evils remain: 1. In this world, he has broken the righteous precepts and will come to poverty. 2. He will lose his character. 3. The society of the priests, the rich, and the noble, will detest him. 4. He will be in trouble. 5. He will suffer misery hereafter in hell." When he had done preaching thus, wishing to show the advantage of righteousness, he proceeded: "Those who practise righteousness will enjoy the following five things: 1. They will have great riches. 2. They will have good character and fame. 3. Into whatever society they desire to go, they can go boldly, and will be received with pleasant countenance. 4. They will have a clear mind. 5. Their end will be happiness, and they will dwell in Nat country." In this manner Gaudama preached to the villagers. The people were so much pleased with the preaching that they remained through the evening, and until midnight, when Gaudama dismissed them. They then arose, shekoed, turning to the right, and departed. Soon after they left, he retired to a still place.

---

* The five duties, or commands. See note on page 51.

At that time, there were two Pong-nas from *Ma-ga-da-reet*, in the village, who were commissioned to attend to the affairs of the war against the *Weik-sa* kings. One thousand Nats came and took possession of the houses of the village; when they desired any house, they took it. The more powerful took the houses of the princes, the middling Nats, those of the nobles, and others, the houses of the common people. Gaudama saw, by his supernatural vision, the collection of Nats, and in the morning he called *Anan-da*, and said, "Who has the government of the village of *Pa-ta-lee?*" He replied, "The two *Ma-ga-da-reet* Pong-nas have direction, against the *Weik-sa* kings." Gaudama said, "They appear to have built the village by the counsel of the *Ta-wa-deing-tha* Nats. I saw, last night, one thousand Nats in one thousand of the houses. Now, so long as the merchants in this place buy and sell, it will have a ruler, and be a place for prizing goods. *Anan-da*, there will three calamities come upon this place. It will be destroyed by fire, water, and intestine contentions."

In the morning, Gaudama went to the river Ganges, washed his face, cleaned his teeth, etc., and returned, waiting for the time to receive rice. These two Pong-nas then consulted together thus: "Our king is a great friend of Gaudama, he feeds him; and if he hears that he has been to *Pa-ta-lee* village, he will inquire if we went to see him, and consulted with him; and if we say that we did not go, he will be angry. Now, in such a place we will order a city to be built, and have every thing vile prohibited from entering it, and Gaudama, seeing this, will prophesy prosperity, and we will invite him to come to it." When they had executed their plans, they went to Gaudama, and said, "Lord Gaudama, will you be pleased to come and partake of our rice today?" and he consented in his usual manner. When they knew he would go, they arose, and went to the place where they had ordered things to be prepared; and all being ready, they sent and said, "Lord Gaudama, all things are ready." On the morning of that day, Gaudama, dressed in his best, followed by his priests, went to the place, and took his seat. The Pong-nas then waited on him in person, and when he and his priests were well fed, the Pong-nas took their seats in a humble place; and Gaudama, wishing to praise them, rehearsed as follows: "Noblemen of the *Ma-ga-da-reet* king, whoever is wise, will guard his thoughts, words, and actions, and will practise virtue. He will feed the worthy priests, and, wherever the Nats are, they will not be forgotten in offerings; and whoever does thus will be loved by the Nats. The Nats will aid and love such an one, and guard him as a mother does the son of her bosom. The man who is worthy to be protected, is taken care of by invisible Nats, at all times." When he had thus preached to the Pong-nas, he arose and returned to his place. As he rose up, the Pong-nas said, "The gate at which you go out, we will call Gaudama-gate; the place where you cross the river Ganges, we will call Gaudama-ghaut;" and so they did.

While Gaudama stood on the bank of the Ganges, some of the people were looking for a boat, others for bamboos to make a raft; he, as easily as a strong man can open his closed hand, disappeared with all his disciples, and appeared on the other side of the river. When the people saw them on the other side, they exclaimed, "Whatever *Areeya* has crossed the ocean of passion, that *Areeya* has made himself a boat, and crosses free from mud and filth. Those who wish to cross the river, prepare bamboos and wood; but the *Areeyas* make their boat of the wisdom which destroys all passion, and on this they cross over." Gaudama then called *Anan-da,* and said, "We will go to *Kau-teka* village." Then he with his priests went to that village, and after having preached the law to his priests, he said to *Anan-da,* "We will go to *Nadeka* village." There they remained in a brick monastery. While there, *Anan-da* approached Gaudama, and shekoing, said, "O Gaudama, in this village there was a priest named *Tha-mu-la*, and a priestess named *Nanda*, who have died; to what place have they gone?" Gaudama replied, "*Anan-da*, the priest has become free from the law of transmigration, and has gone to *Neigban*. The priestess has become free from desire for the world, and will go to *Neigban* from the Brahman country." When Gaudama had thus answered, and remained in that place as long as he desired, he said, "*Anan-da*, we will go to *Way-tha-lee* country." The priests were then called, and they went to *Way-tha-lee*, and took up their residence in the grove of the courtezan, and there he preached the law to his priests. When the courtezan heard that Gaudama had arrived, and was in her Mango grove, she decked herself with all her ornaments, and ordering her carriage, went to the grove; and when she had proceeded in her carriage as far as was respectful, she descended, and walked into his presence, and respectfully shekoing, took her seat. Gaudama then preached the law to her, and when he had done, she said, "O Gaudama, will you and your priests eat my rice to-morrow?" and he consented. When she understood that he had accepted the invitation, she shekoed, and turning to the right, departed. At the same time, the *Weik-sa* kings, having heard that he had come to their country, ordered their carriages, and left the city for the grove. As they went out of the city, those who were of a dark color, dressed in dark clothes, those who were of a yellow color, in yellow clothes, those who were red, wore red clothes, and those who were white, dressed in white. As they were going, they met the courtezan, and some of the young princes ran their carriages so close to her's that the wheels came in contact, and then said, "You creature! why do you drive your carriage against our's?" She replied, "My lords, I have invited Gaudama to eat my rice to-morrow, that is the reason why I ran against you;" and they said, "Will you sell us your invitation for one hundred thousand?" She replied, "My lords, I would not give it up for all the *Way-tha-lee* country, with all its villages." They then said to each other, "The harlot has outwitted us," and snapping their fingers, proceeded to the grove. As Gaudama saw them coming at a distance, he called his priests together, and said, "My beloved priests, such of you as have never seen an assembly of *Ta-wa-deing-tha* Nats, look, and consider the company of the *Weik-sa* kings to be like such an assembly." The reason why he said this, was to have some visible object before them, that, when he preached, they might the better understand him. In this company of priests, there were some who were slow in their duties, and slack in keeping the law; he wished to spur them up to their duties. Another reason was that he designed to teach them the instability of all things, as these kings were soon to be destroyed by the power of *A-za-la-that,* and, when that time should come, their character, fame, and country would also be destroyed. Knowing that these kings would become priests, he preached the law of mutability.

When the kings had approached with carriages as near as was suitable, they descended, and walked into his presence, shekoed, and reverently took their seats. He preached the law to them, and when he had done, they requested him to eat their rice on the morrow. The reason they asked him on the same day with the courtezan, was that they did not believe what she said, and it was customary to invite the Boodhs to eat, after hearing the law; as the courtezan said she had invited him, in a playful way, they did not believe her. Gaudama replied, "O *Weik-sa*-kings, I have engaged to eat *Am-pa-pa-le-ka's* rice to-morrow." They then said to each other, "She has got the start of us," and then they snapped their fingers again. They were greatly delighted with the law which they had heard, and shekoing, turned to the right, and departed.

In the morning, when the courtezan had prepared food, she sent word to Gaudama that the time for eating had come, and all was ready. When he had dressed himself, he took his rice-pot, and attended by his priests, went to her house, and sat down in a place provided for him. When she had done feeding them, she took a low seat, and then presented the Mango grove to him, saying, "O Gaudama, I make an offering of the Mango grove to Gaudama and his priests." He accepted the offering, and with his priests took possession. While he remained there, he preached to the priests the different kinds of wisdom. When he had remained as long as he desired, he called *Anan-da,* and said, "We will go to *Wa-lu-wut* village;" and they went. [The writer of the book says that *Wa-lu-wut* village and *Pa-ta-lee* country are the same.] While they were in this village, Gaudama called his priests, and said, "My beloved priests, as you have seen, become acquainted with, and are pleased with, different places, you can make your selection, and spend the Lent; as for me, I shall spend it in this village." The reason why he told them thus, was that the monastery was small, and rice was scarce, while, in the country contiguous, monasteries were numerous, and rice abundant. The reason why he did not dismiss them at once, and send them off to various places, was that he pitied them. He thought thus: "I, Gaudama, am to die in ten months, and if I send them any distance, they will not have the privilege of seeing me; which if they do not, they will be much distressed, and say, 'If Gaudama had given us a hint of what was coming, we should not have gone;' as it is, they can come eight times in a month, hear the law, and receive my instructions; therefore I will not send them to any great distance."

After they had spent their Lent in the country, a most violent, distressing, and unsuitable disease came upon Gaudama, which brought him near to death. When the disease came upon him, all his mental faculties were in their full strength, and he did not show any signs of suffering, but bore it with composure. He at that time thought, "It will be improper for me to go to *Neigban*, without first calling my priests; it will be well for me to endeavor to cure this disease, and enter the state that causes life to remain." Thus considering, he used all diligence to cure himself, and entered the *Pala-tha-ma-bat* state. Had he not been before in this state? Yes, it is in this state only that the body is free from disease. As easily as a stick floats upon the water, so one in this state escapes from sickness, and the trouble of matter. Like a man who descends into a four-cornered tank, and with his hands and feet pushes away the weeds on the water, and thus goes over the whole surface, so a man who rises from the *Tha-ma-bat*, rejects all disease and pain. As Gaudama remained all day on the seat of state, when he was under the Boodh-Banyan tree, thinking of the laws, so he now entered the *Tha-ma-bat* state, and said, "Let me be free from disease for ten months;" and it was so.

Soon after he rose from this illness, he went out of the monastery, and remained in a pleasant place to the West of it. While there, *Anan-da* went to him, and shekoing, said, "O great Gaudama, I have the pleasure of seeing you rise from your illness, and of seeing you in health. Of a truth, my spirits were very heavy when I saw you sick, and I could not hold up my head. I was so overcome with grief that I could not remain in a settled state. It was difficult for me to breathe. I now beg you will not go to *Neigban,* until you have once more preached the law." Gaudama replied, "Why do the priests desire to hear from me? What is not in me, and is without me, it is suitable to preach; and beside this, there is no preaching. *Anan-da,* whatever priest I preach about, or in reference to, that priest must consider me the only one who can teach the truth. Now it is only to, or of, such, that I can talk. I will have reference to the priests, and if they do not think that I am the only lawgiver, why should I preach? Of a truth, I am now of a very great age, near eighty years old. I am like an old cart, whose irons, and wheels, and timbers, are ready to drop to pieces. I am only held together by the *Pala-tha-ma-bat.* *Anan-da,* whenever I consider visible objects, and the diseases and distress which are in the world, and then the *Ar-a-hat-ta* state, which stifles or destroys the law of change, then I am very happy. Therefore do you adhere to the law. Worship for yourselves; beside the law, there is no refuge. How must you worship? My disciples must be cautious, and full of wisdom; must put down all worldly mindedness, and anger; must once and again look at and consider the difficult parts of the body, and remember that it is formed for destruction." Thus he preached to *Anan-da.*

After Gaudama had spent his Lent in *Wa-lu-wut* village, he returned to *Tha-wut-tee,* by the same road he came, and took up his residence again in *Za-da-woon* monastery. While there, *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra,* having been out for rice, swept the place where he usually sat, and spread his mat; he seated himself in a cross-legged posture, entered into the *Pala-tha-ma-bat* state, and thus considered: "Has it been customary for the other Boodhs to die first, or their two chief disciples?" He perceived that it had been customary for the chief disciples to die first. He also saw that he had but seven days to live, and was going to *Neigban.* He then considered in what place he should cease to exist, and perceived that *Hula* Boodh went to *Neigban* from *Ta-wa-deing-tha,* and that *Koon-da-nya* Boodh went from *Sad-dan* lake.

"Now where shall I go from?" thought he; and then he remembered his mother, and considered that, though his mother had seven sons who were priests, she did not worship Gaudama, nor the law, nor the priests. He then considered whether she was of the favored ones who could obtain *Metpoh*, and discovered that she was. Then he thought, "I will have no fear; people will say I am reverenced by others, but that my mother does not reverence me, though I am a priest; therefore, to convert her, I will, even to-day, ask permission of Gaudama, and then go and enter *Neigban* from the room where I was born." He then called the sage *Song-da*, and said, "Let us go, call my five hundred priests." *Song-da* went to them, and said, "Lord *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* desires to go to *Na-la-ka* village, bring your rice-pots and clothes." They then, putting up their things, took their rice-pots, and came to *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra*. He, having his things put up, looked at the place where he had been accustomed to sit during the day, and said, "This is the last time I shall ever look upon you, I shall never come again;" and then, attended by his five hundred priests, he went to Gaudama, and shekoing, said, "O most glorious Boodh, give me permission, dismiss me with your blessing; I am about to go to *Neigban*, my time has come, I have escaped the law of transmigration." If Gaudama had said, "Go to *Neigban*," then people would have extolled death; and if he had said, "Go not," they would have praised his fortune in having his life prolonged. So, to avoid the evil of their embracing a false notion, Gaudama only said, "*Tha-re-poke-ta-ra*, in what place will you depart?" He replied, "I am going to *Neigban*, in the village in *Na-la-ka*, in *Ma-ga-da-reet* country, from the room in which I was born." Gaudama rejoined, "You alone know the time when you are to depart; your disciples, great and small, will never meet such another priest as you, therefore preach to them the law." *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra*, knowing that Gaudama wished him to display his power, as a token of affection, shekoed, and ascended into the air, to the height of a palm tree, descended, and shekoed again; then he ascended as high as two palm trees, descended, and shekoed. This he did seven times, ascending to the height of one palm tree more every time. He then remained in the air, and preached to the people, the whole city being assembled together. He then descended, and shekoing to Gaudama, said, "I will go." Gaudama then arose from his place, and went into an inner room; and *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* went around him three times to the right, and shekoing to the four cardinal points, said, "An immeasurable number of years before this, I prostrated myself, and prayed that I might see the future Boodh; all I then asked I have seen fulfilled. I have had the privilege of seeing him, but I shall never see him more. O Boodh, you who are worthy to be worshipped by men, Nats, and Brahmans, I have severed the thread of transmigration; to me, hereafter, there will be no coming, nor going; this is my last act of adoration, the end of my life is at hand. In seven days, I shall put off the burden of this body, like as a person puts off an exceedingly heavy encumbrance." He then shekoed, and a glory issued from his ten fingers; and retreating backwards, he continued to sheko as long as he could see Gaudama's face, saying, "When I depart from this body, I shall never again be conceived." In this way he took his leave, and the earth trembled violently. When he had thus taken his departure, Gaudama said to his attendants, "Go and accompany him a short distance." Then all the priests, leaving Gaudama alone, and all the inhabitants of *Tha-wut-tee,* when they heard that *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* had taken leave, followed him with dishevelled hair, wailing, and crying out, "Where is the great *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra?* with whom will Gaudama now take pleasure? He has left Gaudama alone, and is gone." In this manner, with various lamentations and ejaculations, they followed after him. He, because he was proficient in wisdom, and not wishing to have the people go too far, said, "Now, my good friends, stop, you have gone far enough." Then he preached to them, and said, "Do not forget Gaudama. The law of change only tends to destruction. Do not forget, and grow negligent in acquiring merit, and do not forget the priests." With these words he dismissed them, and sent them back. Thus, at the end of seven days, having preached the law to the people, as he passed on his way, he arrived at the village of *Na-la-ka,* and stopped at the gate, under a Banyan tree. At that time, a nephew of his came out of the village, saw him, stopped, and shekoed. *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* inquired of him, if his grandmother was at the house, and he replied, "She is, my lord." He then said, "Go and tell her of our coming, and if she inquires why we have come, tell her we are to remain with her to-day; tell her to prepare the room in which I was born, and a place for my five hundred priests." The nephew then went to his grandmother, and said, "My uncle has come." She then asked, "Where is he now?" He replied, "At the gate of the village." She then inquired if he was alone, or had company with him, and was told that he came with his five hundred priests. She then asked why he had come, and he told all his uncle had directed. She then said, "How am I to provide a place for five hundred priests? Having come to be a priest in his youth, is he about to leave it off, now that he has become old?" She had the room in which he was born prepared, and a place for the five hundred priests, well lighted with lamps, etc., and then she sent for them to come. *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* and his priests then entered the village; and ascending to the room where he was born, he told the priests to go to the place provided for them. Immediately on their leaving him, he was seized with a most violent disease, and threw up blood in such quantities that the vessel given to him could not contain it. His mother said, "I dare not see my sôn's distress," and went into her own room, and leaned herself against the door. At that time, four Nat kings, having looked to see where *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* was, discovered him lying on his death-bed, in the room where he was born, came, shekoed, and took their last look of him; and he said, "Who are you?" They replied, "We are Nat kings." He then asked, "Why have you come?" They replied, "We come to attend the sick one;" and he rejoined, "If you have, the sick one has attendance, you càn go." Not long after they were gone, the *The-gya* king came, then other Nat kings, then the Brahman kings, and he dismissed them all, as he had done to the first. When his mother saw the coming, shekoing, and going, of the Nat and Brahman kings, she wondered what it meant, and going to the door of her son's room, inquired, "My beloved son *Song-da*, what is the meaning of all these things?" he replied, "They are Nat and Brahman kings." *Song-da* then said to *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra*, "Your mother has come;" and he inquired, "Why does she come out of season, at an improper time?" The mother said, "I have come to see my beloved son." She then inquired of him, who the first persons were who came to see him. He replied, "Mother, they were four Nat kings." She then said, "My beloved son, are you greater than the four great Nat kings?" and he replied, "My mother, they are only as a guard to me. From the time when our most excellent Boodh was conceived, they have had to keep guard." She then inquired, "Who came next?" and he told her, "That was the ruling *The-gya* king." She then said, "My son, are you greater than the *The-gya* king?" He replied, "My mother, he is like a novice in the priesthood, who carries the rice-pot of his master. When our most excellent Boodh descended from *Ta-wa-deing-tha*, this king carried his rice-pot and clothes." She then inquired who those were with shining appearance, who came next, and was told, "Those glorious persons were the Brahmans." She then said, "My beloved son, are you greater than the great and glorious Brahmans?" He replied, "O my mother, I am greater than the Brahmans. When our teacher, Gaudama, was born, four Brahman kings came and received him on golden net-lace work." The mother then thought, "Truly, my son's glory is very great; and if he be so great, what must be the greatness of his teacher, the great Gaudama?" and her whole body was immediately penetrated by the five kinds of joy. *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* then thought, "Now my mother is happy, now is a good time to preach to her;" and he said, "My mother, of what are you thinking?" and she answered, "I was thinking, if my son's glory be so great, what must be that of Gaudama?" He then said, "My mother, at the time when our teacher Gaudama was born, when he went into the jungle, when he obtained infinite wisdom, when he first preached the *Da-ma-sek-ya* law; the whole ten thousand systems were shaken. In holiness, in virtue, in wisdom, in *Ar-a-hat-ta-poh*, in mind, etc., there is none like him." Then he taught her the law, which extols the Boodh, and at the end of his preaching, being greatly pleased with his words, she arrived at the state of a *Thau-ta-pon*, and said, "My dear son, why have you lived so long without preaching this blessed law to me?" He then considered that he had repaid his mother for all the trouble she endured in bearing him, nursing him, etc., and he said to her, "Mother, go." When she had gone, he said to *Song-da*, "Has the time arrived?" and *Song-da* replied, "It is broad daylight." He then said, "Raise me, that I may sit up." After *Song-da* had helped him to sit up, he said, "Call the priests." When they came, he said, "My beloved priests, if I have ever done to you who have been with me during forty-four years, any thing to displease you, I pray you to bear and forgive it." They replied, "Our lord, we who have been with you for forty-four years, and followed you as a shadow follows the substance, (wherever you have been, we have been,) we have never seen any thing to displease us; we beg you will forbear, and forgive us whatever we have done wrong."

Tha-re-poke-ta-ra arrived at the house of his mother in the cool of the evening, on the full moon of November; during that night, his sickness seized him, and at dawn of day, being covered with a *Kauma* cloth, lying on his right side, he entered *Neigban,* and was wholly annihilated, and the earth again trembled. His mother then said, "How is this, that my son does not speak?" She then arose, and felt of his feet; and when she knew that he had gone to *Neigban,* she cried with a loud voice, and shekoing at his feet, said, "Formerly, I did not know the worth of my son, now I know it." Then she went on crying and lamenting, "Oh! I have not had the privilege of feeding my son, nor the one hundred thousand priests; nor have I ever had the privilege of giving cloths to the three priests, nor of building one thousand monasteries." When the sun arose, she called a goldsmith, took him into the room where she kept her gold, and weighing gold in large scales, ordered him to make five hundred images of pagodas, and five hundred Pyat-thads, of the gold. The *The-gya* king called the *We-tha-gyōn* Nat, and said, "*Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* has gone to *Neigban,* now go and make five hundred pagodas, and five hundred Pyat-thads, like the one thousand his mother has made." Thus there were two thousand pagodas and Pyat-thads. After this, the mother had a great *Mandat* erected, with a tall spire on its top, in the centre of the city, and smaller ones at the corners. She then made every preparation for the enjoyment of those who should come. In the multitude who assembled, were men and Nats mingled together. Then *Ya-wa-dee,* a female servant of *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra,* wishing to worship her master, prepared three branches of golden flowers, and with these she came and shekoed to the dead body. The *The-gya* king came down, attended by fifty-billions of dancing girls. As he descended, the people retreated backward, and, they not observing *Ya-wa-dee,* she was thrown down, and there trodden to death. She was immediately seen in *Tu-wa-deing-tha* Nat country, in a golden palace. She had a body like a bar of gold nine miles in length, and so large that it was equal to sixty cart-loads. She was ornamented with all the Nat ornaments, and attended by one thousand female Nats. They then placed a mirror before her, and she said, "This is very excellent," and then considered what she had ever done to merit so much glory; and found it to proceed from her offering three branches of flowers to the dead body of *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra,* and having the misfortune to be trodden to death, and she said, "This comes of putting my trust in a worthy person, I will now show to men the advantage of merit." She then descended with the golden palace, and the people, as they saw her coming at a distance, cried out, "And what can this be? has there another sun appeared?" and while they were gazing, the palace arrived, and then they said, "This is not a sun, it is a temple, and it stands over the place where *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* is to be burned." She then left the temple, and descended to the earth, when the people inquired who she was, and she replied, "You do not know me? I am none other than *Ya-wa-dee.* When I came here with three golden flowers, to worship my lord, the people trode upon me, and I died, and went to *Ta-wa-deing-tha;* now you can see my gain." She then exhorted them to make all diligence in acquiring merit, and showed its advantages. Then she turned three times to the right around the corpse, and departed to her place in Nat country.

The people held a festival of seven days, during which they scattered all kinds of perfumery upon the funeral pile, which was ninety-nine cubits high. When the corpse was placed upon the pile, they set it on fire with the oil of flowers, and had preaching during the whole night of the burning. *Anu-yoke-da* quenched the fire with all kinds of perfumed water. *Song-da* gathered the relics in a water-dipper, and said, "I cannot remain in this place, my beloved teacher has gone to *Neigban,* and I will go and inform Gaudama." Then taking the dipper of relics, and the rice-pot and clothes of *Tha-re-poke-tara,* he departed for *Tha-wut-tee,* and slept only one night in a place, on the way. When he was a noviciate, he was called *Song-da,* and the same after he was a priest. Reverencing Gaudama, he stopped to bathe himself in a four-cornered tank, near the *Za-da-woon* monastery, nearly dressed himself, and thus thought: "The Boodhs are like stone umbrellas, worthy to be remembered; it will not be suitable for me to go to Gaudama first, by whom shall I send him word? As my lord *Anan-da* is his particular friend, I will go to him, and he will tell Gaudama." He then went to him, and said, "My brother, *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra* has gone! This was his rice-pot, these were his clothes, these are his relics," showing them one by one. *Anan-da* and *Song-da* then went together to Gaudama, and showed him the rice-pot, etc. Gaudama stretched out his hand, and taking the relics, called his priests, and said, "My beloved sons, the priest who, the other day, after showing his power, asked permission to go and die, has gone. Here you see all that remains of him, like a pure white shell. He had been complete in virtue for an innumerable number of ages; my sons, he could preach the law like myself, he gained many friends, and he always attracted a great assembly. Setting aside myself, he had no equal in the ten thousand systems. He had great wisdom; his wisdom was pleasant, quick, and penetrating. He had few wants, was easily satisfied, loved retirement, did not mix with the multitude, was very diligent, and disapproved of those who did wrong. My beloved sons, he left five hundred kinds of wealth, and became a priest; he was as firm as the earth, in my religion. He was like a bull who has had his horns broken. My sons, look at the remains of my wise son *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra*;" and then by five hundred verses he extolled the virtues of his friend. When *Anan-da* heard the verses, he could no longer refrain, but broke out into loud lamentation. Gaudama then said, "*Anan-da*, have I not told you that we must be separated from fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, by distance and death. Though I, who am perfect in the ten virtues, have become Boodh, and have preached the *Da-ma* law, showed remarkable power, and spent a Lent in *Ta-wa-deing-tha*, even I, if I should desire not to see these changes, could not be, gratified. Now what suitable reason can be given for crying?" Thus Gaudama comforted him. Gaudama then extolled the virtues of *Tha-re-poke-ta-ra*, and caused a pagoda to be built to his memory, enclosing his relics. Then he called *Anan-da,* and said, "We will go to *Ya-za-gro* country." The priests were called, and they departed. As they were going, on the last day of November, *Mauk-a-lan* went to *Neigban,* and Gaudama caused a pagoda to be erected to his memory, and to enclose his relics. [The writer says that a particular account of *Mauk-a-lan's* death may be found in other books.] Gaudama went from *Ya-za-gro* to the river Ganges, to a place called *Oke-sala.* From this place, attended by his priests, he went to *Way-tha-lee* country. When he arrived, he dressed, and went out with his rice-pot, to receive rice. When he returned from the village, he called *Anan-da* to bring his water-dipper, and then said, "Let us go to *Za-pa-la* and spend the day." They then went to *Za-pa-la,* and Gaudama sat down on his arrival. *Anan-da,* drawing near, shekoed, and sat down. While thus seated, Gaudama said, "*Anan-da, Way-tha-lee* country is a place for much enjoyment. The *O-day-na* Nat resides in a pleasant place. The pagoda where a Nat named Gaudama resides, is a pleasant place. *Za-pa-la* pagoda, where the *Za-pa-la* Nat resides, is a pleasant place. A priest ought to increase in the four laws of *Eik-deik-bat,* and persevere in practising them over and over again. It is suitable to be very diligent in it. If a priest had such a mind, and desired, he might live a hundred years, or an innumerable number of ages. I have persevered, and have practised over and again these four laws, and if I pleased, could remain as long as I wished." This he repeated three times. Though Gaudama in this manner gave *Anan-da* the hint, he, being blinded by pride, did not think to ask Gaudama to remain for the benefit of mankind, but remained silently shekoing. Gaudama then said, "*Anan-da,* I wish you to leave me for a short time;" whereupon *Anan-da* arose, shekoed, turned to the right, went out, and sat down at the foot of a tree. Soon after *Anan-da* left, *Mah-Nat* appeared, and by a verse said, "Boodh of great glory, now go to *Neigban.* For you, the Boodh who speaks good words, Boodh of glory, the time to enter *Neigban* has arrived." And again *Mah-Nat* said, "Gaudama has formerly said, 'So long as my priests are unskilled in curious things, so long as they are unable to govern their bodies, mouths, and minds, so long as they are weak, and not well instructed, so long as they are unable to keep the divine law, so long as they are unable to preach the law—so long, I shall not go to *Neigban;*' but now your disciples are wise and skilled, they can govern their bodies, mouths, and minds, they are bold, they are learned, they understand the whole of the *Betagat,** they practise according to the divine law, they are able to preach the law; therefore the time is now suitable for you to go to *Neigban.* The Boodh has said, 'So long as my religion is not firmly established, and widely spread, so long as the Nats and Brahmans do not understand it well, I shall not go to *Neigban.*' Now the religion is established, and flourishing, the Nats and Brahmans understand it; therefore the time is now come for you to go to *Neigban.*" Gaudama answered the evil-minded tempter, as follows: "Ha! you vile wretch, do not be concerned, I shall go to *Neigban* ere long; in three months from this time, I shall go." Gaudama, being in a calm state, sent forth a violent respiration, and there was such an earthquake that it was sufficient to make the hairs of one's head to rise up. He then said to himself, "Though the excellent Boodh should exist in a new state, though he should enjoy himself in his present form, in the world of matter, or of spirit, he has overcome all passion, like as a conqueror overcomes shields, spears, etc., in the field of battle." The reason why he uttered these words was, that some might say he was afraid of the urging of *Mah-Nat* to go to *Neigban,* and that he therefore uttered these words to prevent their saying so."

At this time, *Anan-da* thought, "Alas! this earthquake is enough to make the hair rise up, it is like a Nat's earthquake; what can be the reason of this violent shaking? He then went to Gaudama, and shekoing, said, "O Gaudama, this shaking of the earth is very violent, what can be the cause of it?" Gaudama replied, "*Anan-da,* the causes of earthquakes are eight, as follows: the earth rests upon water, the water upon air, the air upon open space; therefore, whenever there is a violent wind, it shakes, and whenever the air shakes, the water is shaken by it, and when the water shakes, it causes the earth to shake. This is one reason. There are priests and Pong-nas who are very powerful. There are also powerful Nats. These powerful beings, if they exert but little power, upon this earth, and upon the air, cause the earth to quake. This is the second cause. When the embryo deity descends from *Toke-the-ta* Nat country, and is conceived by his mother, the earth shakes. This is the third cause. When the embryo Boodh is born, he is in a perfectly calm state, and the earth shakes. This is the fourth cause. When I attained infinite wisdom, and became Boodh, the earth shook. This is the fifth cause. When I preached the unrivalled law, the earth shook. This is the sixth cause. When I sent forth the respiration, the earth shook. This is the seventh cause. When I shall disappear, soul and spirit, the earth will shake. This is the eighth cause. Once, in the beginning of my becoming Boodh, I staid in the village of *Uru-wa-la,* under a Banyan tree, where many goats were kept, and at that time the vile *Mah-Nat* came to me, and said, 'Now go to *Neigban,*' and I answered him, 'Ha! you vile fellow, my male and female disciples have not yet become learned and skillful in difficult matters, they cannot yet practise firmly and fearlessly according to the divine law; they are as yet unable to teach the law to others, my religion has spread but little; so long as things are thus, I will not go to *Neigban.*' *Anan-da,* even now, as I was sitting here, he came again, and said, 'Now go to *Neigban,*' and I replied, '*Mah-Nat,* do not be concerned, in three months I shall go to *Neigban,*' and then I sent forth the respiration." When he had said thus, *Anan-da* addressed him, "O Gaudama, do stay here for the great benefit of men, Nats, and Brahmans, during the time of one *A-yu-kat.*"* Gaudama replied, "It is not suitable to ask this now, there can be no granting of the request." However, *Anan-da* repeated the request three times; when Gaudama inquired, "*Anan-da,* do you believe in my four ways of wisdom?" and he replied, "O Boodh, of course I believe, in the presence of Gaudama; I have seen and heard these four." Then Gaudama said, "The person who increases in the *Eik-deik-bat* law, may remain an *A-yu-kat,* or longer, if he chooses, without dying. Do you think that I, who have increased greatly in these laws, could remain, if it was my will?" *Anan-da* replied, "O Gaudama, to be sure I believe." He then said, "*Anan-da,* you believe in my religion, and remained silent when you had the hint given; you should have asked then, and as you did not, it was your mistake, it was your own fault; now, though you should ask twice, or even thrice, you could not have your request. Your asking now is too late, you ask in vain. *Anan-da,* I was once on *Geik-sa-koke* mountain, and while there I said to you, '*Ya-za-gro* country is a place for enjoyment, and this mountain is a place for enjoyment, etc.' When I thus conversed with you, you did not ask me; had you then asked me twice, and been refused, I should not have refused the third time; but as you did not ask then, it was your own fault. At this time, I have with exertion respired, and it will be improper for me to return to my former state. Now, *Anan-da,* let us go to *Maha-wun Ku-ta-ga-la.*" So they went. When they arrived, Gaudama told *Anan-da* to call together all the priests of *Way-tha-lee,* and have them assemble in the public Zayat. When he had called them together, he went to Gaudama, and shekoing, informed him that the priests had assembled. Gaudama then went to the Zayat, and when he had taken his seat, addressed them thus: "My beloved priests, for your profit in this religion, I, the Boodh, having infinite wisdom, have preached to you the laws. Now, you must remain firm in keeping these laws, and increase in virtue. If you do so, my religion will continue a long time, and there will be great profit, to men and Nats, in having it remain. Now, what means shall be adopted by which the religion may be continued? They are these: the four laws of *Tha-dee-pa-dan,* which are: one that watches over the body, one that watches over the mind, one that attentively considers the miseries of life, and one that attentively considers the duties of religion; the four *Tha-ma-pa-dans;*[*] the four *Eik-deik-bats;* the government of the five senses; the five kinds of *Poh;* and the eight *Meg-gens.*[†] These laws I have faithfully preached to you, now keep them as faithfully. The nature of the *Then-ka-ya* law, is change; have this ever in remembrance. Before long, I shall go to *Neigban,* even in three months."

---

* The Boodhist Scriptures, in three grand divisions.

---

* An age of the world.

---

[*] Four things: 1. Using exertion to prevent demerit, while as yet the person has done nothing blame-worthy. 2. Using exertion to prevent the increase of demerit, after the person has already done that which is sinful. 3. Endeavoring to do that which will procure merit, while the person is yet destitute of it. 4. After the person has a stock of merit, to excel in meritorious actions.

[†] A Meg-gen is the same as an Areeya. See note ‡ p. 3.

On the morning of the next day, he arose, dressed himself, and went out with his rice-pot for rice. When he had returned from the village, he looked upon the country of *Way-tha-lee,* in the manner of a full grown elephant; and when he had thus looked, he said, "*Anan-da,* this is my last look at *Way-tha-lee* country." When we say that he looked in the manner of an elephant, we mean this: the bones of men are joined by touching at the ends; the bones of a semi-Boodh are joined by hooks, one hanging on the other; but the bones of a Boodh are joined like the links of an iron chain; therefore, if he desires to look behind him, he must turn his body like an elephant, whose neck is so short that he must turn around in order to look behind him. When Gaudama thought to take a look at *Way-tha-lee,* as there is no reason why a Boodh who is perfect in virtue should trouble himself to turn around, the earth turned around like a potter's wheel, and placed the face of Gaudama towards *Way-tha-lee.* The reason why he looked at the country was that, in a little more than three years, the people would be destroyed, and in the place where he looked at the country there would be built a pagoda, to commemorate the event, called *Na-ga-pa-lau-ke-ta.* That pagoda would remain, and people would worship there, and his religion would be continued for a long time.

Gaudama then called *Anan-da,* and said, "Let us go to *Ban-gu-dama.*" When they arrived, he called together his priests, and preached to them the law. When he had remained as long as he desired, they went to another place; and here he preached to his priests the four great *Pa-day-tha* laws. When he had remained there as long as he desired, he said, "Let us go to *Pa-wa* country." Attended by his priests, they went, and took up their abode in a grove of *Song-da,* a goldsmith's son.

This *Song-da* was very rich, and the first time he saw Gaudama, some time previous, he became a *Thau-ta-pon,* and presented this grove, with the monastery, to Gaudama. When *Song-da* heard that Gaudama had arrived, he went to him, and shekoing very reverently, took his seat. Gaudama then preached the law in a very pleasant manner; and when he had done, *Song-da* shekoed, and said, "Will Gaudama and his priests eat my rice to-morrow?" Gaudama consented in his usual silent way. When *Song-da* perceived that he had accepted the invitation, he shekoed, and turning to the right, departed. Early in the morning, he had prepared all kinds of good eatables, and also a very delicious dish of pork and rice. He bought a pig that was neither too old nor too young, and had it prepared in the best manner, not too much cooked, nor wanting in cooking, and while the pork was preparing, all the Nats who watched the four great islands, and the two thousand smaller ones, threw in Nat food. When all was ready, he called Gaudama and his priests. The Boodh, having dressed himself, took his rice-pot, and attended by his priests, went to the house of *Song-da.* When they had taken their seats, Gaudama said, "Give me rice mixed with pork, but give the priests rice and other food." *Song-da* did as required. When Gaudama had done eating, he told *Song-da* to take what remained, and bury it in a hole in the ground, as none but himself could eat, or digest, such food, not even any one in the Nat, or Brahman, countries. After *Song-da* had buried the pork and rice, he returned, shekoed, and sat down. When Gaudama had preached the law to him, he departed. Soon after Gaudama had eaten the rice and pork, he was seized with a violent bloody flux, the pain of which he bore with great composure. To tell the truth of the matter, his eating the pork was not the cause of his illness; he would have been ill, if he had not eaten, but, because he did eat, his pain was less. On account of the excellent Nat food which was mixed with it, his distress was comparatively light, and he could still walk. Gaudama called *Anan-da,* and said, "Let us go to *Koke-theing-na-yōn.*" They set out for that country, and on the way he turned aside under a tree, and said, "*Anan-da,* double my garment into four folds, and spread it for me to rest upon, for my divine body is much fatigued." When *Anan-da* had done as ordered, Gaudama laid down, and said, "*Anan-da,* I am very thirsty, bring me some water." *Anan-da* replied, "O Gaudama, the *Manla* kings have just driven five hundred carts through the rivulet near by, and it is very muddy; the water of *Ku-da-ka* river is clear and cool, and not far off; if you drink of that water, you will be refreshed." As to the carts passing along, it was as follows. The *Manla* kings took their turns in being kings and subjects; and when one was king, the others were merchants. Just at this time, one of them, named *Poke-a-*

tha, having loaded five hundred carts, and appointed a head-driver to go before, himself followed behind. He was now just leaving *Koke-theing-na-yōn* for *Pa-wa* country, and as he had to cross the brook, the water was muddied just at the time Gaudama wished to slake his thirst. Though *Anan-da* wished to procure water from another place, yet, as Gaudama had three times called for water, he took the rice-pot, and went to the side of the rivulet, and there the water, though a moment before very muddy, was now clear. Then he he thought, "Truly the power of Gaudama is very wonderful. This is what I never saw before. That five hundred carts should pass through this water, and make it exceedingly muddy, and when I come, the water should run as clear as crystal, this is most extraordinary." He then dipped up some of the water, carried it to Gaudama, and said, "O Gaudama, the infinitely wise Boodhs possess power truly wonderful. This small stream has very little water, and after the five hundred carts passed through, it was very muddy, but the very moment I approached it, it flowed very clear and pure. This is more wonderful than any thing I have seen before. Please to drink." Then Gaudama took the rice-pot and drank.

Prince *Poke-a-tha,* a disciple of the sage *A-la-ya,* on his way to *Pa-wa,* saw Gaudama under the tree, went to him, and said, "O lord, this is very wonderful. Truly, the priests are very happy. The quietude of the *Tha-ma-bat* state in which they live, is very wonderful. O my lord, before this time, there was *A-la-ya,* of the race *Ka-la-ma,* who was travelling a long journey, and resting under the shade of a tree, very near whom five hundred carts passed. After they passed, a cart-man who had fallen behind, came to the priest, and inquired if he had seen five hundred carts pass; and he said that he had not. He then asked if he had heard them; and he said, 'No.' He then said, 'Priest, if you did not see nor hear them, were you asleep?' and he said, 'No, I was not asleep.' He then asked him if he was in his right mind; and he said, 'Yes.' Then he wished to know how it could happen that five hundred carts* should pass, and he not see nor hear them, and said, 'Priest, you are besmeared with the dirt of your cloth;' and he replied, 'Yes, I am covered with it.' Now, my lord, that man, when he heard this, said, 'Oh! these priests and sages are in a happy state of abstraction, not to know what is going on around them; that he should not hear nor see five hundred carts when passing, is truly astonishing.'" When he had ended his story, Gaudama, wishing to speak, said, "What do you think of what I will now tell you? Which is most wonderful, one having the right use of his senses, and awake, who should not hear five hundred carts when passing, or one in the same possession of his senses, and awake, who should neither see nor hear a violent rain with heavy peals of thunder, and strokes of lightning—which would be most wonderful?" *Poke-a-tha* said, "Though there were five thousand, ten thousand, or one hundred thousand carts, what should we say then? Of a truth, that any priest, who is in the possession of his senses, and awake, should have such a rain and thunder around him, and not be aware of it, is far more difficult to be." Gaudama then said, "*Poke-a-tha*, I, the Boodh, was once in *A-tuma* country, and stopped at a shed near a place for threshing out rice. Then there came on a dreadful storm of rain, thunder, and lightning. Near the threshing-place, were two brothers ploughing; the oxen were struck by lightning; and all killed. Hearing the thunder, many of the people came out to see the cattle that had been killed. As I was walking before the shed, a man came near, and shekoed, and I asked him, 'What is the cause of these people assembling together?' and he said, 'To see the four oxen of the brothers, that have been killed by the lightning; O my lord, where were you?' and I said to him, 'I have only been here.' He then inquired, 'O my lord, did you not see the lightning?' and I replied, 'No.' He then asked if I heard the thunder; and I said, 'No.' He then asked if I had my senses; and I told him, 'Yes.' Then he said, 'How is this, that you could be awake, and in your senses, and not see the lightning, nor hear the thunder?' and I replied, 'My friend, though I was awake, and sane, I did not see the lightning, nor hear the thunder.' When he heard this, he said, 'This is very wonderful, such as never was before; this priest's abstraction is very great, not to see and hear such thunder and lightning.' He then formed a very high opinion of me, turned to the right, shekoed, and departed." When prince *Poke-a-tha* heard this, he said, "O Boodh, the admiration which I before had for the sage *A-laya,* is as if blown away by the wind, yea, like the dust before the whirlwind. O Boodh, what you have said, is super-excellent. To use a comparison, it is like an open pot, the contents being easily seen; or like treasure which was concealed under grass, and is discovered," etc. Gaudama continued preaching things of the same kind, and *Poke-a-tha* said, "I venerate the Boodh, who can banish misery, and be happy. I worship the priests, who can live free from cares. O Boodh, from this day forward, consider me as one of your most devoted followers; I will worship the law, the priests, and the Boodh." The prince then called a servant, and ordered him to bring two pasōs which were very beautiful, and of the color of gold. Taking them in his hand, he said, "These I occasionally wear; they are of the color of pure gold, they are exceedingly fine and beautiful. On account of the divine favor conferred on me, I desire to make an offering of them to the Boodh." Gaudama then said, "If you have such a desire, give one to me, and the other to *Anan-da;*" and he did so. In order that the people might not say that *Anan-da* had been twenty-five years with Gaudama, and had never received any thing, he accepted the pasō, though Gaudama knew very well that *Anan-da* would not wear it, but would soon make an offering of it to him. He also knew that, if *Poke-a-tha* gave it to *Anan-da,* it would be the same as if given to all the priests, and his merit would be very great. Gaudama then again preached the law, and when he had done, *Poke-a-tha* arose, shekoed, turned to the right, and departed.

---

* The force of this story is lost upon one who has never seen a Burmese cart, which has a wooden axle, with a bamboo box in which it turns, which being rarely, if ever, greased, the creaking of a single cart may be heard half a mile distant.

Then *Anan-da* took the pasōs, of the color of gold, and caused Gaudama to wear them, the one wrapped around him, and the other over his shoulder. When he was thus dressed, his appearance was like a great flame of fire, and *Anan-da* said, "O most glorious Boodh, this is more wonderful than any thing I ever saw before; even the place around you is glittering. The brightness of these gold-like pasōs is like a great flame of fire." Gaudama then said, "Your words are very true, my divine body is inexpressibly beautiful, and my appearance glittering. With regard to the two times of my body's having this glittering appearance, one was on the night when I obtained infinite wisdom, and the other is on the night of my going to *Neigban.* On this night, at the morning-watch, in a corner of *Koke-theing-na-yōn* country, in the grove of En-gyen trees belonging to the *Manla* kings, I shall enter *Neigban;* therefore my appearance is exceedingly pure, clear, and glittering." He then said, "Now let us go." They then departed to the shade of a *Yay-ka-dat* tree, on the bank of *Ku-da-ka* river. The following verse is repeated at a gathering of priests:

> "*Poke-a-tha*, the son of the *Manla* kings,
> Has given two pasōs, of the color of gold.
> Because of his love for the Boodh, he made a present.
> The Boodh's appearance, when clothed with them, was glittering,
> In the eyes of Nats and men; he, the teacher, was very beautiful."

The glorious Gaudama, with a great company of priests, arrived at the *Ku-da-ka* grove, and he descended to the river to bathe, and then went into a Mango garden, a short distance from the river. *Anan-da* remained behind a moment, to bring his bathing-gown, and Gaudama called to *Song-da* to double his cloth into four folds, that he might lie down, as he was very much fatigued. He then laid himself down upon his right side, with the same composure and fearlessness with which a lion does. *Song-da* remained near him. At that moment, *Anan-da* arrived, and Gaudama said, "Verily, some one has caused *Song-da's* mind to be distressed. The cause is this. Because I am to go to *Neigban,* and have eaten his rice, he fears it will not add to his merit, but to his demerit. Now, *Anan-da,* you must go to him, and dispel his fears. You must say thus: 'Gaudama will go to *Neigban,* and his last meal was of *Song-da's* rice; therefore *Song-da* will receive much merit. In consequence of it, he has had the privilege of seeing and hearing the Boodh, and thus has received good instruction; his merit will be great. The rice was uncommon, and his reward will be uncommon. The last rice the Boodhs eat before receiving infinite wisdom, and the last they eat before going to *Neigban,* is extraordinary, and brings uncommon rewards. The merit is far above that of ordinary giving of rice, therefore the goldsmith's son *Song-da* has stored up merit for a long life. The advantages he will receive are, that he will ever be handsome, will always be rich, will live to be very old, will have many attendants, will dwell in

Nat country, and will be a chief, or great man.'" Thus *Anan-da* was to comfort poor *Song-da.* Gaudama then uttered the following verse:

"To those who make liberal offerings, the merit increases;
Those who govern their bodies, mouths, and minds, will be free from the five
kinds of demerit;
Those only who are wise, can reject evil;
Those only who are wise, can put away passion, and arrive at *Neigban.*"

Gaudama then called *Anan-da,* and said, "Let us go to the other side of *He-ra-nya-wa-dee* river, to the En-gyen grove of the *Manla* kings;" and with all his retinue they passed over. When they arrived, he said to *Anan-da,* "I desire that you will place my bedstead at the farther end of the grove, between two trees, with the head to the North. *Anan-da,* I am very much fatigued, and must lie down." He then placed the bedstead so that one tree was at the head, and the other at the feet. Though the trees were separated at the roots, their tops united, and formed a bower over him. This was a place where the *Manla* kings used to recline, and it was on one of their royal couches that Gaudama was laid. As to Gaudama's saying that he was fatigued, and must lie down, though his strength was equal to one thousand million male elephants, yet, from the time of his eating *Song-da's* rice, it departed, as water is lost in the flow of the Ganges. Though the distance between *Pa-wa* and *Koke-theing-na-yōn* was only nine miles, he had to stop on the way fifteen times, to rest, and by making great exertion, arrived at the grove about sunset. The reason why he said to *Anan-da* that he was much fatigued, was, that all men might take warning, and be prepared for pain and sickness. If any one asks, "Why did Gaudama make so much exertion to get to *Neigban* from this place, and not any other?" we reply that he might have gone from any other, but he saw three reasons why he should go to *Neigban* from this place: 1. He would here have an opportunity to preach about his royal father. 2. He would have an opportunity to instruct *Thu-bat,* who would attain *Met-poh.* 3. When the contention should arise over his relics, the Pong-na named *Dau-na* would settle the matter, and make a proper distribution. Now for an explanation why we say that Gaudama lay down like a lion. The manner of lions, men, *Peik-tas,* and Boodhs, is different. Men lie down on their left side. *Peik-*

tas lie down on their backs, because they have little flesh and blood. The lion lies on his right side, placing his hind feet together, and then his fore feet, with the tail between the hind legs; then he puts his tail and feet together, and lays his head upon his fore paws; and when he has thus slept all day, awaking without fear, and lifting up his head, he looks about fearlessly, and even though danger be near, lays his head down again, and falls asleep. When the time for taking food arrives, he arises according to his nature, roars boldly and joyfully, three times, and then goes in search of his prey.

Gaudama rested upon his right side, the joints of the knees were together; and while in this position, he was in great pain, and his mind was distressed, but in a little time he became composed. Therefore we say that he lay down like a lion. Thus Gaudama rested in the En-gyen grove of the *Manla* kings.

This grove was in the South-west part of the country. If you wish to go from the grove to the city, you will go due East. You could also go to the city, going North. Therefore the grove was in the South-west.

The trees under which the bed was placed, blossomed, limbs and trunk, and in order to make an offering to the Boodh, scattered flowers over, upon, and around him. Not only these trees bloomed, but the others also, trunk and branch; in fact, all the trees in the whole ten thousand systems blossomed and bore fruit. Also, on the trunks of the trees the *Kau-da* lily appeared; on the limbs, the *Thay-ka* lily; on the creepers, the *La-ta* lily; on the summit, the *A-ka-tha* lily; and the ground bore the *Dan-do* lily. Every thing thus bore the five kinds of lilies. *He-ma-woon-ta* mountain, which is thirty-six hundred miles broad, was as if covered with a peacock's tail, and full of flowers, even in wreaths of flowers, very beautiful to behold. The *Bong-ma-sō* Nats, who reside near the En-gyen trees, shook the flowers from them upon his divine body, once and again, so that he was covered. The *Mandawara* flower, of which the leaf is as large as an umbrella, and the stem as large as a plough-handle, fell down from *Nan-da-woon* tank in Nat country. In order to do honor to Gaudama, it came down, spread all over the country. The Nats then showered down sandal-dust, and scattered it around and upon the body. All the Nats' instruments, in order to do him honor, played melodiously, and the Nats sang sweetly. Not the Nats only, but the *Nagas* and *Galōngs,* also, scattered sandal-dust, and all kinds of perfumery, with gold and silver dust, and the Nats every where strewèd all kinds of flowers.

The long-lived Nats named *Walakara,* when they heard there was to be a Boodh in the country of man, began to string flowers to offer at the time of his conception; but before they had completed the string, he was conceived, and then they said they would offer them at his birth; but when they heard he was born, they said they would wait until he went into the jungle. Thus they kept on through the twenty-nine years he remained in the palace; and when they heard he had departed for the jungle, they said, 'We will wait until he becomes Boodh;' when they heard he had become Boodh, they said they would wait until he had preached the true law; when they heard he had preached for forty-nine days, they said they would wait until he had wrought his miracles; when they heard his miracles were wrought, they said they would wait until he went to Nat country, and then they would offer them; when they heard he had arrived in Nat country, they said they were not yet ready, they would wait until he had sent forth the respiration; when they heard he had respired, they were not ready, and said they would wait until he went to *Neigban.* When they were told, "To-day, Gaudama lies on his right side, in the grove of En-gyen trees, in the manner of a lion, and when day-light appears, he will go to *Neigban,*" and were asked, "For whom are you stringing your flowers?" they replied, "What Boodh is this? only just now, he was conceived, born, went into the jungle, preached the law, wrought miracles, went to *Ta-wa-deing-tha,* and sent forth the respiration; and now he is going to *Neigban.* There has not been time enough to take even a swallow of rice-water. The Boodh who is complete in the ten virtues, should not live so short a time." Thus, without having time to complete their wreath of flowers, they brought it in an unfinished state; and arriving at the borders of the *Sekya* system, and there being no room for them on the inside of the system, they took hold of each other's hands, and offered their flowers, running, to the man who was complete in the thirty-two signs, the six glories, the ten virtues, the five hundred and fifty *Zats,* and the fourteen graces, of a Boodh. They also danced and sang. At that time, when Gaudama saw Nats, *Nagas, Galōngs,* and men, making all kinds of offerings to him, he said to *Anan-da,* "The En-gyen trees, in order to do me honor, have blossomed, trunk and branch, and scattered their flowers on all sides of me; the Nats have sent down Nat flowers and sandal-dust; they have also made music and dancing an accompaniment. Now, *Anan-da,* all this falls short of the respect which is due to me, it does not amount to worship, it is not yet according to the divine law. Whatever priest, or priestess, lay man, or lay woman, practises according to the divine law, worships and reverences me truly; whoever practises and keeps the divine law according to my instruction, will remain in the true way of religion." The reason why he said this to *Ananda* was, that he might praise his priests, and that his religion might be established for a long time. The reason why he spoke disparagingly of the Nat offering was, that his followers might see the merit to be obtained from their offerings. If he did not thus say, his followers, in after-times, would not be so zealous in keeping the law, and his religion would not flourish so long, nor his disciples be perfect in the virtues. A mere offering, of itself, would not cause the religion to continue a day; nay, this would not exist so long as one is in taking a draft of rice-water. To use a comparison, if one thousand monasteries were built, like the great *We-ha-ra* monastery, or one thousand pagodas, like the great pagoda in *Ta-wa-deing-tha,* this would not cause the religion to continue. Whoever makes offerings will be rewarded, but good practices, and living virtuously, are the most suitable offerings to a Boodh. The heart, and not the action—it is by virtue, and not by offerings, that the religion will remain. Gaudama, wishing this to be understood, thus preached to *Anan-da.* At this time, the sage *U-pa-wa-na,* at a word from Gaudama, laid down the fan he was holding, and removed to a suitable place. When *Anan-da* saw this, he thought, "This *U-pa-wa-na* has been with Gaudama through twenty Lents, has always been near him; now why, in his last moments, should he say to him, 'Remove from before me?'" Then he drew near, and said, "O Gaudama, *U-pa-wa-na* has been with you day and night for a long time, he has been in the divine presence for twenty Lents, now why did you say in your last moments, 'Priest, go, do not stand before me?'" Gaudama, wishing to show that *U-pa-wa-na* was not to be blamed, replied, "*Anan-da*, the Nats of the ten thousand systems have assembled to have a look at me, the Boodh, for the distance of one hundred and twenty miles around the Engyen grove; they have assumed fine, delicate bodies; the most powerful stand so near as to touch each other, in the first rank, ten deep, in the next rank, twenty deep, in the next, thirty, in the next, forty, in the next, fifty, in the next, sixty; and among these Nats there is no occasion to say, 'Keep your clothes in such a manner as not to obstruct my seeing,' for they are all in a state of nudity. Now, *Anan-da*, these Nats say, 'We have come from a great distance to see him who has broken the circle of transmigration, who understands all law; this day, at dawn, he is going to *Neigban*, and now this priest stands in the way, and we cannot see him.' On this account I told *U-pa-wa-na* to remove." This *U-pa-wa-na* had a very large body, as large as an elephant's, and he was of great power; the Nats, when they saw him in the way, so that they could not see Gaudama, were angry with him. Though the Nats can see through common men, they cannot see through the priests, because of their great glory.

When *We-pa-tha* Boodh went to *Neigban*, his relics were put in one place, and over them a pagoda was built. The Boodhs who live to a great age, have pagodas which grow up of themselves, of gold bricks, one cubit long, a half a cubit broad, two fingers thick, and cemented together with vermilion and the powder of precious stones. Instead of water to mix the mortar, a vegetable oil is used. At first, the pagodas were twelve miles high; the Nats of the earth then added another twelve miles, the heavenly Nats, another twelve, the Nats of the skies, another twelve, the Nats of the clouds, another twelve, the *Za-du-ma-ha-reet* Nats, another twelve, and the *Ta-wa-deing-tha* Nats, another twelve. So this pagoda was eighty-four miles high. When the people came with flowers, clothes, perfumery, etc., to make offerings at the pagoda, the watching Nats received the offerings, in the presence of the people, and offered them to the pagoda. In those days, *U-pa-wa-na* was of the Pong-na race, and very rich. He bought a valuable pasō of the color of gold, which the Nat took and presented to the pagoda. When *U-pa-wa-na* saw him, he was much pleased with him, and prayed that he might become such a pagoda-Nat. So, when he died, he went to Nat country, and remained, after that, passing through various transmigrations, until *Kat-tha-ba* Boodh's days; and when the latter went to *Neigban,* a pagoda-twelve miles high was built over his relics, and *U-pa-wa-na* became the Nat who watched it. When that religion disappeared, he was in Nat country. When Gaudama appeared, he changed states, and was conceived of a good race. He became a priest to Gaudama, and as he had been a Nat who watched a Boodh's pagoda, he had great power.

Then *Anan-da* inquired of Gaudama, why the Nats who are supernaturally conceived, should be troubled, if he should go to *Neigban;* and Gaudama said, "There are some Nats who consider heaven as earth; these Nats, with dishevelled hair, holding their hands over their heads, wail bitterly, they fall down, and are very much distressed, saying, 'This Boodh, who is complete in the six glories, is going to *Neigban* very soon. The great Boodh who says good words, is going to *Neigban* very soon.' Thus they cry and lament. The Nats who are on the earth, wail and mourn in the same manner. But those Nats who are free from passion, consider that there is nothing permanent; they are therefore composed. They only inquire how they shall obtain the same good the Boodh enjoys. The worldly-minded only are distressed."

The priests came from the four points of the compass, to see Gaudama, and said, "We have come to see him who causes love in the soul to increase. We have come to worship him. When the excellent Boodh has gone to *Neigban,* we shall have no such privilege." Gaudama, considering that those priests who cherished love in their hearts, desired to adore the law, etc., preached to them, and what he preached will be found in another book.

Anan-da then inquired of Gaudama, what it was suitable for the priests to do with the women; and he said, "*Anan-da,* those priests who remain inside of the monastery, with the doors closed, though a woman should come and stand upon the steps of the door, if they keep the door closed, will have no unlawful desire, their minds will be tranquil;

it is only when women are seen that desire is engendered, therefore it is better not to see them at all." *Anan-da* then inquired, "O Gaudama, you have said, 'The better way is not to see them at all;' what shall we do when we are out receiving rice from them?" Gaudama replied, "*Anan-da,* you are only safe by remaining silent, and not speaking to them. If one should, holding a drawn sword, be talking to you, and threaten to cut your head off, it would be prudence to converse with him; or, if a *Beloq* woman should come and say, 'I will eat your flesh,' it would be prudent to converse with her; but to speak to a woman will surely lead to destruction, and allows of no escape from hell. When one converses with a woman, he becomes acquainted with her; when acquainted, he has desire, the law is broken, and misery ensues; therefore it is far better to say nothing to them." *Anan-da* said, "O Gaudama, you say that by acquaintance comes destruction; now, as for those women who practise the virtues, and keep the law, and who converse well, when they wish to hear the law, what shall we do? if we must remain without speaking, they will say, 'This priest is deaf, or well fed, or his mouth is closed;' what must we do in such cases?" When he had thus asked, Gaudama said, "My beloved priests, draw near. Those women who are of suitable age to be your mothers, consider as your mothers; those of a suitable age, as sisters; the younger ones, as children. These things, and what I have told you before, remember." *Anan-da* then inquired, "When you have gone to *Neigban,* what shall I do?" He replied, "I warn you not to have any anxiety about the burning of my body, but make all diligence to attain the excellent state of *Ar-a-hat-ta-poh.* This will be for your profit. Make the attainment of *Neigban* the object of your life. *Anan-da*, there are wise men from the race of kings, of Pongnas, and of rich men, who exceedingly love me; those wise people will attend to the burning of my body." *Anan-da* then said, "These wise men will certainly ask me what they shall do, and when they ask, what shall I say to them?" Gaudama replied, "*Anan-da,* they prepare the body of a *Sekya* king for burning, first, by wrapping it in a new pasō from *Ka-tha-ka-reet* country, then in very fine cotton, then in another pasō, then in cotton, until one thousand pasōs are wound around it; then they put the body in a trough or coffin, filled with oil, over which another trough or coffin is turned; then they prepare the pile of odoriferous wood, and then they set it on fire; and at the corners of the road they build pagodas, to commemorate the event. In the same respectful manner which they observe towards the *Sekya* king's body, let them do to mine, and let pagodas also be built. Whoever make offerings of flowers, perfumery, flags, etc., to those pagodas, and shekoe reverently, will show their attachment to my religion. Those who increase in these graces, and other duties, will have much happiness for many days and nights. *Anan-da,* there are four orders of beings who are worthy to have pagodas built to their memory. I, who am worthy to receive the four great offerings, and understand all law by my wisdom, am worthy to have pagodas built to me; the semi-Boodhs are worthy of pagodas; also, my priests; and the *Sekya* king. The great advantage of building pagodas, etc., to me, is, that those who do so with right feelings, will, when they die, go to Nat country. Those who build to a semi-Boodh, will go to a Nat village, and arrive at a good state. The reward of those who build to the priests will be the same. Those who build to the *Sekya* king, because he was the guardian of the law, will be the same. Now, the reason why a *Sekya* king, who dies among men, should have a pagoda, rather than any other man who keeps the law, is, that, if every man who keeps the law should have a pagoda built to him, pagodas would be very numerous, and the earth would not contain them; but as there is only one *Sekya* king, his rareness makes him worth worshipping. Those who keep the law, are worthy to have all honors at a funeral, but not worthy of a pagoda."

When he had done preaching, *Anan-da* thought, "The excellent Boodh has showed me my place, where I must stay, and what I must do; he has told me the advantages of worshipping, and of building pagodas; he has also told me my duty to the women; he has informed me who are worthy to have pagodas. Now, of a truth, this day will Gaudama go to *Neigban.*" He was then very much distressed in mind, and as he knew it would not be respectful to wail before his master, he departed to a Zayat, and stood by the door, having hold of the bolt, and wept, thinking, "I am only a novice, I have yet to attain the three higher states. Gaudama, who has so often instructed me, is going to *Neigban*; now, for the washing of whose face shall I bring water? whose feet shall I wash? whose bed shall I make? whose rice-pot and clothes shall I carry? whom shall I assist in dressing?" etc. In this manner he cried and wailed greatly. When Gaudama observed that *Anan-da* was absent, he said to his priests, "My children, where is *Anan-da?*" They replied, "O lord, *Anan-da* is in a Zayat, holding on to the door, crying, and saying, 'I am only a novice, I have the three higher states yet to attain. The Boodh, who has so often instructed me, is now going to *Neigban.*'" When Gaudama heard this, he called one of his priests, and said, "Go tell *Anan-da* that Gaudama calls him." The priest did as ordered, and *Anan-da* followed him into the presence of Gaudama, where he shekoed, and sat down. Gaudama then said, "*Anan-da,* this weeping does you no good, do not be anxious, cease your crying. Have I not told you before, that all our dearest friends must be separated from us in this life, in various ways, and also separated by death? How can you prevent me from dying? The body is visible, it is suitable to bring it under the law; it is of a destructible nature, and though you should desire ever so much to keep my body from destruction, you could not do it. You have, for a great many days and nights, with a whole heart, attended on me, for my comfort, to increase my happiness; in thought, word, and deed, you have ministered to me, and your merit is great. Now be diligent in repeating your *Kam-a-tan,* and in a short time you will be free from the law of transmigration." When he had thus spoken, the earth, which is two hundred and eighty thousand *Yuzanas* thick, was as if turned bottom up, and the heavens were as if turned over; the *Sikyawala* mountain was as if removed from its place, *Meyn-mo* mountain, as if it was raised up, and the *Sa-bu-tha-bya* tree, as if shaken by its limbs. The Boodh, in order to say more in praise of *Anan-da,* called his priests, and said, "My sons, *Anan-da* is wise, he is skilled in things relating to the body. He knows the time for my male priests to see me and worship; also, the time for the female priests; and the time for the kings and princes to come and worship; the time for noblemen; and the time for heretics." When he had said this, he wished to show them the four extraordinary things in which *Anan-da* was uncommon, and he said, "As for *Anan-da,* when in the midst of the assembly, all love and reverence him. He is very handsome, and beautiful to look upon. His knowledge is extensive, he is a glory to the priests." Thus he spoke of his graces, and added, "When priests at a distance hear of him, and come to see him, they will say, 'What we heard of this man is true,' and they will be very joyful. When he says, 'Friends, how do you do? are you free from disease? are you all in health?' etc., they will be joyful and glad of heart. My priests, *Anan-da* will verily remain in peace. The people who come to see him will never get tired of his company. Thus will the nuns, also, feel and say. When the lay men come, they will do the same. He will ask them if they venerate the three objects of worship, keep the commands, observe the eight worship-days, feed and reverence their parents, and feed the Pong-nas who keep the law, and they will be so pleased that they cannot be satisfied with him. Of the lay women he will ask the same, and they will feel the same. My dear sons, in these things he will be uncommonly popular." Then, in order to show how *Anan-da* was like the *Sekya* king, he said, "My beloved priests, the four wonders of the *Sekya* king are these: he is very beautiful, can fly in the air, can give instruction to the people, and can govern according to the law. When kings of other countries hear of these things, and come to see them, they are exceedingly well pleased. When the king asks them, 'My friends, do you keep the law of kings? do you preserve the royal line?' etc., they are very joyful, and when they see his peaceful and prosperous state, are full of love and affection. So the Pongnas, and priests, rich men, etc., when they visit him, and he inquires after their welfare, will be peaceful and happy. In these things, the *Sekya* king and *Anan-da* are alike." When he had ceased speaking, *Anan-da* addressed him, "O most excellent Boodh, do not let the most infinitely exalted Boodh go to *Neigban* from an insignificant city, in the jungle, surrounded by trees, but either from *Sam-pa, Ya-za-gro, Tha-wut-tee, Tha-kay-ta, Kau-tham-bee,* or *Ba-ra-na-thee.* Let Gaudama go to *Neigban* from one of these cities. There, beside the king and princes, there are Pongnas who possess great wealth, and very many who exceedingly reverence the Boodh; there, you would have a more magnificent funeral pyre," etc. Gaudama replied, "*Ananda,* do not say that this city of *Koke-theing-na-yōn* is not large, but a little city; nor that it is poor; neither that it is like the suburbs of a large city. I, the Boodh, came here in order to preach, I have been here a great many times before; now I will tell you a circumstance that took place formerly. There was once a great king named *Tha-mu-da-tha-na,* who protected the law, and who governed all the islands of the four great oceans, and who overcame all his enemies, who was complete in the seven *Yada-nas.* This city was then the residence of a king called *Ku-tha-wä-dee,* and the country he governed was one hundred and forty-four miles in length, and eighty-four in width, was very wealthy and flourishing, was full of people from all nations, had all the eatables one could desire, and was like the residence of the Nats. Such was the country, *Anän-da.* This country was not quiet, from the cessation of the ten voices, night or day. The ten voices are these: the noise of elephants, of horses, carriages, great drums, and drums of all sorts, the harp, trumpets, gongs, clapping of hands, and the noise of eating and drinking. These voices were always heard." When he had thus explained the history of the country, from beginning to end, he said, "*Anan-da,* go into the city, and make known to the *Manla* kings that, at the morning-watch, the excellent Boodh will enter *Neigban.* Now go quickly. Do not let your mind be distressed, hereafter, by reflecting that you did not see the Boodh in his last state; therefore go quickly." *Anan-da* put on his garments, took his rice-pot, went forth alone, and entered the city. Before he arrived, the kings had assembled in the public Zayat, on business; whereupon he went and told them what Gaudama had said. When they heard it, the kings, the queens, the princes, and the princesses, were greatly agitated and grieved. Some dishevelled their hair, some held their hands over their heads, some rolled upon the ground, as if their hands and feet had been cut off, weeping, wailing, and crying, "Gaudama who is full of glory, is going to *Neigban* very quickly. The Boodh who says excellent words, is very suddenly going to *Neigban.* The Boodh who possesses the five kinds of vision, disappears very suddenly." In this manner they lamented. Then the kings, queens, etc., went to the En-gyen grove; and when they drew near, *Anan-da* thought, "If I allow all these to approach Gaudama singly, the morning will come, and some will not have the opportunity to see him. It will therefore be well for me to go to Gaudama and say, 'The kings, queens, etc., sheko to the Boodh, by touching their heads to his feet;'" and then he took them up one by one, and so managed to get through with them all by the first watch of the night.

A heretic named *Thu-bat* then lived in the city. When he heard that, at the first watch of the night, Gaudama would go to *Neigban*, he thought, "I have long heard from the old heretics, that there was a Boodh in this world, who was worthy to receive offerings, and that of his own wisdom he understood all law. I now hear that Gaudama is going to *Neigban* at the morning-watch; from what I have heard of him, I rather like him; if I am in any error, how shall I know it? by what means shall I hear the law from lord Gaudama?"* This man, in a former state, had some merit; he then had a brother, who with him cultivated paddy. The elder brother said, "It is suitable to make nine offerings in the raising of one crop of paddy." Therefore, when he sowed his paddy, etc., he made offerings. But the younger brother said, "You will destroy all the paddy." The elder brother, seeing that the younger did not approve of his offerings, divided the field, and watched his own half. When the seed was formed, he made an offering of butter and oil. When the seed became hard, he offered parched rice. When he reaped, he offered the first he reaped. When he gathered, he made an offering of the first gathered. When he bound it into bundles, he made an offering of the first sheaves. When he threshed it, he offered from the first of the threshing. When he stored it in the granary, he made an offering of the first from the granary. In consequence of these offerings, he was the first person to whom Gaudama preached, after he became Boodh. In consequence of the offerings and the preaching, he with a multitude of Brahmans attained *Thau-ta-pat-ta-poh*. The younger brother afterwards made offerings, and therefore had now a desire to see Gaudama. This heretic then went to the grove, and drawing near to *Anan-da,* said, "O priest *Anan-da,* I have heard it said by old men and teachers among the heretics, that at a future time there would be a Boodh, who would be worthy to receive excellent offerings, and who would understand all law by his own wisdom; now, to-day, at the morning-watch, Gaudama is going to *Neigban,* and because I have heard that he is the Boodh, I have a desire to see him. By what means can I have my false sentiments corrected? I think this priest Gaudama might enlighten me, I now desire of you that I may have an opportunity of seeing him." When *Anan-da* heard this, he thought, "This man is a heretic, he is out of the pale of our religion, and in order to convince him of his errors, Gaudama must talk a great deal, and this will fatigue him; even if he was in health, he would be fatigued in answering his questions," and he said, "*Thu-bat,* your request is not suitable; do not molest Gaudama, he is fatigued." *Thu-bat* then followed *Anan-da* wherever he went, asked twice, and thrice, but still was refused. While he was asking the third time, they stood near the door of the room where Gaudama was, who overheard the request, and called out, saying, "As I have made all this exertion to reach this place for the advantage of *Thu-bat,* why do you prevent his coming to me? let him come. If *Thu-bat* desires to ask me any questions, they will be only those on which he desires information, and such I shall immediately understand; let him enter." When he had thus said, *Anan-da* said to *Thu-bat,* "Go in, the excellent Gaudama has given you permission." Then he entered, and conversed with Gaudama, and was very happy. When he had heard words worthy of being remembered to the end of his life, he took a suitable posture, and addressed Gaudama thus: "Lord Gaudama, did *Kat-tha-ba, Kau-tha-la, Ze-ta, Pa-koke-ta, Theen-za-ra,* and *Ne-gan-da,* who were heads of priests, learned, of great fame, and had many disciples—did they understand, or not understand, the law to which they assented? or did they only understand in part?" Gaudama replied, "*Thu-bat,* your question is not suitable; we will waive this subject, and I will preach the law to you; now pay attention, let it be firmly impressed on your mind." *Thu-bat* replied, "Very well." Thus he consented to listen. Gaudama then preached thus:

---

* The writer remarks: Some books say that this heretic *Thu-bat* was of the *O-deik-sa-ma-ha-tha-la* Pong-na race, who dress in white; other books say that he was born of a widow's daughter in the village of *Wen-ga-ha*, and that his father's name was *U-ka-ka*, and his mother's name, *Sah-wa*.

"*Thu-bat*, whatever heretic is under the influence of passion, is not worthy to receive the sinless state of *Met-poh;* and those who are unworthy to receive this state, are unworthy to become *Thau-ta-pon* priests; and those not worthy of this, are not worthy of the higher states. Whoever is free from passion, is worthy to receive the four states of perfection. In my religion, only, are the *Meg-gen* states to be obtained; out of it, they cannot be obtained. They have not the laws of perfection. There are not among the heretics the three great classes of priests, who strive for the three great laws. Those who strive for these laws, must be diligent, and their exertion prevents the world from being quiet. I, the Boodh, when I was twenty-nine years of age, desired infinite wisdom, and in order to find it, became a priest, and from that time, for fifty-one years, I have kept *Neigban* in view. Out of my religion, there are no *Thau-ta-pons, Tha-ga-da-gans, A-na-gans,* or *Rahandas.* Out of my religion, among the heretics, there are not the twelve great priests. These twelve are diligent, and by their ardent labors they keep the world from indifference." Thus Gaudama preached. *Thu-bat* replied, "O Gaudama, this is good, it is very good. It is like the setting of a pot right side up, or finding lost treasure," etc. After Gaudama had again preached to him, the heretic said, "O Gaudama, most excellent Boodh, I worship the Boodh, the law, and the priests." Then, having foreseen that the priests would not be willing to receive him under four months, he requested of Gaudama that he might be admitted a priest in four months, well knowing that Gaudama understood why he did not ask to be at once admitted. Gaudama then called *Anan-da,* and said, "Admit *Thu-bat* at once to the priesthood." *Anan-da* then caused him to sit down properly, poured water from a pitcher on his head, teaching him the *Kam-a-tan,* then shaved his head, put upon him a priest's cloth, and taught him the creed. He then conducted him into the presence of Gaudama, who initiated him into the state of full priest, repeating to him the *Kam-a-tan.* Thus he heard it from the Boodh, and went forth in the garden, repeating it. By his diligence in acquiring the law, he arrived at the full state of a *Rahanda.* He was the last disciple Gaudama made before going to *Neigban.*

* * * * *

Gaudama then called *Anan-da,* and said, "You suppose that, when I am gone, there will be no Boodh; now, this is not correct. I have given the several books of the law, and those books, when I am gone, will be the teacher; therefore it will be wrong to say, 'We have no Boodh.'" When he had thus instructed all the priests, wishing to show them what they must do in future, he said, "*Anan-da,* now, while I am here present, the priests call one another *A-wa-than.* When I am gone, it will be unsuitable so to call each other; the priests of many Lents, and of few Lents, must be distinguished. Rank must be observed. The great priests must be called *Bau-tas*, and the smaller ones *Arq-tha-mas.* When I am gone, give *Sanna* the Brama-punishment." *Anan-da* inquired what this punishment was, and was informed, "The priest *Sanna* says whatever he likes; it is not proper for any other priest to have intercourse with him; this is what I mean by giving him the Brama-punishment." Gaudama then called his priests, and said, "My beloved sons, if any one of the priests becomes unsteady, and backslides from his attachment to the Boodh, the law, etc., remember me, have me before your eyes, and do not be discouraged." When he had said this, the priests remained silent. Gaudama repeated these words three times, and three times the priests remained silent. He then added, "My beloved priests, if you continue to retain your reverence for me, tell it to your acquaintances and friends." The priests still remained silent, and *Anan-da* said, "This is very extraordinary. O Boodh, in all this assembly there is not one priest who has any doubt, therefore they all love and have regard for you." Gaudama then said, "*Anan-da,* you say so because you feel so, but I, by my knowledge, know it to be true. The reason why there is no one who doubts, is this: among them all, the least priest is a *Thau-ta-pon,* and none do any evil which leads to punishment; their minds are stable, they only desire to reach forward to the higher states of merit." Gaudama then said to the priests, "My beloved priests, the state of being leads to destruction, do you remember this, do not forget this, I charge you." These are the last words he ever spoke. He then entered the several states, one after the other, until he arrived at the state where there is no pain. *Anan-da* asked a priest named *Anu-yoke-da,* "Has the Boodh gone to *Neig-*

ban?" He answered, "He has not yet gone, he has only entered on that state where all pain ceases." Gaudama continued to enter the other higher states, and from the highest he entered *Neigban.* Thus the great Boodh, at the first watch of the night, preached to the *Manla* kings, at the midnight-watch, to the heretic *Thu-bat,* at the third watch, instructed his priests, and just at dawn of day, entered *Neigban.* At the time when he departed, there was such a violent shaking of the earth as was enough to make one's hair stand on end. Among the Nats there was a great quaking, and a Brahman uttered the following verse:

> "Friends in the world,
> The excellent Boodh, who was filled with wisdom,
> Who had no rival, the teacher of Nats and men,
> Who the ten great laws well understood,
> Who knew all law, without being taught—
> Even he has gone to *Neigban.*
> As to others, how can they escape death?
> Whoever comes into the world, must throw off this mortal body."

At the same time, the *The-gya* king uttered the following verse:

> "O friends,
> There is nothing stable in this state of existence,
> It is all being and not being, or
> Coming and going; when it has been, it is gone;
> There is no happiness except *Neigban,*
> This puts an end to coming and going."

The priest *Anu-yoke-da,* at the same time, uttered the following verse:

> "O priests, the excellent Boodh,
> Who was free from all passion, has ceased to be;
> He who was unmoved by the troubles of life,
> He who was full of stability, has ceased to breathe;
> The excellent Boodh, who suffering bore
> As if he were in quiet, without shrinking,
> Has escaped from the mutability of existence."

Anan-da, also, said the following verse:

> "As for the excellent Boodh,
> Who in good deeds was perfect,
> When he went to *Neigban,*
> The earth quaked greatly,
> So fearfully and violently
> That the hairs of the head did rise."

When it was known that the Boodh had entered *Neigban,* the priests of the first two orders laid their hands on their heads, and wailed; some rolled on the ground, saying "The glorious Boodh has suddenly gone to *Neigban,*" "The Boodh who spoke good words, has gone to *Neigban* very speedily," "He who was the eyes of the world, has speedily disappeared." Thus they wailed and lamented. The priests of the higher orders remained composed, considering that whoever enters upon existence, must suffer death, and that even the Boodh is not exempt. *Anu-yoke-da* called the priests and said, "O priests, do not lament or cry; has not Gaudama said that the most loving friends and acquaintances must be separated by death? and as for Gaudama, who had entered this state of suffering, how could he escape it? O friends Gaudama had a beginning, and of course he must have an end. If he could have remained permanent, it would have been very well; this is what you desire, but there was no way by which he could do so. Friends, if the Nats, and you priests, cannot bear to part with Gaudama, how are the people to be comforted?" When he had thus reproved them, *Anan-da* asked, "How can the Nats, who are superhuman, grieve? how do they feel? how do they think?" The priest replied, "Those Nats who consider heaven as earth, and themselves as upon it, dishevel their hair, lay their hands upon their heads, and roll upon the ground crying out, 'The Boodh who spoke excellent words, has suddenly gone to *Neigban,*' etc.; but those Nats who are free from passion, bear it quietly, considering that in change there cannot be any thing permanent, that Gaudama, having entered upon existence, must of course die like others."

Anu-yoke-da said to *Anan-da,* "Now go to the city, and tell the *Manla* kings that Gaudama has gone to *Neigban,* and that it is time for them to consider when they will come to where he went to *Neigban,* and what they will do." Then he put on his clothes, took his rice-pot, and went alone into the city; and as he entered, the *Manla* kings had assembled to consult what they should do, since Gaudama had gone to *Neigban. Anan-da* went to the Zayat where they were, and said, "O ye of the *Wa-the-la* race, Gaudama has gone to *Neigban,* consider what you have to do." When they heard what he said, the kings, queens, and their children, were greatly distressed, etc., etc. They then directed to gather all the perfumes and flowers, the drums, harps, and all the musical instruments in the city, and to assemble at the place where Gaudama went to *Neigban.* Soon, all the city was bestirred, and all the perfumery, etc., was gathered together, and one thousand pasōs were soon collected at the place; and there, with singing and dancing, with music, flowers, etc., they honored the body with respect. A canopy of pasōs was erected, and a large enclosure made, where they spent the day. The kings then thought, "We will not burn the body to-day, it will be too soon, but we will do it to-morrow." The next day, and the following, and so on for six successive days, they feasted, and had music, thinking as above stated. On the seventh day, the kings considered that they would remove the body to the South side of the city, and there have the funeral pyre. Then eight of the strongest kings, having washed their heads, and put on new pasōs, thought to carry the body; but when they attempted to raise it, they could not move it. Then the kings said to a priest, "What is the reason we cannot move the body?" He replied, "Your thoughts are for one thing, and the Nats' are for another." Then they said, "O priest, men's minds we can know, but Nats' minds we cannot; what do the Nats think?" He replied, "*Wa-the-la* race of kings, your plan is to remove the body, to have it attended with honorable dancing and singing to the South side of the city, and there burnt; but the plan of the Nats is, that it shall be accompanied by Nat music and dancing, with flowers, etc., and taken to the West side of the city, then to the North, carried through the Northern gate into the middle of the city, from thence taken out at the Eastern gate, and burnt in a place where the *Manla* kings keep their great festivals." The kings replied, "Let it be according to the mind of the Nats." At that time, the kings spread flowers knee-deep over all the ground, and then the Nats co-operated with them, furnishing flowers, etc. The Nats held their festivities in the air, and the people on the ground, and mingling together they all worshipped. In this manner they bore the body to the West side of the city, then to the North; and through the Northern gate they carried the body into the midst of the city. As they thus went, a woman named *Man-dē-ka,* the wife of a general, hearing that the body of the Boodh was coming, took out a very beautiful garment, which she had not worn since the death of her husband, and sprinkling it with perfumery, said she would offer it to the body. As the people came along, she cried out, "Put down the body, wait a minute." They stopped, and she then put the robe on the body, which covered it from the head to the feet. Gaudama's body, in appearance like gold, being adorned with such an ornament, was inexpressibly beautiful. When she saw this, she was very much pleased, and prayed in her mind, that, so long as she might be transmigrating, she might never have occasion for putting on ornaments, that her body might have the appearance of being ornamented. They then took up the body, and carrying it out at the Eastern gate, took it to the place of burning. When the kings arrived, they asked *Anan-da* how they should proceed in burning the body, and he replied, "Do as you would do with the body of a *Sekya* king." They then asked what the custom was in burning the body of such a king, and were informed as Gaudama had before instructed *Anan-da*. The kings observed this direction: the body was wrapped in cotton and in pasōs, until a thousand were used up. The body was then put in a golden coffin, and covered with another. They then prepared the funeral pyre with odoriferous wood.

At this time, the great *Kat-tha-ba*, attended by his five hundred priests, was coming from *Pa-wa* country. In the middle of the day, the earth being hot with the heat of the sun, some of the elder priests became very weary; and when *Kat-tha-ba* saw their fatigue, he stopped under the shade of a tree until the cool of evening. They passed the time in religious conversation. When the sun had set, a heretic, bearing a large flower, which he carried on a stick, like an umbrella, came from *Koke-theing-na-yōn*. When *Kat-tha-ba* saw him with the flower, he considered, "This flower does not blossom at all times, it only appears when some powerful being makes a display of his power: when a Boodh is conceived, born, etc.; and surely this is not a time when a Boodh is being conceived, or born, or arriving at infinite wisdom, or preaching the law; nor is it the time for miracles, or going to Nat country, or the sending forth of the respiration; but my teacher Gaudama is old, and the meaning of this flower is, that Gaudama has gone to *Neigban*." When he thus thought, he resolved to inquire of the heretic. As it would have been disrespectful to Gaudama to have made the inquiry, sitting, he arose, and wrapping himself in his cloth, which was in appearance like the clouds, he placed his ten fingers together, laid them upon his glittering forehead, and shekoing as if Gaudama was present, inquired of the heretic, "Do you know our teacher, the excellent Gaudama?" [The writer of the book asks: Did he inquire, knowing Gaudama had gone to *Neigban*, or did he inquire, not knowing? The *Rahandas* have great knowledge, and are very thoughtful. Some suppose that, because he did not see Gaudama go to *Neigban*, he did not know he had gone; others say that he spent the most of his time, night and day, in caves and solitary places, in a state of abstraction, and that, when he went into a village for rice, if he was taken with a fit of abstraction at the gate, he there remained until he came out of it, thus forgetting his time for eating; and that sometimes, wishing to increase the merit of the people, he would inquire, "Who will give me rice?" and so, because his mind was abstracted, he did not know Gaudama had gone. There is no reason to believe either of these; he must have known it, for the ten thousand systems were shaken, and his departure very much noised abroad, and all the great signs had appeared. The true reason why he asked, was that some among his disciples had seen Gaudama, and were anxious to see him again, and some had not seen him, and were very anxious to see him; and if they had gone on without making inquiry, and had then found Gaudama gone, they would have been so grieved that they would have cast off the priest's cloth, would have beaten their breasts, and clasped their hands, and wailed, the old priests acting like women; and the people, seeing the priests conduct thus, would have said, "If the priests are thus inconsolable, where shall we find comfort?" By doing so, their shame would have been flagrant; but there being no people to see, in the place where they then were, if they should wail and lament, so, though he knew himself, wishing to have them know, he inquired.]

When he inquired, the heretic said, "O yes, I know him, the priest Gaudama went to *Neigban* seven days ago, and I brought this flower from the place where he departed." When the five hundred priests heard this, they rolled upon the ground, laid their hands upon their heads, and wailed out, "Gaudama, who was perfect in the six glories, who spoke excellent words, has suddenly gone to *Neigban*," etc., etc. The older priests remained quiet, considering the instability of all things, and that, as Gaudama had entered upon this state, there was no way to save his body from destruction. At that time, one who had left the priesthood said to those who were wailing, "Do not be troubled, do not weep, you are freed from the hands of this great priest; we have been oppressed and abused by him long enough, now we can do as we like," etc. The reason why he said this, was that he had a grudge against Gaudama. When Gaudama was alive, this man was a barber, and became a priest.

At a time when Gaudama was going from *Koke-theing-na-yōn*, with twelve hundred and fifty priests, to his village, this priest heard of his coming, and said to his two sons, "I will make an offering to Gaudama of rice-water. Gaudama is coming with twelve hundred and fifty priests, therefore take the razors for shaving the head, and go to every house in the village, and procure oil, salt, and rice; for, when he arrives, I will make an offering." The sons did as directed, and when the people heard the pleasant voices of the children, whether their heads needed shaving or not, they had them shaved, to please the children; and when the boys were asked what they would do with what they received, they said, "We have no other object than this: our father desires to make an offering as soon as Gaudama comes," and the people gave the children more than they could carry, and sent the remainder after them. When Gaudama arrived, he went into the great Zayat. As he entered the place, in the cool of the evening, the barber went to the gate of the city, and calling the people, said, "I do not want any goods of you, what was brought by my sons is enough; but give me some assistance in cooking." The people inquired, "What shall we do? and how shall we do it?" etc, and he gave them cloths, etc. They took the things to the place where Gaudama was, fixed their stones, and made their fires; and he remained superintending them, and spent one hundred thousand in the offering, which was of rice, flesh, fish, and flowers, and every thing that had a fine flavor. All those who desired, received oil, to oil their heads. The food which they had prepared, had a very pleasant smell.

Early in the morning, Gaudama, having dressed himself, took his rice-pot, and accompanied by his priests, went forth to receive rice. The people who were cooking, when they saw him coming, called out to the barber, "For whom are you cooking this rice? Gaudama, with all his priests, is coming." He then dressed himself in his black clothes, ran out, with his ladle full, and bending his right knee, said, "O Gaudama, please to receive this rice." Gaudama then inquired how he came by the rice; and when he heard, he reviled him, and would not receive it. Then, wishing to have his priests know that the offering was improper, he said, "My priests, though you should be seeking for food more than a million times, whoever shall receive this food, will be punished more than one thousand *Ku-bas*;* do not receive it." He then went another way to receive his rice, as well as his priests, and not one of them would receive the barber's rice, who, of course, was very unhappy, and never after this wished to hear it said that Gaudama knew all things, ever felt malicious towards him, but did not dare to say much, lest Gaudama should punish him. But now, when he was dead, he was rejoiced, like one who has received comfort, and therefore he said to the priests, "Do not wail," etc.

When *Kat-tha-ba* heard what the barber said, he was as if he had been struck on the head, or as if a thunderbolt had fallen upon him. He had reason to be terrified, to hear such language about the Boodh, and thought, "It is only seven days since Gaudama went to *Neigban,* and we must so soon hear him, whose appearance was like gold, spoken of in this irreverent manner! If these vile persons increase, they will make priests among themselves, and draw the people off from the true religion." Then he thought again, "I will, even here, cause him to put on an old dirty pasō, and expel him from the priesthood. When lord Gaudama was alive, and there were any differences among the priests, rather than expose them to the people, he bore their dissensions in silence. The law which the excellent Gaudama preached, like an unstrung wreath of flowers, if blown by the wind, will be scattered; so these vile priests will destroy the law which Gaudama preached. Now, to prevent this, as a wreath of flowers well fastened is not scattered by the wind, we must have a great meeting of the priests, to preserve the law; then it will remain unshaken. The most excellent Gaudama, that I might be the preserver of the law, once taught me how to preserve it, while we were walking nine miles on the road, and intimated that the way to do it would be to have, occasionally, general meetings of the priests, and once he changed clothes with me, as a mark of his regard for me; this and other favors I have received; now, in order to exalt Gaudama in return, it will be well to have an assembling of the priests ere long." Thus he thought in his mind. He then endeavored to comfort the priests, saying, "My friends, did not Gaudama preach this to you: all of us must be separated by distance and death, in this world; those who love each other most, as well as others, must be separated. Even Gaudama, who had entered upon this changeable state—how could he be preserved from death? It was the nature of his body to come to ruin, therefore to wish that he might have remained is foolish, and avails nothing." Thus he comforted them.

---

* Or *Kam-bas,* ages of a world.

Then four of the strongest *Manla* kings, having bathed themselves, and dressed in new pasōs, thought to raise the body, and place it upon the pyre of sandal-wood, which was one hundred and twenty cubits high, and there burn it. When they had placed it on the pyre, they could not kindle the fire. Then eight, ten, twenty, and even thirty, of the kings tried all their arts to make the fire burn, until they had used all their torches, and fanned the fire with palm-leaf fans, and blew it with leather bellows, and yet the fire would not kindle. They then inquired of *Anu-koke-da,* "Why does not the fire burn? We have tried all our skill, and do not succeed; what is the reason it does not burn?" He answered, "O *Wa-the-la* race, your minds and the Nats' are not alike; you desire one thing, they another."

Now there was a race of eighty thousand persons, who had a great respect for religion, and when they changed states, went to Nat country; and they had kind regards for *Kat-tha-ba,* and when they saw that he was not among the multitude, inquired, "Where is he?" and when they looked, they saw him on the road, and said, "Do not let the fire kindle, until the great *Kat-tha-ba* has had an opportunity to sheko to the dead body. *Kat-tha-ba* will come with five hundred priests, and sheko at the feet of the body; till this is done, do not let the fire kindle." While the people were thinking about this *Kat-tha-ba,* "Is he tall?

or is he short? is he white? or is he black?" they took flowers in their hands, and went forth to meet him; some ornamented the road, some stood looking the way he was to come. When he arrived at the place of burning, he adjusted his clothes in a reverent manner, and then, with his hands to his forehead, went three times to the right around the pyre, considering, as he went, "In this place is the head, here are the feet," etc.; and he stopped near the royal feet, and said, "Let the wood, the coffin, the cotton, the pasōs, open, and show the royal feet." When he had said this, all opened, and the feet appeared, as a full moon comes out from behind clouds. *Kat-tha-ba* took hold of his hands, which were in appearance like a full blown lily, and felt of his feet as high as the ankles; then, placing the feet upon his head, he shekoed. His five hundred followers, after having gone around the pyre to the right, shekoed. When the people saw this wonder, they gave a simultaneous shout, and rushed forth with flowers and other offerings to worship. When all had thus had an opportunity to see and worship, and *Kat-tha-ba* had let go his hold of the feet, all was in appearance as it was at first. When the feet disappeared, it was as if the sun and moon had been withdrawn, and the people wailed greatly. It was now even more pitiable to hear the moanings, than it was when he first went to *Neigban*. As soon as the feet had returned to their place, without the aid or intervention of men, by the power of the Nats alone, the fire was immediately kindled, and the body was burnt, externally and internally, so that there were neither ashes nor coals left. In former times, the bodies of the Boodhs were only partially consumed, and what remained was deposited in a pagoda. Now, nothing was left but the relics. The pasōs in which he was wrapped, from the outer to the inner one, were left unscorched. In the case of former Boodhs who lived to a great age, when their bodies were burned, there was only one relic, like a bar of gold. But our Boodh went to *Neigban,* young, his religion had not spread; therefore he desired that his relics might be many, that they might be scattered far and wide, that people who could only get one as large as a mustard-seed, and build a pagoda, and reverence it, might acquire merit enough to get to Nat country. The largest relics of Gaudama, seven in number, were the four eye-teeth, the two jaws, and the frontal bone; and because they were entire, they were called *A-thau-bein-na* relics. Among the others, the smallest was of the size of a mustard-seed, and in appearance like a *Then-qua*-seed; those of a middle size were as large as half a kernel of rice, and in appearance like pearl; the largest were of the size of a bean, and in appearance like gold. When the body was consumed sufficiently, a stream of water came down from the clouds, as large as one's arm, and quenched the fire; water also came from the branches and bodies of the En-gyen trees, to quench the fire; it also spouted from the earth in a stream as large as a harrow-handle, and fell upon the pyre. The *Manla* kings threw on perfumed water. When the pyre was burning, all the surrounding trees sent forth fire and flame, yet not a leaf was scorched. The flies and spiders, even, could go between the flames, and experience no harm. The water that came from heaven, that which issued from the trees, and that which came up from the ground, was like common water. When the pyre ceased to burn, the *Manla* kings in the Zayat where they had worshipped the corpse for seven days, enclosed the relics in four iron cases, and spread them over with the four kinds of perfumery, and scattered parched rice, and the five kinds of flowers, and over them erected a canopy bespangled with gold and silver stars, and ornamented the room with wreaths of flowers. From this Zayat to the elephant-stables, on both sides of the road, they put up screens of pasōs, and spread the ground with mats. Over the road they placed a canopy bespangled with gold and silver stars. Wreaths of flowers were also placed in the Zayat, also the five kinds of flags; and flags and streamers were erected all around. The road was planted on each side with plantains, and pots with water were placed, with lamps, and oil for lights, etc. The relics in the golden coffin were placed upon the back of an elephant suitably caparisoned; offerings of flowers were presented, and the relics were suitably honored with music and dancing. The kings placed elephants so near as to touch each other, in front, next horses, then chariots, then soldiers, all in solid column. The relics were thus guarded for seven days, and the feast was kept up, so that, if any arrived from abroad, they might reverence the relics.

When *A-za-la-that's* nobles heard of the departure of the Boodh, as no one could bring him back, and as no one reverenced Gaudama more than the king, they thought, "When he hears of the death of Gaudama, he will die of a broken heart," and they consulted how they should prepare the mind of the king for the mournful intelligence. Then they took three golden coffins, filled them with a peculiar preparation of parched rice, went into the presence of the king, and said, "We have dreamed a dream, and we desire what was bad in that dream to be cleared away. We desire the king to be dressed in two white pasōs, and entirely covered, except the nostrils, and then to lie in one of these coffins. The king, hearing these words from men who only sought his prosperity, said, "My friends, if you dream thus, let it be so, I will do as you wish." When he had laid down, one of them took off his ornaments, spread his hair, turned his face towards the place where Gaudama's relics were, raised his hands, shekoing, to his forehead, and said, "O king, there is no creature who is exempt from death. Gaudama, who caused long life, who was worthy to be reverenced, and to have a pagoda, perfect in the six glories, and in all law, has gone to *Neigban* from *Koke-theing-na-yōn* country." When the king heard this, he fainted, and from the coffin a hot vapor issued. They raised him from the coffin, and placed him in another one; when he recovered, and inquired, "O friends, what did you say?" and one replied, "O king, Gaudama has gone to *Neigban.*" The king again fainted; whereupon they put him into the other coffin. When he came to himself, he again inquired, and was answered as before, and again fainted. They then lifted him up, bathed him, and poured a jar of water on his head. Then, when he came to himself, he arose, spread his hair, which was beautiful in appearance, beat his breast with both his hands, laid his two hands, which were like coral, upon his breast, which was like gold, and then, like a mad man, rushed out into the street, wailing and lamenting. All his musicians and dancers followed him to the Mango-garden of *Ze-wa-ka*. When he arrived there, and saw the place where Gaudama had preached to him, he wailed, and said, "Is not this the place where Gaudama preached to me the law? is not this the place where Gaudama extracted my thorn of fear? I revere, I worship him now. Though I speak, he remains without answering me." In this manner, once and again, he lamented and bewailed. He then said, "At all other times the report has been that Gaudama was travelling for the good of mankind, now we hear that he has gone to *Neigban.*" He then extolled the virtues of his friend, by sixty verses. As he thus spoke of the excellencies of Gaudama, he thought, "My business will not be over by wailing, I must send for some of his relics." He then sent a messenger to the *Manla* kings, saying, "My friends, the *Manla* kings, the lord of the six glories, the Boodh, descended in a direct line from *Thu-ma-da.* As for us, we are no other than princes of the lord of *Ma-ga-da* country. It is suitable that we should have a portion of the relics of Gaudama. We wish to build a pagoda over them, and make offerings to and worship them." The *Weik-sa* kings, of *Way-tha-lee* country, heard that the Boodh had gone, and sent to the *Manla* kings, saying, "O *Manla* kings, Gaudama was of the race of kings, we are also of the race of kings; it is suitable that we should have some of his relics; we desire them, that we may build a pagoda over and reverence them." The *Sha-ga-wen* kings, of *Kap-pe-la-woot,* hearing that Gaudama had departed, sent, saying, "O *Manla* kings, Gaudama was of our own race, we desire some of his relics, that we may build a pagoda, and reverence them." The *Bala* kings, of *An-la-kappa* country, sent the same request; and the princes of *Yama* village; also, the Pong-nas of *Wa-tha-deba* country, and the *Manla* kings of *Pa-wa* country, all sent the same request. *A-za-la-that* said, "If they give the relics, let them give them; if they do not, I will go out against them, and grind the whole city to powder, and bring away the relics." In the same manner all the other kings spoke, and so all prepared for war.

When the *Manla* kings heard the request of the messengers, they considered whether it was better to give up the relics, or to resist invasion, in order to keep them. They replied to the messengers, "We did not send for Gaudama to come to our country, he came of his own accord, and sent for us. If there is any thing here which you have a claim upon, it must be gold, or silver, or some other precious thing. But we have never received from you any gold, or silver, or any valuable. There is no precious article that can rival the Boodh. This most excellent of all property we have received, and it is worthy of our reverence. Why should we give up the treasure to you? Have you alone sucked your mother's milk? Have not we also been nursed by our mothers? Are you the only men? Are not we men also? Come what will, let it come." Thus they conversed among themselves, and sent word to the kings of the other countries. If they really had come to battle, the *Manla* kings would have overcome the others, for the Nats, who had come to worship the relics, would have aided them. While the kings were uttering their bravado, a Pong-na named *Dau-na* went and stood upon a high hill, where he repeated two verses to allay proud language. No one listened to him while he repeated the first verse; when he had repeated the second, the kings said one to another, "We hear the sound of one of the teachers," and presently all became quiet, so that only his voice was heard. This *Dau-na* had been teacher to all the people on the island, and when the voices of the kings ceased, in order to show the kings their error, he repeated the following two verses:

"O kings, I have a word to say, listen!
We all extoll Gaudama for his forbearance,
What reason can there be for war,
Over the relics of our excellent Boodh?
Such a war would be wrong;
O kings, be all of one sentiment.
When you determine to agree,
All will rejoice.
Then, into eight portions
I will proceed to divide the relics."

"Let pagodas," said he, "be built in the four quarters of the earth, to the relics of the Boodh who was perfect in the five kinds of vision. Let great multitudes of people reverence and be benefitted by them. O kings, our lord, the Boodh, before he was complete in virtue, even when he was a hermit, when he was a prince, when he was a Nat king, of various Nat countries, when he was king of the Monkeys, and in many other states, did not get angry, but exercised great forbearance. He also extolled this virtue. And what shall we say more? It was Gaudama's custom to preach forbearance in all matters. Indeed, it would be very bad for these people to grasp their weapons, and fight over these relics. Let the kings of the eight countries be reconciled, let all their mouths be one, let each make the other happy, and I will divide the relics into eight portions. There is no one of you who is unworthy to receive the relics of the Boodh who was perfect in the five kinds of vision." In this manner he appeased their rage.

When the kings heard this, they all came and said, "If it be so, teacher *Dau-na,* divide the relics into eight portions." He replied, "Very well, I will do it," and he then proceeded to the place, with all the kings following him. When he opened the golden coffin, and the kings saw the relics, in appearance like gold, they said, "Formerly, we had the privilege of seeing Gaudama, who was perfect in the six glories, in the thirty-two great, and eighty smaller, signs of a Boodh; alas! it is not suitable that a Boodh should have come to this;" and then they burst forth into loud lamentation. *Dau-na,* seeing them thus off their guard, secreted the right tooth in his turban, and then proceeded to divide the remainder into eight portions. When all the relics were collected, they would nearly fill a peck-measure, and each of the kings received about a quart each of the relics. While *Dau-na* was distributing the relics, the *Thegya* king looked to see who had taken the right eye-tooth, and perceived that it was hid in the turban of *Dau-na.* He then considered whether *Dau-na* would reverence it in a suitable manner, and discovered that he would not; therefore he purloined it from the turban, and carried it to *Ta-wa-deing-tha* Nat country, and had it enshrined in the *Su-la-ma-nee* pagoda. When *Dau-na* had distributed the relics, he felt in his turban for the tooth, and found it was gone; but having stolen it himself, he dared not ask who had taken it, as he would thus expose himself. He therefore kept quiet, and resolved to ask for the golden vessel in which he had measured the relics. He then said, "O kings, I desire this golden measure, that I may deposit it in a pagoda;" and they gave it to him. Then the *Mau-re-ya* kings sent a message for some of the relics, and the *Manla* kings replied, "O kings, the relics have all been distributed, nothing remains except the coals left at the burning, take them." They then took the coals, built over them a pagoda, and worshipped them very reverently.

King *A-za-la-that* caused a road to be made to his palace, twelve hundred and sixty cubits wide, in the same manner as the *Manla* kings had done from the place where the body was burnt to the elephant's stable. The distance to his country was three hundred miles. He had an awning spread over the road, and the sides closed with pasōs. In order that the people might not be fatigued by the way, he built bazars, where eatables were procurable, on the road. He also had the golden coffin, which contained the relics, enclosed by iron net-work. He called the people of his kingdom, which was six thousand miles in circumference, and they bore the relics in a reverent manner, and when they found flowers of the color of gold, offered them to the relics, placing them on the iron net-work. Thus they proceeded. In the place where the first chariot was stationed, and where the last one stood, they stopped, and held a feast for seven days. They were seven months and seven days on the road, in conveying the relics to *Ma-ga-da-reet* country. From the delay in feasting, etc., the people were fatigued, and eighty thousand heretics sadly complained of the king and others, for spending so much time in honoring the relics, etc., and they were all punished with death, and went down to hell. When the *Rahandas* saw their fate, they said that they would go to the *The-gya* king, and request his aid, that the relics might speedily arrive, lest others should become dissatisfied also, and share the same fate. They went, and the *The-gya* king said, "O *Rahandas*, in reverence for Gaudama, *A-za-la-that* stands unrivalled. He will not listen to my words, even if I speak to him. Verily, I will create strange noises, and frighten the people, and cause the Nats to enter some of them, and make them ill; then do you go to the king, and say, 'The Nats and *Be-loos* are angry, please to hasten the arrival of the relics.' If you do this, the king will listen to you." The *The-gya* did as he promised, and *Kat-tha-ba* went to the king, and said as he was directed. The king replied, "I do not wish to move on yet, I wish to continue the feast." The priest said, "Even if it is not your mind to go, we beg you will go." On the seventh day, they proceeded. When they arrived in *Ya-za-gro* country, the relics were enshrined, and a pagoda built.

The kings of the other seven countries built pagodas over the relics which they obtained, *Dau-na* built a pagoda over the golden vessel, and the *Mau-re-ya* kings built a pagoda over the coals. Thus there were ten pagodas. After this, fearing that evil might yet arrive to the relics, *Kat-tha-ba* went to the king, and said, "O king, it will be well to do something to preserve the relics," and the king replied, "Very well, let that be my business. But how shall we get the other relics?" *Kat-tha-ba* replied, "That is not the king's business, leave that to me." The king said, "Do you bring the relics, I will take care of them." *Kat-tha-ba* then went to the several kings who had the relics, and obtained all except a trifle, suitable to be reverenced and worshipped, and carried them to the king. The relics in *Yama* village were protected by *Nagas*, and as no evil could happen to them, he left them, and perceived that they would be taken to Ceylon, where a monastery and pagoda would be erected. He only took from six of the kings, and these relics were carried to the South-eastern part of *Ya-za-gro* country; and *Kat-tha-ba*, standing there, said, "Let all the stones disappear from this place, let the earth become dust, let no water spring up." He then caused the king to dig there, and make brick from the dirt, and build eighty pagodas. If any one inquired of the king what he was doing, he would say, "I am building pagodas to the priests." Thus, no one knew what they really were doing. When the ground was dug to the depth of eighty cubits, the king had the bottom of the pit covered with a plate of iron, and over this a brass monastery set, of the same shape as the *Su-ba-yōn* monastery in Ceylon. He then had eight boxes of sandal-wood made, one enclosing the other, and the inner box containing a portion of the relics. Over the monastery were built eight pagodas, one of which contained the sandal-wood boxes. The next eight boxes, the inner one of which contained another portion of the relics, were made of gold, and placed over the sandal-wood boxes; and around them eight golden pagodas were built. Thus he proceeded, until the relics were enshrined in boxes over each other. The first set of boxes were of sandal-wood; the second, of gold; the third, of ivory; the fourth, of silver; the fifth, of carbuncle; the sixth, of ruby; the seventh, of variegated ruby; the eighth, of glass. Over the whole was a pagoda of glass, of the shape of the Ceylon pagoda. Upon this he erected a monastery of precious materials; upon this, a gold one; then one of silver; then one of brass. Upon the whole he sprinkled the dust of gold and silver, and all manner of precious stones, then all kinds of flowers of the land and water. Upon these he placed the images of Gaudama in his five hundred and fifty states, the images of the eighty great priests, the images of the father and mother of Gaudama, and also of his seven Pwa-bets.* All these images were made of pure gold. He then had made five hundred gold and five hundred silver pots, five hundred gold and five hundred silver flag-staffs, and five hundred gold and five hundred silver lamps, filled with exceedingly fragrant oil, the wicks made of pure white cloth; and then had these lighted. *Kat-tha-ba* then said, "Until the time when these relics are removed by the great king *Da-ma Thau-ka,* let not the flowers fade, nor their fragrance diminish, nor the lamps cease to burn." When he had thus said, he wrote in letters of gold, "In after time, the son of a king named *Pya-da-tha* will be created king; *Thau-ka* will be his name.† He will cause these relics to be spread over the face of the South island." The king then made offerings, and worshipped, and from the lowest story to the upper he shut all the doors, one after the other, which doors were made of brass, and fastened with an iron bolt. Near the last door, he left a large ruby, upon which he wrote, "In future time, let the poor king who shall find this ruby, make an offering of it to the relics." When all this was done, the *The-gya* king called the *We-tha-gyōn* Nat, and said, "The king has just done enshrining the relics; do you go and place a guard around them." When the Nat came to the place, he created a machine on which revolved the figures of most frightful beasts; he also created images holding swords, which were in appearance like glass; these he placed upon the machine, and the swords turned with the swiftness of the wind. He then enclosed them with bricks and stones which were near, and over the enclosure he placed a large stone slab. He then covered the slab with earth, and making all level with the former earth, erected over the whole a stone pagoda.

When the relics had been enshrined in this manner, *Kat-tha-ba* lived until he died, and then went to *Neigban.* The king *A-za-la-that* went according to his fate; and all that generation passed away. In after time, *Thau-ka* became king. He took these divine relics, and dispersed them over the South island. *Thau-ka's* confidential priest was named *Ne-grau-da,* and the king showed his attachment to the religion by dispersing the relics, and building eighty-four thousand monasteries. When these were built, he inquired of the assembled priests, "O my lords, I have built eighty-four thousand monasteries; where shall I find any relics of Gaudama? I have heard that a certain king concealed them." Wherever the priests thought they might be, he had the pagodas destroyed, in the hope of finding them. Thus all the pagodas in *Ya-za-gro* were destroyed. As he did not find the relics, he caused the pagodas to be rebuilt. He then called all the priests and priestesses, and went to *Way-tha-lee,* then to *Kap-pe-la-woot,* then to *Yama* village; and because the Nats protected the relics there, he could not obtain them, for, when they began to dig, their spades would break into many pieces. From thence, they went even through all the eight countries, and when they did not find the relics, after destroying and rebuilding pagodas, they returned to *Ya-za-gro.* Then the king called all the adherents of the religion together, and inquired whether they had ever heard where the relics were concealed. In the assembly there was one old priest, one hundred and twenty years old, who said, "As to the place where the relics are concealed, I am ignorant; but when I was a boy, seven years old, my father called me, and said, 'In such a place is a stone pagoda, let us go there,' and he gave me a basket of flowers. When we had gone there, and worshipped, he said to me, 'This place is worthy to be reverenced and remembered; do not forget.' O king, this is all I know about it." When the king heard this, he went to that place, and having the jungle cleared away, found the stone pagoda; which being removed, he found only earth. He then caused the earth to be removed, and they found the enclosure of the machines, and saw them whirling. The king then made an offering to the Nats who watched over the place, vowing, "O Nats, if you will give me permission to take away the relics, I will put them into eighty-four thousand monasteries, have them reverenced, and have offerings made to them. O Nats, do me no harm." At that time, the *The-gya* king, as he was travelling about, discovered what the king was doing, and called the Nats, and said, "King *Thau-ka* wishes to remove the relics; go and take away the beasts, swords, and machinery." Then *We-tha-gyōn,* assuming the appearance of a little boy with five knots of hair upon his head, holding a bow and arrows in his hand, went to the king, and said, "O king, I will remove these images," and the king replied, "My beloved son, do so." He then took an arrow, and shot between the joints of the images, and scattered them in every direction. The king then proceeded; and when he began to pull upon the bolt of the door, he discovered the ruby on which was written, "Let the poor king who shall come hereafter, make an offering of this ruby to the relics;" and when he had read it, he was angry, and said, "It is not suitable to call such a king as I am, a poor king." When he tried again and again, the door opened, and he entered. The lamps, though they had been burning two hundred and eighteen years, were as brilliant as if they were just lighted; the flowers were as fresh as if just placed there; and the perfumery was as fragrant as if just ground. Then the king, taking up the golden plate on which was written the prophecy that he should remove the relics, said, "The great *Kat-tha-ba* foresaw me;" and he clapped his hands for joy. He then took the relics, except a few which he left for future worship, closed up all as it was before, re-erected the stone pagoda, and left all nearly as he had found it.

---

* See note on page 12.

† According to this, *Pya-da-tha,* or Piyadasi, was Asoka's father. See *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society,* vol. xii. p. 243, ff.

E. E. S.

The relics which he took away he placed in the eighty-four thousand monasteries. He then bowed before the priests, and said, "O my lords, shall I enjoy the true religion? and have I done good, enough to secure my future happiness?" They replied, "O king, how can you expect this, having done only these outward things?" He then said, "O lords, if I, who have spent nine hundred and sixty millions in building these eighty-four thousand monasteries, have not obtained merit enough to save me, who has?" They replied, "O king, what you have done is only the giving of property; those only who give sons and daughters to the religion, can obtain happiness." When the king heard this, he had his sons and daughters made priests and priestesses, and then the old priest said, "Now, O king, you will be happy."

What I have written about *Dau-na's* distributing the relics, and the *The-gya's* stealing the right eye-tooth, is taken from the book called *Neigbana*. And what I have told of the depositing of the relics, and obtaining them again, is from the books *Da-tu-wan,* and *Ne-la-ta-da-tü*. I have used much diligence in writing this book in the Burmese language, called *Ma-la-len-ga-ra,* that those who read of the glories and excellencies of Gaudama, may reverence and become disciples of the Boodhs, the law, and the priests.

NOTE.

This specimen of Buddhist literature, the first which has come to us from Burma, although not bearing the name of an author, manifestly belongs to that class of books which originated after the Canon of Buddhist Scripture was established, in which the ancient traditions, while retaining their substance, were worked into new forms by individual authors.* The introduction and the concluding paragraph show this, as well as several passages which refer to conflicting statements in the sacred books, or in which an opinion is expressed on points occurring in the narrative.† The same thing appears from comparing the work here presented with Foucaux's translation of the history of Buddha, from the Tibetan, which forms a part of the collection of sacred books of the Tibetan Buddhists, and of which there exists also a Sanskrit original, written probably in India, about the beginning of the Christian era.‡ It is worthy of notice, however, that Foucaux's work carries us down only to the commencement of Buddha's preaching, while the *Ma-la-len-ga-ra* covers his whole life.

When our author lived, we are not told, nor have we, at present, any means of determining, except that the translator, in a note, speaks of the work as "purporting to have been written long before the invention of gunpowder in Europe."§

Both for the sake of ascertaining more precisely the place to be assigned to this work, as well as with reference to the subject of the propagation of Buddhism in Burma, the attention of those in a situation to investigate the point, should be directed to the inquiry whether or not the text translated by Mr. Bennett is itself an original.

---

* See *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, par. E. Burnouf, Paris: 1844, vol. i. p. 554, ff.

† See pp. 39, 109, 119, 140, 148.

‡ See *Rgya Tch'er Rol Pa, ou Développement des Jeux, contenant l'Histoire du Bouddha Çakya-Mouni, traduit sur la version Tibètaine du Bkahhgyour, et revu sur l'original Sanscrit,* (*Lalitavistâra,*) par Ph. Ed. Foucaux, Paris: 1848.

§ See note on p. 32.

It would have been easy to give the Sanskrit equivalents of many of the proper names and appellatives occurring in this translation. But Mr. Bennett's Burmese orthography has been retained. In the translator's manuscript, however, the division into syllables was not, in all cases, sufficiently clear to be adopted.

E. E. S.

ARTICLE II.

TRANSLATION
OF
AN UNPUBLISHED ARABIC RISÂLEH.
BY
KHÂLID IBN ZEID EL-JU'FY,
WITH NOTES.

BY

EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

(Read October 25, 1849.)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE following is a translation of that portion of an Arabic manuscript sent to me by Dr. Henry W. De Forest, missionary in Syria, which was spoken of, in the introduction to a translation of the larger part of the manuscript, published in the last volume of this Journal, as for the time set aside. It consists of two fragments of a *Risâleh,* or Missive, by one Khâlid Ibn Zeid El-Ju'fy, designed for the instruction of certain persons supposed to have "deviated from the path of orthodoxy," and chiefly taken up with relating a conversation which the author professes to have had with the Imâm Muḥammed Ibn 'Aly El-Bâḳir. Who this Khâlid was, whether a contemporary of Muḥammed El-Bâḳir, or not, I have not been able to determine. But the probability is, that he represents one of the numerous Shî'ite sects which, after the El-Bâḳir's day, as Esh-Shahrastâny informs us, availed themselves of his distinguished name to give currency to their own opinions. It is to be observed, however, that the doctrine of this Risâleh accords very well with the sketch given by Esh-Shahrastâny of El-Bâḳir's views; so that we may have here, at least, an authentic tradition of what he taught. As respects the heterodoxy opposed in this Risâleh, there is, in some of its statements, an evident antagonism to the doctrine of the Ismâ'ilis: as, for example, in the fundamental representation of the Amr, or Word, which is here the Absolute Deity, while, in the Ismâ'ilian system, it is the prime emanation from the Deity; and again, in the view given of the Meshiyeh, which, with the Ismâ'ilis, is only another name for the Tâly, while here it is represented as a Divine Volition caused by the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly; and yet again, in the statement of the origin of the world, which, in the Ismâ'ilian system, is viewed as an emanation from the Deity, in consequence of his creative mandate, but is here carefully distinguished as not in any sense the work of the Deity. But the opposition of this Risâleh seems to me to be, chiefly, to the doctrine of the Ghâlis, or Extravagants; with some allusions to that particular branch of this party denominated the Nusairis. What was said respecting these sects in the article above referred to, will enable the reader to appreciate this suggestion. It should be remembered, also, that these and the Ismâ'ilis belong to the same general family.

The foot notes to the translation are intended to facilitate the understanding of the text, without entering into any discussion of the doctrines set forth in it.

The portion of our manuscript translated in the following pages, was obtained through the courtesy of the late Prussian Consul General for Syria, Mr. Von Wildenbruch.

TRANSLATION.

. . . . . except me and my brother,"—let peace be to them both! Afterwards he said, "And no one knows us[*] with verity of knowledge, except the Prophets and the Legatees, and the Believers, 'whose hearts God opens'[†] to the faith, or our eminent Naḳîbs,[‡] who are elected, and whom we elect. Hearest thou not God, where he says, 'And whomsoever we direct and choose, when the signs of the Merciful are read to them, they fall down worshipping and weeping'?[§] And he upbraids the other party, saying, 'And when it is said to them, "Worship ye the Merciful," they say, "And what is the Merciful? shall we worship that which thou commandest us?" and it increases their shyness,'[‖]—meaning, that they are shy of the disclosure to them of the knowledge of the verity of the science of the hidden sense, pertaining to the knowledge of the Prince of the believers 'Aly Ibn Abû Ṭâlib,—let peace from him be to us!"

"And know thou, O Khâlid, that this name means, by a similitude, the Merciful, which is one of the names of the Prince of the believers 'Aly Ibn Abû Ṭâlib,—let peace be to him! and that the Compassionate is, by a similitude, a derived name among the names of the Envoy Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him and to his Family! Hearest thou not the Ḳurân, where it says,

---

[*] The Imâms.

[†] Ḳurân, Sûr. xlix. v. 3.

[‡] The Ḥujjehs of the Imâms. See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 290, note §; Ibid., p. 280, note †.

[§] Ḳurân, Sûr. xix. v. 59.

[‖] Ḳurân, Sûr. xxv. v. 61. The passage refers, properly, to those who rejected Muḥammed. El-Beiḍhâwy says, "The command to worship the Merciful increases their shyness of the faith." See *Beidhawii Commentarius*, vol. ii. p. 44.

'Verily an Envoy has come to you from among yourselves, to whom it is a grievous thing that ye are corrupted, who is eager for your being believers, mild, compassionate,' and so on, to the end of the sûrah?* So then the Merciful is a name of the Prince of the believers 'Aly Ibn Abû Ṭâlib,—let peace be to him! and the Compassionate is a name of Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him!"

"And they are shy, only forasmuch as, after the Nâṭiḳ has called them to himself, they respond to him, but, after he has said to them, 'To-morrow, will he be gracious whose confederate I am,'—to wit, 'Aly his confederate,—they are shy of covenanting with him, and shy of the Nâṭiḳ; and that is from a shyness of following the Nâṭiḳ, which is from the contrariness which besets them. And know thou, that, as for those others, of whom he speaks, 'when the signs of the Merciful are read to them, they fall down worshipping and weeping.'"

"And know thou, O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, that they are these twelve who are Ḥujjehs of the Imâms,—let peace be to them! the Executors of the bidding of God, and the Attendants, who have sojourned only in eighteen men, whom I will by and by enumerate to thee, if God will, and who are those who were on the side of the Prince of the believers 'Aly,—let peace from him be to us! Hearest thou not the saying of the Envoy Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! 'The Believer sees by the Light of God'—meaning only them, these who pertain to him, and who are his Ḥujjehs? And whoever adheres to them, they are the light of the lights of his wisdom, as seeing by the Light of God; for God is not beheld except by his Light, and how is it possible for man to see by his own light, or to be directed by the Candle?† But that saying of his, 'sees by the Light of God,' means his Deity,‡ who bestows upon him his acceptance, and to whom he will return. And they must of necessity return to the earth with their Master, whenever the Ḳâim,—let peace be to his memory! takes his stand."

---

* Kurân, Sûr. ix. vv. 129–130.

† *Es-Sirâj*, meaning one who is most enlightened with human science.

‡ The Deity of the "Believer."

And in like manner El-Bâḳir,—let peace be to him! said, "Whoever believes not in our rotation, and our returning, he is not ours, and we are not his,"—meaning,—let peace be to him! that the imamship is never cut off, and that it is transmitted from one group of seven to another group of seven, to the Ḳâim,—let peace be to him! by a return of something hidden, not outward, of something subtle, not gross; "therefore the knowledge of that is highly necessary."

"And it is necessary for thee that thou shouldst acknowledge the Tâly in that which is made, and in that which appears, and its Measure* which it takes to itself, namely, its Spiritual Measure, and its Corporeal Measure; and that there is no distinction between the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly; and that one of them excells not the other, either in respect to spiritual quality, or in respect to corporeal quality, or in respect to their science, in which they shroud themselves, or in respect to the showing of their miraculous signs. And so we say as follows. O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, thou shalt not be extravagant respecting the Prince of believers;—let peace from him be to us! devoid of science. O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, the Prince of the belivers,—let peace from him be to us! is as when sandal is measured with sandal, part answering, all but a trifle, to part. For he is the reinforcement of the Nâṭiḳ,† by means of the Sâbiḳ, as something spiritual, without any thing corporeal, and the reinforcement of the Asâs of the higher world, in the image of El-Fatḥ,‡ by means of the Tâly. Hearest thou not the Prophet,—let peace be to him! who says, 'I and 'Aly are like two *hés*, and the putting together of the two fore-fingers'?—wherein he shows thee that there is no distinction between the two, and between the Imâm§ and the Legatee, —let peace be to him! And if he ['Aly] shows miraculous signs, he says,—let peace be to him! 'But the Prophet,—let peace be to him and to his Family! has already brought to pass things miraculous, beyond the scope of inquirers respecting them, such as his dividing the moon at Mekkeh, and his

---

[*] The word *Hadd*, Measure, is used in this Risâleh as synonymous with Correspondent, or Representative.

[†] See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 265, note †.

[‡] El-Fatḥ is a super-human type of El-Hasan, who is the first Imâm in this system. See p. 185.

[§] The Imâm *par éminence*, i. e. the Prophet, as the connection shows.

turning out the serpent from the precincts of the Ka'beh, and his overpowering those who designed evil to Mekkeh, so that he sent upon them the torrent, and his bringing the Distinguisher.' And to each of them belongs a determined Measure, which he exceeds not, and it is not at all necessary that there should be distinction made between the two. Has not God said in the Ḳurân, '"We distinguish not between his several Envoys, and we are resigned to him,"'—meaning by that his Envoys and his Legatees,—'and they say, "We hear and we obey; thy pardon, O our Lord! and to thee will be our coming,"'*—the meaning of 'O our Lord!' which points to the Amr of the Creator,—let it be magnified and glorified! being that there is no distinction between the two, because they are the Correspondents of the two Eternal Roots?† And know thou, O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, that I shall by and by return to the Primary Attribute,‡ and explain it to thee with an explanation which thou wilt understand. As for the Prince of the believers,—let peace from him be to us! he is the Measure of the Tâly, which is that which causes bodies to be, and creates them, and does well the forming of them; while it is the Sâbiḳ, of which the Correspondent is Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! which causes spirits to be. All of them together are by means of the two Roots. Hence, O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, spirits excell not bodies, nor do bodies excell spirits, because the two are of one rank; although bodies alone stay in the dust without ever parting from it, while spirits stay but for a moment of time in the dust, (which is the moment of time while body moves from place to place, together with which they move from place to place,) until body is stationary, whereupon they, the spirits, mount to their world. And know thou, O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, that spirit is subject to punishment which body is not subject to; for, if it believes, then it goes to happiness, and if it is refractory, then, to the punishment of Es-Sa'îr, while body is not known, after that, as long as its way is in the dust."

---

* Ḳurân, Sûr. ii. v. 285. "We distinguish not etc." is properly the language of believers in Muḥammed's mission.

† The argument proceeds upon the assumption that "O our Lord!" is addressed to the Envoy Muḥammed as representing the Amr, by virtue of his correspondence to the Sâbiḳ, one of the two Eternal Roots created by the Amr. This being assumed, it follows that the Prince of the believers is co-equal with the Envoy Muḥammed, since he too represents the Amr by his correspondence to the other Eternal Root, namely, the Tâly.

‡ The Light of the Amr, which constitutes the essence of the two Eternal Roots. See below.

"And know thou, that it is that on account of which the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly are named.* And the two match in respect to the state of being, because each of them is indispensable to its mate. For the Amr of the Creator,—let its memory be glorified! has made all things to be reciprocal and conjoined, so that there is a conjunction in a reciprocity, and a reciprocity in a conjunction; while the Amr of the Creator is separate, without any reciprocal, or any resemblant, or any associate, or any like, or any image; and number applies not to it;† nor are conjectures applicable; and the intellect of man embraces it not;—let its name be blessed, clear of that which they say by a great superiority! And know thou, O Khâlid, that any thing pertaining to the Tâly, is completed only through the Sâbiḳ; for its [the Tâly's] reinforcements are from the Sâbiḳ, because, otherwise, it [the thing] would be a mockery. And if spirits were not, bodies would not articulate speech; and if bodies were not, spirits would not stay; so that they are indispensable to one another. It is like water in the pitcher: if the pitcher were not, the water would not stay; and if it were not for the use of the water, it would not come to the pitcher; and its use consists in the union of the two things, one following the other. So then 'Glory be to him who created all the mates of that which the earth brings forth, and of themselves, and of that which they know not'!"‡

Then said I, "O my master,—my life for thee! and what are 'the mates'?"

Whereupon he said, "Muḥammed and 'Aly,—let peace be to them both! are 'all the mates;' and 'of that which the earth brings forth' are our Ḥujjehs; and 'of themselves' are the Imâms, one being of another, Light of Light, Imâm of Imâm, and thus ever, without intermission, without cessation, who are undiminished, up to the determined bound, and the known limit, which is our Ḳâim, 'on the day when riches profit not, nor sons, only he who brings to God a resigned heart.'"*

---

* See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 300–302. But it is here affirmed that the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly are named from their being the creators of spirits and bodies, respectively, the former having a higher destiny than the latter.

† See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 306, note §.

‡ Ḳurân, Sûr. xxxvi. v. 36. According to El-Beiḍhâwy's interpretation of this verse, it means, 'Glory be to him who created the varieties and species of plants and trees, the male and the female, and the mates of what he has not given them to know, nor made for them a way to the knowledge of." See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. ii. p. 160.

"So then the Sâbiḳ, of which the Correspondent is Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! is the Creator as to spirits; and the Tâly, of which the Correspondent is the Prince of the believers,—let peace from him be to us!—is the Creator as to bodies. Hearest thou not that which says, 'As for us, we cause to live, and we cause to die, and to us will be the coming'†—wherein it shows thee the origin of life, and considers the origin of death, as something hidden, not outward? Therefore understand thou that. And as for the Amr of the Creator, not any thing is above it, and no occasion has to do with it, and it pertains not to any occasion;‡ and there is no deity like it; and not any thing resembles it; and it is 'the Hearer, the Knowing One.'§ That it is which committed all things to these two Higher Measures; and to them it will fall to reckon with creatures, on the day of reckoning. Hearest thou not that which says, 'Verily, to us will be their coming; and on us will devolve the reckoning with them'?‖ So then let the Amr, namely, the Amr of the Creator,—let it be exalted! be glorified, clear of all things! forasmuch as it committed the same to the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly, and left to them Higher Similitudes and Earthly Resemblances,¶ which renew themselves, without his giving to be seen in them, and are unchanged, without his causing to be known through them."

"And know thou, O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, that the Prince of the believers, together with Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction be to them both! must of necessity descend to the earth; and that, at the beginning of every new period, on the completion of the period of the seven Imâms, simultaneously with the coming of every Nâṭiḳ and Legatee. For, as for Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! he reinforces the Nâṭiḳ in the first of the Transients; and so, when the law is finished for the latter, the Veil is withdrawn, as respects him, from the former.* And so be it known, that his reinforcement is from both these Earthly Measures, having to him and to his Asâs accompanying him the force of the two Higher Measures; for the Prince of the believers,—let peace from him be to us! reinforces his Asâs, as something hidden, not outward,† just as Muḥammed,—let peace be to him and to his Family! reinforces him. And so, what with the two Higher Measures, which reinforce the two Lower Measures, come to be the Four Measures. And in like manner, the two Lower Measures reinforce bodies which they set apart, and elect, and in which they consequently cause to appear and to dwell spirits inspired by the Pen;‡ and by and by I will acquaint thee with them, and their names, in order that the verity of thy knowledge may be made perfect."

---

* Kurân, Sûr. xxvi. vv. 88–89.

† Kurân, Sûr. l. v. 42.

‡ A denial that secondary causes connect themselves with the Amr.

§ That is, the true God, these being among the epithets most frequently applied to God in the Kurân.

‖ Kurân, Sûr. lxxxviii. vv. 25–26.

¶ The "Higher Similitudes" are the super-human Muḥammed and 'Aly, and the super-human Fâtimeh, Ḥasan, and Ḥusein, called El-Jedd, El-Fatḥ, and El-Khiyâl, whose origin is explained in the sequel. The "Earthly Resemblances" are the same beings embodied on earth.

"O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, know thou that the Sâbiḳ delivered up its science and its reinforcement to the Meshiyeh, which was caused by the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly, upon their glorifying and hallowing.§ For all of them together form the council of sciences; and accordingly the Tâly committed thereto the reinforcement of its science; whereupon it glorified, and its glorifying was that it said, 'Be thou glorified, O Eternal of Eternals! verily, thou makest strong that which thou dost create.' And upon that, there came to it [the Meshiyeh] an Amr-reinforcement, from the First Cause, which is the

---

* That is, the super-human Muḥammed shows himself under the Veil of the temporary Prophet, as soon as he has furnished the latter with the law which he is to establish.

† In other words, inspires with the allegorical sense of the established law, which it is the office of the Asâs to disclose. See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 266, note *.

‡ Supernatural inspiration, conceived of as a pen inscribing characters on the spirit.

§ In the Ismâ'ilian and Druze systems, the Meshiyeh is the Tâly. See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 300, note §.

Amr of the Creator, the Veritable Deity,*—let it be exalted! whereby it strengthened it. Afterwards, the Meshiyeh beheld the Sâbiḳ with the eye of predestination, and beheld the Tâly with the eye of love; whereupon there came to be, for the two in the earth, a Correspondent,† like to that which had come to be, for the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly. And so it reinforces the Nâṭiḳ, with its Amr-reinforcement, and its reinforcements which are from the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly. The Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him and to his Family! speaks of Faṭimeh, where he denominates her 'the mother of her father,' with the meaning that she reinforces her father, with her Amr-reinforcements, and the reinforcements of the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly; for all that a certain party has said that the Fâṭimeh-Station,‡—let peace be to her! was the Station of a male person, that is, Gabriel,—let peace be to him! And this is an error, because God says respecting them, 'As for them, they name the angels with the naming of woman, while yet they have no knowledge concerning it. That which they follow is not any thing but supposition, and their own desire, for all there has come to them direction from their Lord.'§ And it [the Meshiyeh] teaches those things which are unknown, except to the two Higher Measures, by an aiding on their part, derived from his Word,—let it be exalted! through the medium of the two Asâses.‖ And as for this, again, it is a tradition handed down from the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! that he said, 'On the night when I was borne up to heaven, and entered the Garden, I ate a quince; and so, after I had descended to the earth, I went in to Khadîjeh, and she became with child of Fâṭimeh,'—let peace be to her! and the meaning of the 'quince' is that the higher reinforcement manifests itself only by the Meshiyeh; and so the Meshiyeh willed to have in the earth a fixed Correspondent, and that consisting of the reinforcement of the Sâbiḳ, together with the will of the Amr of the Creator,—let it be exalted! and efficiencies from the Tâly; whereupon Fâṭimeh,—let peace be to her! came to be, by the causation of the two Eternal Lights,* and on account of their manifestation by the two Lower Measures.† And to her pertain, in heaven, two Measures, and on the earth four. And by reason of that, the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! says, 'Verily, Fâṭimeh has two names in heaven, and on the earth four,'—in allusion to the Measures which pertain to her in heaven, and those which pertain to her on the earth."

---

* The conception of the Amr as being the Veritable Deity, here distinctly expressed, and implied through the whole of this Risâleh, presents an important point of contrast with Ismâ'ilian doctrine, according to which the Amr is the prime emanation from the Absolute Deity. See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 265, note *, 299–300.

† Namely, to itself, that is, the super-human Fâṭimeh, who sustains a relation to the super-human Muḥammed and 'Aly, similar to that which the Meshiyeh sustains to the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly.

‡ *Menzeleh*, Station, is a term used in this Risâleh, to signify impersonation.

§ Kurân, Sûr. liii. v. 28, with a clause added. "They name the angels with the naming of woman," is explained by El-Beidhâwy to mean, "that they name each of them a daughter." See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. ii. p. 294.

‖ The super-human Muḥammed and 'Aly.

Says Khâlid Ibn Zeid El-Ju'fy, Thereupon I said, "O my Master, I inquire of thee respecting her reality,—it is thine to tell,—and respecting the reality of those who constituted for thee this rank, and respecting the reality of the Imâms without end whom people pride themselves in. Does not that which thou tellest me concerning the Envoy,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him and to his Family! respect the verity of his Station? so then tell me, with regard to El-Ḥasan and El-Ḥusein, how was the beginning of the Amr to them."

El-Bâḳir,—let his peace be to us! said, "As for the Envoy, his Station was the Sâbiḳ,‡ and he was its Correspondent. And in like manner was the Envoy§ resembled by a Correspondent 'Abdallah Ibn Râwaḥah El-Anṣâry, who it is whom trouble befell, whose four side-teeth were broken, who hid himself in the cave.‖ For, as for the impersonation of Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him and to his Family! it did not absent itself, nor hide, nor betake itself to flight, nor did any evil come upon it,—nay, but befell it seemingly. And in like manner, as for Fâṭimeh, all the misfortunes and things disagreeable which happened to her, rested upon the Image, that is, the Veil; and it must of necessity be, that every Nâṭiḳ and every Asâs has a Veil which hides him. And in like manner, as for El-Ḥasan and El-Ḥusein,—let peace be to them both! they had two Correspondents; and so, whatever there was of misfortune, or trial, or affliction, it befell the Correspondent,—and may the enemies of the Imâms,—let peace be to them! suffer the penalties, because they insist that that punishment befell them!"

---

* The Sâbiḳ and the Tâly. See p. 180.

† That is, the super-human Muḥammed and 'Aly, for whom the super-human Fâṭimeh was created, that she might serve as their medium of communication with each Prophet and Legatee. See p. 176.

‡ That is, the Sâbiḳ constituted the essential reality of the impersonated Muḥammed. This is sufficiently explained by what goes before.

§ That is, the Envoy personified in Muḥammed.

‖ Allusions to well-known circumstances in the life of Muḥammed. See *Mohammed der Prophet*, von Dr. Gustav Weil, pp. 40, ff., and 127. 'Abdallah Ibn Râwaḥah El-Anṣâry was one of Muḥammed's most zealous partizans.

"And know thou, O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, that El-Ḥasan and El-Ḥusein,—let peace be to them! were children of Fâṭimeh,—let peace be to her! by the Prince of the believers,—let peace be to him! although they were enveloped where the intestines are seated in man, and came out from that which is not the place of coming out for children, and our Master Abû 'Abdallah El-Ḥasan,—let peace be to him! came out from the right side, independently of any of the states of women, and without any occasion of disgust at Fâṭimeh,—let peace be to her! But the primary Ḥasan and Ḥusein,—let peace be to them! came to be, as children of the Meshiyeh, while these were earthly impersonations. And they are Creators, by their sciences, to their Correlates;* forasmuch as two created ones, have made them to descend with their aiding received from the two Roots, through the medium of the two Asâses; and they second the setting up of the Perfect, the Correlates, and the Measures. And they are made for those above them, namely, the two Asâses and the two Roots, which are established as sovereign over them, and are not established over any thing above them; so that they are sovereign with the sovereignty of the Amr of the Creator,—let its memory be exalted! through the medium of the two Roots and the two Asâses, and work, in their working, with a loosing power and a binding might, which changes not, nor ceases; and there is no dispensing with them by the sovereignty of the Amr of the Creator, while to them pertains no sovereignty which is superior to the sovereignty of the Amr of the Creator,—let its memory be exalted! and they 'act by his Amr.' Hearest thou not that which says, 'Nay, but honored servants, who precede him not in speaking, and who act by his Amr'*—meaning that they create, and nourish, and endow, and enlarge, and cause to grow, by spiritual sciences received from the two Roots, through the medium of the two Asâses, and that they are signs of the reckoning, and the penalty, and the Garden, and the Fire? And the Amr is clear of all things, since its Relatives, the Correspondents of the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly, who manifest its sovereignty, namely, Muḥammed and 'Aly,—let the divine benediction be to them! are 'honored servants,' created to be kings by that which is not resembled in the Similitudes and Stations which I have given to them. And every thing which thou seest is by the operation of the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly; and the creation of them is by the operation of the Amr."

---

* The Imâms.

Thereupon I said, "O my Master, did I not say to thee that thou shouldst disclose to me the verity of that which is of the Amr to them?"†

He said, "Yes."

Said I, "O my Master, how was the beginning of the bidding of the Amr of the Creator with respect to them, and their creation by the Amr? and how was the causing of them to be?"

El-Bâḳir,—let peace be to him! said, "Know thou that the Amr of the Creator,—let it be magnified and glorified! willed that there should be a world, and heavens and an earth, and days and nights, and seas and mountains, and Jinns and angels, and trees and waters, and the like. But the Amr of the Creator,—let it be exalted! knew that creatures would be disobedient and obedient, and that they would contract impurities from the foulness of acts of disobedience; and so the Amr kept itself clear therefrom. It created Light, which accordingly was. Afterwards, it willed to separate it, and so it separated it with the separation of a reality.‡ Whereupon, after it had yielded to it in respect to all that which it willed, the Amr exposed it to all things, namely, all good, and evil, and trial, whatever; it said, 'Be thou patient,' and it was patient. Afterwards, it commanded it to obey, and so it obeyed with an obedience without any disobedience. Whereupon, it delivered up to it, and so that Light became an originating act, neither creating nor created, not a thing, which is the Sâbiḳ. And there was made to subsist therein, and aided it with the Holy Spirit, an Ultimate Producer, possessed of power, and activity, and a spirit of its own, which is the Tâly; and as for this, thou findest it in the Ḳurân, since it says, 'Remember my favor towards thee and towards her who bore thee, when I aided thee with the Holy Spirit, that thou mightest talk with man in the cradle,'*—where 'the Holy Spirit' is Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction be to him and to his Family! who is the Measure of the Sâbiḳ, and its Correspondent in the corporeal world; and the 'talking' which it mentions is the talking of the Measure of the Tâly, which is the Prince of the believers,—let peace from him be to us! and its Correspondent in the corporeal world. And thus is the aiding transmitted from one to another, until it reaches the Ḳâim, the seventh Nâṭiḳ,—let his peace be to us! and so all the aiding is concentrated in him; and the Lights branch out, Light after Light, to Imâm after Imâm, one inheriting from another the Light, the Light of God, which he made to enter into the two Eternal Roots. 'God directs to his Light whom he will.'† And as for that which I have told thee as to the elected impersonations,‡ I will by and by acquaint thee with them. Hear thou, O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, and consider thou those who, says God,—let his memory be glorified! 'when the signs of the Merciful are read to them, fall down worshipping and weeping,'—worshipping with submission, and weeping through fear lest their hearts should fall away. And know thou that one wills to be above another in respect to science and rank, and that they rival one another in the two worlds, the spiritual and the corporeal, while they transmit, united with them, in the periods and the revolutions, their Primary."*

---

* Ḳurân, Sûr. xxi. vv. 26–27. El-Beidhâwy informs us that this passage was revealed "on account of the Khuzâ'ites, upon their saying that the angels are daughters of God." The proper sense of the last clause is: "who act at his bidding." See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. i. pp. 614–615.

† See p. 177.

‡ Or, made it a distinct essence.

---

* Kurân, Sûr. v. v. 109. These words, addressed to Jesus, make a part of what it is supposed God will say, on the day of judgment, to remind the Prophets of their miracles, and so to reprove the infidels for their infidelity. See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. i. p. 279.

† Ḳurân, Sûr. xxiv. v. 35.

‡ See p. 175.

"And their names,† O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, are Selmân and his Station, and El-Miḳdâd and his Station, and Ṣa'ṣa'h Ibn Ṣaukhân and his Station, and Saḳîneh and his Station, and Jâbir Ibn 'Abdallah and his Station, and Zeid El-Hijry and his Station, and El-Faḍhl Ibn 'Omar and his Station, and Ṣuheib and his Station, and Abû Nuṣair and his Station, and Yaḥya Ibn Omm-Eṭ-Ṭawîl and his Station,—let the complacence of God and his peace be to them all! And know thou, O Khâlid, that the rank of these is the highest of ranks, and the most elevated of degrees, before their Master!—let its memory be glorified! which entrusts the command to them, and all things, by the way of the two Asâses, which are Muḥammed, the Truthful Envoy and the Nâṭiḳ, and the Prince of the believers 'Aly,—let peace from him be to us! And its Station is Selmân, the Correspondent of Jebrîl, and who is in the pattern of the corporeal world; and his Station is 'Ammâr,‡ the Likeness of Mîkâil, and his Correspondent; and his Station is Abû-d-Darr, the Station of Andarâil, and his Correspondent; and his Station is Uweis El-Ḳarny, the Likeness of Asrâḳîl and his Correspondent, and the Station of Mâlik El-Ashtar 'Azrâil, and his Correspondent. And in accordance with this is the Station of each one severally, until thou comest to El-Miḳdâd; and so his Station is Mâlik the Guardian of the Fire, who is his Correspondent. And the Station of Ṣa'ṣa'h Ibn Ṣaukhân is the Likeness of the Station of Riḍhwân the Attendant of the gardens."

"And their correlate Likenesses belong to every age and epoch; every one of whom holds the place of a Favorite Angel, or the place of a Commissioned Prophet, (although he is not like the Station of the Envoy, the Nâṭiḳ, and the Likeness of the Asâs,) or the place of the Mature Believer. For the Imâm El-Bâḳir,"—let his peace be to us! "says, Our sciences are difficult, hard to be got along with; the burthen of them is borne only by a Commissioned Prophet, —meaning, commissioned to the heart, in order to the knowledge of the two Primary Roots, and their Correspondents, the two Asâses,—or a Favorite Angel;—meaning their Stations, (and their Likenesses are these four, namely, Selmân, and 'Imâd, and Uweis El-Ḳarny, and Mâlik El-Ashtar,—let peace be to them!, so that these, those to whom these names appertain, are the Favorites, while the rest are angels, but not Favorites,)—or, to return to what he says, a Believer 'whose heart God opens' with the faith,—which means the followers in their track, that is, 'Abdallah Ibn Râwaḥah and 'Othmân Ibn Ma'ṭûn;* and 'Othmân, this one, was a foster-brother to the Prince of the believers,—let his peace be to us!"

---

* The Light of the Amr.

† Namely, the names of the so-called "elected impersonations." It is probable that these names are all taken from friends of Muḥammed and 'Aly; but I have not been able to identify them all. They are here applied to beings of a higher order than man, though not strictly spiritual.

‡ 'Ammâr and Abû-d-Darr are known as names of friends of Muḥammed.

Says Khâlid, Thereupon I said, "O son of the Envoy of God,† I have heard thee say that the Merciful is a name pertaining to the Prince of the believers,—let peace from him be to us! and that the Compassionate is a name pertaining to the Envoy,—let peace be to him and to his Family! and I hear that certain names, as well as these two names, presuppose one name. What does this mean?"

He then said, "O Khâlid, know thou,—let God be merciful to thee! that these ninety-nine names which are in the Ḳurân, are names of the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly, and names of the angels, that is, the Hidden Name, of which it is said in the Ḳurân, 'Read thou with the name of thy Lord, who did the work of creation, who created man out of the dust;' after which there is a reiteration, and so it is said, 'read thou, and thy Lord is the Most Noble, is he who has taught by the Pen, who has taught man that which he knew not,' —where, in the first address, passes the expression 'the name of thy Lord,' which is an announcement of, and a pointing to, the Amr of the Creator,—let it be exalted! which is not taken in by the eyes; after which there is a reiteration, in order to a pointing to the Sâbiḳ, whence the words, 'thy Lord is the Most Noble;' after which there is a reiteration, in order to a pointing to the Tâly, and so it is said, 'is he who has taught by the Pen, who has taught man that which he knew not,—nay indeed, as for man, he is rebellious,'*—'man' meaning the race of Adam, who are rebellious in neglect of the covenant. And know thou, O Khâlid, that the Amr is not denoted by names, as qualities and attributes are not predicable of it."

---

* This person was another of Muḥammed's friends.

† El-Bâkir is so called as a descendant of Muḥammed. See the statement of Esh-Shahrastâny on this point, *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 276.

"And know thou, O Khâlid, that these names belong to the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly; which are such as thy saying: O Presider, O Surety, O Light, O Gracious One, O Compassionate One, O Lord, O Protector, O Hider, O Coverer, O Returner, O Munificent One, O Believer, O Maker, O Creator, O Affectionate One, O Recompenser, O Knowing One, O Noble One, O Powerful One, O Pardoner, O Preserver, O Holy One, O Unique One, O Single One, O Conqueror, O Defender, O Continuer, O Propitious One, O Producer, O Lofty One, O Just One, O Liberal One, O One, O Restorer of life, O Judge, O Inclined to favor, O Fair in conduct, O Beholder, O Arbiter, O Advocate, O Informed One, O Director, O Truthful One,—which names belong to the Sâbiḳ,—let its peace be to us! The names of the Tâly are such as thy saying: O Subduer, O Vanquisher, O Potent One, O Mighty One, O All-powerful One, O Great One, O Peace, O First One, O Last One, O Manifest One, O Hidden One, O Sustainer, O Sovereign Disposer, O Unapproachable One, O Survivor, O Hearer, O Conjoined One, O Possessor of glory and honor, O Observer, O Reckoner, O Perfect One, O Witnessing One, O Creator, O Self-exalter, O Giver of form, O Supporter, O Abounding One, O Established One, O Abiding One, O Merciful One, O Living One, O Forgiver, O King, O Director, O Grasper, O Full One, O Excellent One, O Arbitrator, O Refuge, O Glorious One, O Responder; and it is enough that we have distinguished for thee these names, which belong to the Tâly,—let it show favor, and let thanks be to it, first and last! verily, verily, O my Master, thou art the Worthy to be praised, the Noble One."

---

* Kurân, Sûr. xcvi. vv. 1–6. According to El-Beidhâwy, "Read thou with the name of thy Lord" is the same as to say, "Read thou the Kurân, beginning with the name of thy Lord, or asking help therewith." "By the Pen" is explained by this commentator to signify "by writing with the pen," "which," he adds, "is said because sciences are closely connected therewith, and that which is remote is thereby known." See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. ii. pp. 409–10.

Says Khâlid Ibn Zeid, Afterwards, our Master El-Bâkir Muhammed Ibn 'Aly,—let his peace be to us! wept with violent weeping, and said, "O Khâlid, they who make equal with God lie, and err with wide erring, and lose with 'manifest losing.' 'God has not begotten any child; and there is not, together with him, any deity. Had there been, each deity would have certainly gone off with that which it created, and one would have certainly been over the other. So then, glory be to God,—let him be exalted! clear of their associating!'[*] O Khâlid, there are men who say concerning us that which we say not, and who make us of a lineage which does not belong to us. Far be it, far be it; they have gone out of the way, and are turned aside; and they lose, while we make profit. 'But as for these, they are those whose actions come to nought, in this world and the next.'[†] 'That, indeed, is manifest losing.'[‡] O Khâlid, hear thou what I say, and hold on to my instruction, and testify to that which thou hearest; for 'He utters not any speech, except there is a Prepared One, an Observer, at his side.'[§]

O Khâlid, Muhammed and 'Aly,—let the divine benediction be to them both! are Creators who were created, empowered, described as 'honored servants, who precede him not in speaking, and who act by his Amr.'[‖] O Khâlid, the Amr, namely, the Amr of the Creator,—let it be exalted! 'the like of whom not any thing is, and who is the Hearer, the Knowing One,'[¶] which is that which the searcher apprehends not, and which is not measured with men, committed all things to these two Primaries, that is, the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly, in which the Creator,—let its memory be exalted! deposited, by its command, something of that which is spiritual and corporeal, and which it constituted the Correspondent of its corporeity, so that they were such as thou hast heard them to be, as created out of the very Light. And their Lights branched out into three lights, namely, El-Jedd, and El-Fatḥ, and El-Khiyâl; and their Likenesses in respect to that which is corporeal are Ez-Zuḥra,* El-Ḥasan, and El-Ḥusein. Hast thou not, indeed, heard, in the recital which the man of note makes not up, and of which the common man is ignorant,†—does it not say, 'I have derived names for them from some of my names: for I am El-Maḥmûd, and this is Muḥammed; and I am El-'Âly, and this is 'Aly; and I am Fâṭim, and this is Fâṭimeh; and I am El-Iḥsân, and this is El-Ḥasan; and I am El-Muḥsin, and this is El-Ḥusein'?—let their peace be to us! but these are some of the names of the Sâbiḳ. And the Lights which branched out enter into the two words, the saying of the Ḳurân, *Kun*, two letters, *fatekun*, five, which are expanded from the two letters; for Light had its origin in the Creator,—let it be magnified and glorified! because it came to be by a volition on the part of the Amr, and so they were created."‡

---

[*] Kurân, Sûr. xxiii. vv. 93–94, slightly abridged. El-Beidhâwy develops the argument here employed, thus: "If there had been deities beside him, as they say, each one of them would have certainly gone off with that which it created, and would have appropriated it to itself; and its dominion would have been distinct from the dominion of the others, and there would have arisen between them contention and striving for superiority, as is the case with kings in this world, and so the sovereignty over all things would not have been in its hands alone." See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. ii. p. 11.

[†] Kurân, Sûr. ii. v. 214.

[‡] Kurân, Sûr. xxii. v. 11; Id. xxxix. v. 17.

[§] Kurân, Sûr. l. v. 17. The passage alludes to two angels supposed to stand, one on the right, and the other on the left, of man, during his course on earth, to take account of his good and bad deeds. See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. ii. p. 279.

[‖] See p. 179, note *.

[¶] Kurân, Sûr. xlii. v. 9.

"Afterwards, it said to the Sâbiḳ, 'Thou art like the Ṣirâṭ,'§ and said to the Tâly, 'Thou art like the Balance.' The former gives transit, the latter weighs. So then, 'As for him whose balances are heavy, he will lead a pleasant life,'—meaning, on account of the knowledge of the Tâly, and its Likeness, the Prince of the believers,—let his peace be to us!—'and as for him whose balances are light, Hâwiyeh will be his mother; and what shall give thee to know what that is?—a burning fire;'* and oh the crying pains of him who is tainted with a burning fire, inasmuch as he acknowedges not the Imâm, the Tâly, and, what is more, opposes him, and turns away from him to another, of diminished rank!"

---

* i. e. The Brilliant, meaning Fâṭimeh. Some intimation of what is symbolized under the names here given to the super-human Fâṭimeh, Ḥasan and Ḥusein, may be derived from *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 312, note ‡, and the passage there referred to.

† Meaning, the Collection of traditions.

‡ The words here mystified, signifying "be thou, and so it is," are those by which the creative power of God is so often expressed in the Kurân. The Creator's mandate, *Kun*, be thou, is here imagined to represent the Light of the Amr under the two-fold form of the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly; while in the result of that mandate, *fatekun*, and so it is, is found a symbol of the super-human Muḥammed and 'Aly, and the super-human Fâṭimeh, Ḥasan, and Ḥusein, as branches from that Light.

§ See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 309, note ‡.

"Afterwards, the Amr of the Creator,—let its memory be glorified! said, 'I reinforce you two with my Lights; do ye, therefore, with them that which ye will;' and so it is said, 'who act by his Amr.' And it kept itself clear of reckoning with the nations, and of their defilements, saying, 'Obedience to me is difficult; I lay it upon you alone, because ye are of my very Light, the Most High. So then, be ye charged, ye, with obedience to me, which is due to me from you; and do ye charge, ye, the nations with obedience to you; and to trace to the Cause is the pith of knowledge of you, so that whoever knows you, will know me, and whoever obeys you, will obey me. This is my covenant; accept it, therefore, as conditioned; and whoever, then, yields to you, yields to me, and whoever disobeys you, disobeys me; my being pleased is your being pleased, and my being indignant is your being indignant.'"

"So then they two became created out of the Light of the Amr,—meaning the caused and the Cause;†—and they produced the Lights, and so became Creators."

"And there are set in the heavens seven Lights which are the Higher Letters,—let their peace be to us! and in the earths seven Lights,—let their peace be to us! the seven Imâms being subordinate to the seven Nâṭiks. And in respect to all of the seven Imâms, who are the Pillars of the earth and its Corner-Stones, transmitted in the periods and the revolutions, there is no exception to their having Similitudes to themselves in the heavens, and Likenesses. And the Ḳurân has already expressed that, where it says, 'So, in two days, he made them to be seven heavens, and inspired every heaven with its Amr.'* Consequently, inasmuch as the celestial spheres are vacated, after they have made their round, and disappear, if the earths had been emptied of the Imâms, certainly they would have sunk and vanished; since they, [the Imâms,] O Khâlid, hold the place of the seven Planets. And in like manner, the twelve Stars are the Likenesses of their Hujjehs; and, accordingly, they must of necessity have, in the earths, Hujjehs, who accept the covenant with him who is above the inhabitants of the heavens, and the covenant with him who is in the heavens, which is the covenant accepted in favor of the Chief of the earth, in the earth."†

---

* Ḳurân, Sûr. ci. vv. 5–8. El-Beidhâwy explains the clause "Hâwiyeh will be his mother" by "his dwelling-place will be the Fire." See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. ii. p. 414.

† That is, the Light created by the Amr.

"And there is no Imâm whose spirit is transmitted, except it goes where its Place‡ is; and it has no elevation in spiritual degrees, as created, up to the limit of that which is corporeal, when the period is completed, and the seven is made out in full; for he who dies, among us, dies not without his soul's being ennobled, returning to that which is better for it than the state in which it has been. Hearest thou not the Kurân, where it says, 'And of us are only such as have their known Places,'?"§—let their peace be to us! And so, as for these their Measures and their Places, let their peace be to us and to all believers!

Says Khâlid, Thereupon I said, "O my Master,—let peace from thee be to me! who is, then, the 'Observer,' and who, the 'Prepared One'?"

He said, "O Khâlid, the 'Prepared One' is the Place of the Measure of the Sâbik, that is, the Station of the Nâtik; and the 'Observer' is the Measure of the Tâly, that is, the Station of the Asâs. Hearest thou not the Kurân, where

---

* Kurân, Sûr. xli. v. 11. The "Amr" of each heaven is explained by El-Beidhâwy to mean "its business, that which is brought to pass by it, through its being charged therewith, of choice, or by nature," alluding to planetary influences. See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. ii. p. 220. In our text, these influences are personified.

† The Imâm is here described under three aspects: first, as comprehended in the five Lights put forth from the Sâbik and the Tâly, then, as prefigured by the seven Planets, and last, as existing in human form.

‡ That is, an embodiment adapted to it.

§ Kurân, Sûr. xxxvii. v. 164. This is interpreted by El-Beidhâwy as "a confession by the angels of their subordination, by way of disowning their being eternal;" "their known places," he adds, "in respect to knowledge, and service, and deference to the command of God, in the government of the world." See *Beidhawii Comment.*, vol. ii. p. 179.

it says, 'But after thou didst take me to thyself, thou wast, thou, the Observer of them,'*—meaning, after the law was finished, I was discharged,—meaning, after I was refined as to my corporeal impersonation, to the degree of the spiritual world, thou wast, thou, the Imâm after me, and the Legatee? But know thou' . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . "he is a polytheist; and whoever worships the Ma'na† in its verity, has hit the mark. And know thou, O Khâlid, that the meaning of that is, that whoever worships the Ism, is an unbeliever; and the Ism is that with which the Sâbiḳ is named, so that one is certainly an unbeliever, inasmuch as he worships that on the ground of its being the Creator,—meaning the Sâbiḳ. And whoever worships the Ism and the Ma'na,‡—meaning the Sâbiḳ and the Tâly,—is a polytheist. But whoever knows that the Amr of the Creator,—let it be exalted! made these two Roots, he believes in its unity, and worships it. So then, glory be to that which hath indeed performed the work of creation, and hath done well its creating, which is the Creator,—let it be exalted! beside which there is no Lord!"

"And be it known, that, as for these two Roots, they are a Light from that Light, not a Light like to that Light; for each of these two Lights comes forth, and is manifested. Acknowledge thou that, then, O Khâlid Ibn Zeid. And know thou, that, if men had acknowledged their Creator, and the Mediators of their Creator, they certainly would not have been wicked, and would have never come into the Fire of Jehennam."

"O Khâlid, beware lest thou sayest concerning me that which I say not, and tellest from me that which I do not tell. Dost thou do so, I shall call thee to account for it on the day of resurrection, and shall be quit of thee, and thou wilt be quit of me. We are 'servants in honor' to God, and purified by God, and made to be of the Light of God. We serve God with the reality of serving him; and if ye had served him with any thing of our service of him, or had been charged, in order to something of that, with the weight of an atom thereof, it certainly would have proved too much for you; and if there had been put upon the mountains, and the heavens and the earths, the weight of an atom of that to which we are obligated, of obedience and service, they certainly would not have borne it, and would have sunk and disappeared, on account of the burthen of that service. So then we are charged in your stead; and we serve him with the reality of serving him, and acknowledge him with the reality of knowledge of him, while there is not that obligatory upon you, thereof, which is obligatory upon us. But as for you, it is incumbent upon you, that ye should acknowledge us, and not deny us, and that ye should obey us, and not disobey us; and whoever acknowledges us with the reality of knowledge of us, and knowledge of our service, knows that from us things came forth, and to us they will return. We are the Subject Lords, and the Hidden Creatures. When thou wouldst us, O Khâlid, seek us, with thine inmost soul, in the invisible realm, and thou wilt find us above that which is above; there is not above us any superior other than the Amr of the Creator,—let it be exalted! and the Sâbiķ and the Ţâly,*—a truth respecting which it is due to no one of those created out of clay, that a word should be uttered; and how shall that be apprehended by such as pass away, and are gone, and die? wherefore yield ye to our dictum, and acknowledge ye it. This, then, O Kâlid Ibn Zeid, is the end of seeking, therefore be thou a seeker; we, then, are the final end of the devotee, therefore be thou a devotee. And beware lest thou goest astray, or slidest; verily, Sheiţân is thine enemy, so be thou wary of him."

---

* Kurân, Sûr. v. v. 117. These words are a part of what Jesus, as is supposed, will say to God, at the last day, in justification of himself, in view of the errors of Christians. In the application here made of them, it seems to be implied, that, if the "Observer" means the Legatee, the "Prepared One," as the Observer's mate, must be the Prophet.

† See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 289, note *.

‡ Compare what is said of the doctrine of the Nuṣairis, in *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 289–290.

Says he, [the author,] Thereupon I said, "O my Chief, thou hast said to me, that if any one reaches to the Measure of the Word, there is no measure beyond that, nor the like of that; and that whoever acknowledges the Tree, attains with certainty to whatever degree he wills. What, then, is this 'Word'? and what, this 'Tree'?"

---

* See p. 185.

Then said our Master El-Bâḳir,—let the benedictions of God be to him! "As for the 'Word,' it is Muḥammed; and as for the 'Tree,' it is the Prince of the believers 'Aly,—let peace from them both be to us! Hearest thou not God, who says in the Ḳurân, 'And it is the parable of a good Word like a good Tree, of which the root is fast, and the top is in heaven'?*—wherein the root of the Word and its top are made two limits, the root being the Sâbiḳ, and the top, the Tâly, which is the Measure of Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction be to him! And the 'Tree' is the Prince of the believers 'Aly,—let his peace be to us and to all believers! inasmuch as they two are the two tops belonging to the two Roots, which constitute the Asâs of the corporeal world. He,—let his name be magnified! adds, 'which bears its fruit every season, with the permission of its Lord,'—meaning the Imâms whom he [the Prince of the believers] generates."

Afterwards, he said to me, "O Khâlid, dost thou keep in mind? dost thou hearken?"

I replied, "Yes, O my Master,—my life for thee!"

Thereupon he said, "O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, if thou wouldst acquire our sciences, acquire them from the Mines?"

To this I said, "And what are 'the Mines'?"

He replied, "Those Imâms,"—let their peace be to us! "whom God causes to inherit the prophetic gift."†

Then said I, "What if I meet with no Imâm?"

He replied, "Thou shalt take, on the authority of the reliable 'Ulemas, that which they take on the authority of the Orthodox Imâms,"—let their peace be to us and to all believers! "or else thou shalt draw from a known book, to which the Ḳurân testifies, and which tradition authenticates, and the intellect approves, and from other books.‡ But beware thou, and again beware. And be thou a servant sincere in the love of us, and thou shalt be saved."

---

* Ḳurân, Sûr. xiv. vv. 29-30, quoted *ad sensum*.

† See p. 180.

‡ This passage suggests an important inquiry; to which, however, no satisfactory answer can be given, at present. Perhaps an acquaintance with the books of the Nuṣairis may serve to explain the allusion.

"O Khâlid Ibn Zeid, this is my instruction to thee; so then receive thou it. And it is the mystery of the Almighty God, the 'flesh' and the 'blood' of which the Mesîḥ,—let peace be to him! said to his disciples, 'This is my flesh and my blood; so then, eat ye, and drink ye.'* And I have indeed opened to thee the pasture, and have given thee to eat, and given thee to drink, and have drawn water for thee; so then, eat thou with good digestion, and drink thou to thine health; and behave thou uprightly towards thy brethren, the believers. And sufficient for thee is that which I say. And let peace be to those who follow direction! And 'This is enough for men, and it is that they may be warned by it, and may know that he is one God, and that the possessors of hearts may consider'."†

Says Khâlid Ibn Zeid, There is, therefore, not, by God, not any deity except God. After this instruction, no vacillation is in my heart respecting God, nor does there lurk in my inmost soul any doubt. And I neither deny him, nor avow him, to any one except those in whom I confide as respects friendship to the Prince of the believers 'Aly,—let peace from him be to us!

And already, indeed, have many people been directed by this Missive, of those who had deviated from the path of orthodoxy, while I have not ceased to rehearse the instruction of our Master El-Bâḳir,—let his peace be to us! and to present it to the hearts of his friends. Now then, whoever comes forward, will be delivered; and whoever remains behind, will wander in the Fire, and be precipitated into El-Hâwiyeh. And this is that which I hear and see. And God is sufficient for me! And well is he the Guardian!

A CHAPTER.

And know thou, O my brother, that the reinforcement which comes to man from the Imâm, is the intelligence of man; and that intelligence belongs to the Imâm, and thought to the Bâb,‡ and attention to the Ḥujjeh, and memory to the Dâ'i, and speculation to the Madhûn; and that this reinforcement comes from the Imâm and his Ḥujjehs to man in a state of indifference, and not knowing where they are placed;* and that there is in man the imagining faculty, and the thinking faculty, and the attending faculty, and the knowing faculty, and the understanding faculty; and that they are a resemblance of the Higher Measures, that is, the Intelligence,† and the Soul, and El-Jedd, and El-Fatḥ, and El-Khiyâl. Know thou that, and thou wilt be orthodox, if God will.

---

* An allusion to the words of Christ in instituting the sacrament of the Last Supper.

† Ḳurân, Sûr. xiv. v. 52.

‡ Respecting the Bâb, the Ḥujjeh, the Dâ'i, and the Madhûn, see *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 280, notes †, §, ‖, ¶.

A CHAPTER.

And know thou, O my brother,—let God aid thee, and us, with a spirit of his own, and enlighten thy vision with a light of thought, and a capacity for the universal! that the entire world is a spherical impersonation, the celestial spheres being globes which encircle and are encircled, that is, a great man,—let glory, then, be to its Creator, and hallowing to its Maker! and that its Producer, as to its intelligence, was the Sâbiḳ, and as to its holy soul, the Tâly, and as to its heart, El-Jedd, and as to its power of sensation and growth, El-Fatḥ, and El-Khiyâl, and as to its form, the Hiyûly;‡ and that the Hiyûly and form constitute its higher, right side, which is animals and man; and that its lower, left side, consists of minerals and plants.§ Thus it was predetermined by the Mighty One, the Knowing One.

A CHAPTER.

And know thou, that, as for the Imâm, a transmission from the corporeal world to the spiritual world is not his lot,—nay, but his soul is in conjunction with the spiritual world, and the corporeal world, because he is the medium between creatures and the Creator; and it is because he is God's Ḥujjeh to the creation, that by him is the deliverance of the entire world. And as often as an Imâm disappears, an Imâm takes his stand; nor is one different from the other, except in respect to his manifestation in bodily form; so that the earth is not without him the twinkling of an eye, and it happens not to him to disappear, except at the time of his manifestation, and the transmission from one form to another. And an Imâm is not transmitted from this state of being, until another Imâm takes his stand,* on account of the transmission of the Word of the Imâm from one Place of manifestation to another.

---

* See p. 187, note ‡.

† "The Intelligence" and "the Soul" are names here applied to the superhuman Muḥammed and 'Aly. Compare the Ismâ'ilian doctrine in *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 300–301.

‡ See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 300, note ‡.

§ Compare the Ismâ'ilian cosmogony, in *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 302–306.

And let there be peace! The word of thy Lord, true and just, is ended. Of his words there is no changing. And he is the Hearer, the Knowing One. Let it be accomplished!

---

* Namely, at the commencement of a new period. See p. 175.

ARTICLE III.

REMARKS
ON THE MODE OF APPLYING
THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH
IN CONNECTION WITH
THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

BY

WILLIAM A. MACY.

(Read October 22, 1851.)

REMARKS

ON THE MODE OF

APPLYING THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH

IN CONNECTION WITH

THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

Two small volumes written in Chinese and printed in China, have been recently received from that country, and are offered to the Library of the Society. These volumes, though possessing no great literary claims, are interesting as evidence that the advanced state of science and art in the West is brought to the hands of the population of China in a popular and intelligible form; and one of them, as breaking new ground with reference to the language of that people. They are: 1. *A Treatise on Astronomy,* by B. Hobson, M. D., and 2. *The Philosophical Almanac,* by D. J. Mac Gowan, M. D.

The first of these works is a simple, elementary treatise on that science; it claims, of course, no merits beyond that of accuracy, and that of furnishing the latest information on the points discussed. But even the humblest production having this recommendation, in a land where knowledge stagnates for centuries, and where novelties are centuries old, is deserving of favorable mention.

But, in another point of view, this work has some interest to us. In the typographical execution of the work, we may remark with pleasure the appearance of the six pages of illustrations which precede the text, in which there is a display of skill, in what is really wood-engraving, not common in Chinese works. Some of the instruments represented are in tolerably correct perspective, and some are very well shaded. Wood-engraving, in our sense of the term, is an art which, as far as any degree of excellence is concerned, has yet to take its rise in China; we may therefore hail its incipient steps. The body of the work is printed from moveable leaden type, prepared at the station of the London Missionary Society in Hong-kong. The printing from these types is very clear and correct, and will compare favorably with good specimens of block-printing, or with the works printed at the Imperial press in Pih-king, from similar moveable type.* The book contains seventy-eight pages, (as we number them,) and will doubtless subserve an important end, as circulated among the more intelligent portion of the common people, and among the pupils of various schools under the care or supervision of missionaries.

---

* As it may not be generally known that printing from moveable types has been long practised in China, the following extracts may not be without interest in this connection. They are from an article read before the French Academy by M. Stanislas Julien. See *Comptes Rendus,* etc., 7 Juin, 1847.

"M. Klaproth fait observer que l'imprimerie, originaire de Chine aurait pu être connue en Europe environ 150 ans avant qu'elle n'y fût découverte, si les Européens avaient pu lire et étudier les historiens persans. . . . . .

Nous ajouterons que l'Europe aurait pu connaître l'imprimerie 860 ans avant qu'elle ne fût découverte dans nos contrées, si quelques années avant le commencement du sixième siècle, elle eût été en relation avec la Chine. . .

L'usage de la gravure sur bois, pour reproduire des textes et des dessins, est, en Chine, infiniment plus ancien qu'on ne l'a cru jusqu'ici: Nous lisons, en effet, ce qui suit, dans l'encyclopédie Chinoise, *Kė-tchĭ-king-youen,* liv. XXXIX, fol. 2: "Le huitième jour du douzième mois de la treizième année du règne de Wen-ti, fondateur de la dynastie des Souï (l'an 593 de Jésus-Christ) il fut ordonné, par un décret, de recueiller les dessins usés et les textes inédits, et de les graver sur bois. Ce fut là, ajoute l'ouvrage que nous citons, le commencement de l'imprimerie sur planches de bois." . . . .

Suivant un autre recueil, intitulé *Pi-tsong,* l'imprimerie sur bois prit naissance dès le commencement du règne des Souï (581–618 de Jésus-Christ.)" . .

M. Julien goes on to speak of printing from engraved stones, and then proceeds to treat of the invention and use of moveable types. The whole article, which is too long to be here quoted in full, will repay examination. The chief points are as follows:

"On lit dans le *Mong-khi-pi-tan,* (liv. XVIII. fol. 8.) . . . . . Dans le période *King-li* (entre 1041 et 1048 de Jésus-Christ) un homme du peuple (un forgeron, même ouvrage, liv. XIX, fol. 14) nommé *Pi-ching* inventa une autre manière d'imprimer avec des planches appelées *Ho-pan,* ou planches (formées de types) mobiles (cette expression s'emploie encore aujourd'hui pour désigner les planches de l'imprimerie Impériale qui se trouve a Péking.)" . . . .

Then follows the description of the manufacture of the types out of clay, moulded and baked: which was preferred to wood, as this swells when moistened by the ink. This invention was not followed up until:

"Sous le règne de l'Empereur *Kang-hi,* qui monta sur le trône en 1662 des missionnaires Européens . . . . le décidèrent à faire graver 250,000 types mobiles en cuivre, qui servirent à imprimer une collection d'ouvrages anciens et moderns, qui forme 6000 volumes in 8°. . . . Cette édition peut rivaliser pour l'élégance des formes et la beauté de l'impression avec les plus beaux ouvrages publiés en Europe.

Il existe, dans le palais Impérial de Péking, un édifice appelé *Wou-ing-tien,* où, depuis 1776, l'on imprime, chaque année, un grand nombre d'ouvrages avec des types mobiles obtenus comme en Europe à l'aide de poinçons gravés et de matrices."

The second work is, as the title denotes, an Almanac with an appended scientific discussion. Though possessing so general a title, its object is, in connection with a calendar of the extent of those usually printed by missionaries every year, to explain the nature, the use, and the value, of the magnetic telegraph. The work has an English title-page, and an English preface. This preface sufficiently sets forth the author's main design in preparing the volume. I desire, in addition, to give a brief outline of the work, and an explanation of the plan which he proposes for conveying messages in the Chinese language, by means of the magnetic telegraph.

The work opens with both a general preface, or introduction, and a special one on the telegraph. Then follow six pages of plates, illustrating the appearance and use of Electric, Galvanic and Electro-Magnetic Machines, embracing some forty-five different figures. Then follow six chapters:

1st. Introductory, on Electricity generally;
2nd. On Electrical Machines;
3rd. On Galvanic Machines;
4th. On Magnetism;
5th. On Electro-Magnetism;
6th. On the Electric Telegraph, or, literally translated, "*the Electric Universal Signal.*"

The rest of the work is taken up with religious matter and the Almanac proper.

Of five of the above chapters it does not come within my design to speak. The sixth and last, however, contains some speculations worthy of attention. It opens with a description of the method of applying machines described in the previous chapters, to the purpose of transmitting messages. Then follows what I propose especially to examine, namely, the mode of employing the telegraph in respect to Chinese characters. The whole closes with an exposition of the value of such a means of communicatior to all classes in the community. Having derived his information and plans, as would appear from the English preface, exclusively from French works, the author seems to have been entirely ignorant of the improved methods which are alone employed in our country. His messages are in all cases to be communicated by means of an index, moving either from West to East, and *vice versâ*, or over a graduated, or lettered, dial. His plan, however, is only partially affected by this fact.

Before entering on his plan, it may be well to make some preliminary statements essential to a full understanding of it. Chinese characters, to a young student, or a casual observer, present a wilderness of marks, apparently entirely arbitrary in their disposal, and beyond the reach of any system that should clear up the construction of them. But a very little acquaintance with them will show that they are formed of a very limited variety of differing marks, or strokes, as they are usually termed. By Chinese authors, these marks are reduced to eight generic forms.

These are seen in the appended wood-cut (Nos. 2–9). The character *Yung* (No. 1) is said to combine them all. They are easily distinguished, unless 7 and 8 be thought to be the same; these strokes, however, are known by different names, and in their combination with the others cannot be interchanged. It is not necessary to point out their difference, as it would involve a tedious explanation, and require the introduction of several characters. Upon this division of all written characters into eight generic forms of strokes,* is based Dr. Mac Gowan's suggestion regarding the mode of transmitting messages.

By adding signs for *above, below, within; without, left, right, middle,* and *period* or *stop,* we have sixteen signals by which to convey the elements of every possible Chinese character. They are as follows:

(The signal is conveyed by a needle moving from East to West, or West to East, at the will of the operator.)

1 motion Eastward = above.
1 " Westward = below.
1 Eastward and 1 Westward = within.

---

* It should be remarked, however, that, so minute has been the analysis of the written character, in some works that treat of penmanship, that these eight genera have given rise to no less than eighty-two species, each with a distinctive name, and fully illustrated. See Williams's *Easy Lessons in Chinese*, p. 60.

1 Westward and 1 Eastward = without.
2 Eastward = left.
2 Westward = right.
2 Eastward and 1 Westward = stroke No. 2 See wood-cut.
2 Westward and 1 Eastward = " " 3 "
2 Eastward and 2 Westward = " " 4 "
2 Westward and 2 Eastward = " " 5 "
3 Eastward and 1 Westward = " " 6 "
3 Eastward and 2 Westward = " " 7 "
3 Westward and 1 Eastward = " " 8 "
3 Westward and 2 Eastward = " " 9 "
3 Eastward and 3 Westward = middle.
3 Westward and 3 Eastward = period.

To give the character *Yung*, (No. 1,) we should then have the following signals:

1st. 1 Eastward = above.
2nd. 2 Eastward and 1 Westward = No. 2.
3rd. 2 Westward and 1 Eastward = " 3.
4th. 3 Eastward and 3 Westward = middle.
5th. 2 Westward and 2 Eastward = No. 5.
6th. 2 Eastward = left.
7th. 3 Eastward and 2 Westward = No. 7.
8th. 2 Westward = right.
9th. 3 Westward and 1 Eastward = No. 8.
10th. 3 Westward and 2 Eastward = " 9.
11th. 3 Westward and 3 Eastward = period.

Thus we have, for a very simple character of six strokes, eleven different signals: giving after all only the elements, and a very imperfect hint of the mode of combining them. But the question arises, how does this character stand as a specimen of the usual run of characters in Chinese? I have taken at random one column of characters, twenty in number, from the author's own work; they vary from two to twenty-three strokes each; the aggregate number of strokes is two hundred and eleven, or ten and a half to each, on an average. We should, then, have for each character an average of sixteen or seventeen distinct signals, (five being added as above,) and then the nice work of properly combining these marks thus given. We must conclude that, although the telegraph might transmit strokes with great rapidity, it would communicate characters and sentences at a rate by no means astonishing. We might doubt whether the ordinary modes of communication would not on the whole be preferable, except over very great distances.

But our difficulties do not stop here: there are some varieties of strokes which would inevitably require distinct signals, to the number of at least three, thus still farther encumbering the system. There are also in Chinese a large number, a majority in fact, of words which are compounded of two distinct parts; no provision is made for the transition from one of these parts to the other, the only reliance of the operator being upon the good sense and shrewdness of the one who receives the message, a reliance, which, if our experience in English goes for any thing, is very likely to be disappointed. There are also a large number of characters, of which I give a mere sample, (Nos. 10–13,) differing in points so slight that they are by beginners continually confounded. Those having the same number, as 10*a* and 10*b*, etc., etc., are by this system of communication to be represented by the very same signals, and no means is furnished for making the necessary distinctions.* The number of these similar looking characters is by no means trifling, as will be seen by examining the list prefixed to *Kang-hi's* Dictionary, and also given by Morrison in the Second Volume of the Second Part of his Dictionary. Although, therefore, much credit is due to Dr. Mac Gowan for the opening he has made, and the pains he has taken to draw out an explanation in Chinese, of this subject, he seems hardly to have hit upon a feasible mode of making it practical. He has apparently felt his difficulty, and has suggested, in his English preface, the employment of the Manchu alphabet; but why he chooses this, rather than the English, does not appear. The Chinese, as a body, know as much of the latter as of the former.

Having undertaken to show that a feasible mode of operation has not been pointed out, it remains for me to inquire if there may not be devised some simple and sure mode of proceeding. The question needs more study than it can well receive in this country; yet I would suggest one or two thoughts that naturally present themselves. At the outset it would seem exceedingly desirable, first, that some American form of the telegraph be substituted for that treated of by Dr. Mac Gowan: that we may thereby have more freedom of action; and secondly, that some more comprehensive signals be employed, with greater security against mistakes.

---

* The necessity of distinction may however appear when we remember that 10*a* is *Heaven;* 10*b*, *Husband;* 11*a*, *Man;* 11*b*, *to enter;* 11*c*, *Eight;* 12*a*, *Noon;* 12*b*, *Ox* (*bos*); 13*a*, *Knife;* 13*b*, *Strength.* And so with great numbers of characters equally similar in form and equally diverse in signification.

We are obliged to start with one principle that must not be lost sight of: and that is, that no scheme can render a lexigraphic language as tractable for telegraphic purposes as an alphabetic one; and we shall not fail to find that more time, labor, and patience will be required in dealing with this system of writing than with any language like our own, resolvable into a very few elements.

Unable to decide on the comparative merits of different plans, I must mention two or three as briefly as possible. The famous Dictionary of *Kang-hi* has arranged all characters under 214 radicals, so called, the portion of the character connected with them being called the primitive: thus, in Nos. 14–17, if the last character (No. 17) be taken away from each of the others into which it enters as a primitive, we shall have three of the radicals represented as they appear, some of them being slightly modified by entering into composition. "The whole number of these primitives has been computed by Dr. Marshman at 3867, exclusive of the radicals. Of these, 2178 are of such rare occurrence, and in such unimportant words, that they may be rejected. There are then left 1689 primitives: to this number the 214 radicals must be added, (for the majority of them act also as primitives,) making a total of 1903 primitives: These, by combination with the 214 radicals, form at least seven-eighths of all the characters in the Chinese language, a proportion that for all practical purposes is fully equivalent to the whole." See Williams's *Easy Lessons*, pp. 32, 33.

Now, on the basis of House's patent,* a system might be formed by which the 214 radicals could be transmitted as our letters now are; and a list might be made out of the 1903 primitives, which could be appended by means of figures. For instance, suppose we wished to convey the character marked 14. We should have the primitive, say No. 67, (this number taken here at random,) while the radical (which is No. 120,) would be conveyed, not numerically, but, so to speak, bodily, and would be followed by the number 67. This primitive would be found at once by consulting the previously prepared list (the primitives being arranged according to the number of strokes). And so throughout. As, probably, 1000 primitives would occur in at least nine-tenths of the cases, an operator in constant practice would soon learn what primitives answered to certain numbers, and not be necessitated to consult the list, except in comparatively rare cases. To this plan it may be objected, that some radicals unite with their primitives in two or more different ways, and with different meanings: for instance, instead of being, as usual, on the left, the radical is found upon the top, or below. These cases are however rare, and the likelihood of their occurrence is not sufficient to affect the general plan, especially as the general context would be a great security against error. Another objection is found in the fact that in some characters the union of radical and primitive is hard to trace or define, and that some primitives among the rejected 2178 should have been retained. To this it may be said, that the few words of frequent occurrence, thus interfered with, might be inserted as individuals to the number of 97, before the list would reach 2000, a number not under the circumstances too cumbrous. Such is one plan not very complicated, considering that the language to be illustrated is this "oldest child of Babel."

---

* In explanation of this plan, it may be well briefly to explain the operation of this form of telegraph, so far as here alluded to. Messages are on this plan printed on a slip of paper, from a wheel of hardened steel, on whose periphery are found the letters of the alphabet in bold relief: by the operation of the machine, the letters are at will brought strongly in contact with

---

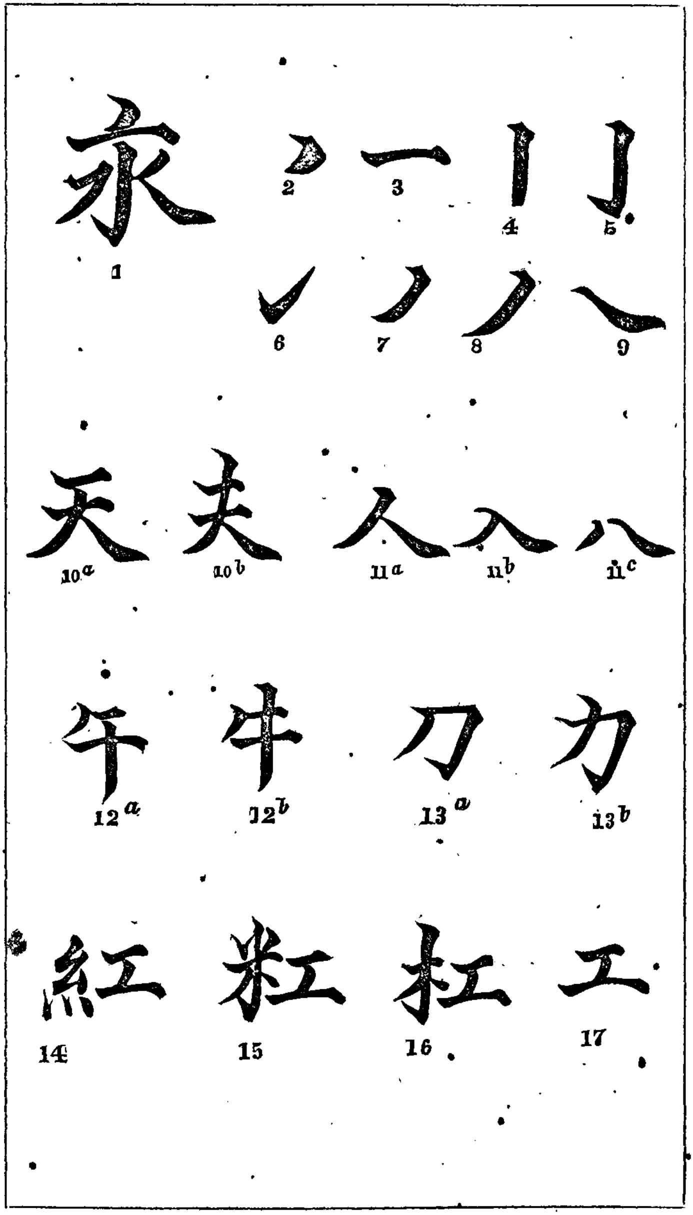
the paper, leaving an impression, letter following letter with immense velocity. Numbers are given in Roman, so that only the twenty-six letters and two other signs, e. g. for *stop, begin*, are required. In the Chinese instrument, we should require a wheel of nearly eight times the circumference required for the English, to contain the 214 radicals and 2 signals, the first ten radicals being also used for the numerals. The message is transmitted by touching keys like those of a piano, in English 28 in number; in Chinese there would of course be 216. The fact that with every touch of a key a *word* is transmitted, would justify the greater deliberation demanded by so numerous a collection of keys. Probably, however, a very short apprenticeship would render an operator capable of very rapid and yet accurate motions.

I might observe here that I have proposed to give the radicals bodily, and not their numerical representatives, in order not to have two independent sets of numbers: which however might easily be done.

Another plan would be to base the signals upon the sounds of the characters. In Williams's Vocabulary there are given, as appearing in the Court dialect, 533 syllables, which can all be distinguished by the letters of the English alphabet, and which include all the characters; now let some 7000, or 8000, or even more, common words be arranged according to their several sounds, and numbered: for example, under the sound *chi*, from 1–100, under *chu*, 1–100, and so on; the telegraph might then give the English spelling for the sound, and a number which, on reference, would give the particular word, e. g. (No. 14) *Hung* 3, or *Hung* 20, the number according to the list. Against this plan the objection lies, that it is founded on the sounds of the characters, which vary every hundred miles in any direction, and involves the introduction of English letters, with which the operators could be only imperfectly acquainted, and which they might not properly use. Still, time and practice would obviate all the latter difficulty, and the Court dialect might be made to give the standard of spelling.

Again, in Williams's *Easy Lessons*, the number of characters in common use is given as 3232: this number was determined by the examination of several classics by the Rev. Mr. Dyer of Malacca. If these characters, arranged in the order in which they occur in *Kang-hi*, were numbered throughout, they might be represented by the use of numbers alone. The objection to this is, that some time would be required to find the numbers, in the first place, and then to restore the characters, in the second place. This last plan is the most simple, would require the least complicated machine, and perhaps the least training on the part of the operator. If a message were to be transmitted in haste, it would however, probably, be most objectionable on account of the difficulty of speedily finding the character and its proper number.

Although there is no prospect that any speculations like the foregoing will be immediately brought into application, it may be well to follow them out, and thus exhibit the language of China in its capacity, or incapacity, to adapt itself to the march of human improvement. It is plainly a hard subject to manage; still, we may hope that this will not prove, at all events, an insurmountable barrier to the introduction, into that wide spread and populous empire, of this last signal triumph of human skill over human weakness. We may remark, before leaving the subject, that the Chinese language compensates in one respect for its inflexible characteristics, by the extreme condensation of expression of which it is capable. Owing to this, messages may be reduced to very few words, and thus the labor of transmitting them may be diminished, without creating confusion, or involving the danger of mistake.


永 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
天 10a
夫 10b
人 11a
入 11b
八 11c
午 12a
牛 12b
刀 13a
力 13b
紅 14
15
扛 16
工 17

MISCELLANIES.

I. Extracts from Correspondence.

From a letter from the Rev. Chester Bennett, Missionary in Burma:

"Tavoy, British Burma, June, 1851.

. . . .

There are ten *Zats*, or lives of Gaudama as he existed in states before he became Gaudama, which to an orientalist are exceedingly interesting, and would, unquestionably, if well translated, be more readable than one half of the stories of the present day, so far as the ingenuity of the writers is concerned. But when I remark that the translation now sent* was made in 1836, and copied in December last, when I was on the sea-side for my health, and that I have been ever since trying to get leisure to prepare and append the notes, and only now have succeeded, as my time is occupied with multifarious missionary labors, ... I cannot give any encouragement as to my translating the *Zats*, however much I should like to see the work done. But if Providence should place me in Burmese work only, I should feel under the necessity of again reading the books, and, if so, might possibly attempt something at translation."†

From letters from the Rev. Dr. Justin Perkins, Missionary in Persia:

"Oroomiah, March 25, 1851.

The accompanying singular document, (of which the following is a translation,) . . . . is interesting only from the locality of its origin, as illustrating the taste and character of the Persians. It was delivered to my translator, Deacon Joseph, a few weeks ago, carefully sealed under several successive envelopes, by a Persian lady, near one of the gates of Oroomiah. . . . . No clew to its author, or object, has yet transpired, though it probably comes from some Muhammedan, who took this method to prepare the way for making application for some favor.

---

* Of the *Ma-la-len-ga-ra Wottoo*, published in this Number of our Journal.
E. E. S.

† Compare Burnouf's remarks on this class of Buddhist sacred books, as represented in the collection made by Mr. Hodgson in Nepal, in his *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, p. 61.
E. E. S.

In regard to the contents of the document, I need only remark that, as you will perceive by inspection, it purports to come to me from the Lord Jesus Christ. The place of the seal, at the head of the document, is that occupied in Persia only by the *royal* seal. The title "Christ the Spirit of God" is a designation often applied by Muhammedans to our Saviour."

Translation of the accompanying document.

CHRIST
THE SPIRIT
OF
GOD

Mr. Perkins,

Verily, your face is white before God; and well done for your beautiful walk and conversation, and your beneficent deeds! Henceforth go on in the good way among men, unto the end, that trouble and harm may not intervene; for this is profitable, both for this world and for eternity, and is the occasion of increasing your honor among those who are near the gate of God.

In the methods of training Joseph do not spare yourself, for he will be an instrument of establishing and advancing religion.

And of the Muhammedans there cometh unto you a man thirty-eight years old, his height a yard and a half and a span (after the manner of your country, in which you have dwelt); his beard is small, and he is not yet married; his name is Abd-ul-Metleb. As soon as he shall reach you, grant him, without displeasure or refusal, whatsoever he shall ask of you; and let every one, according to his ability, show him kindness. It will be for the advancement of religion, and will be accepted at the treasury of charity. And do you give orders that no one withhold from him any needed favor. After seven years, the mysteries of his salvation, and of his beneficent signs, will be revealed; for what good signs have proceeded from him!

This is written in the Persian language, because, after seven years, you will have dominion over the countries of Irâk, of which the language is Persian.

"Oroomiah, December 16, 1851.

I am happy to write you a few lines to thank you for the second volume of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, which has just reached me. Permit me to offer you my hearty congratulations on the fine appearance of that volume, and the interest and value of its contents.

I am much interested in the *Contribution to the geography of Central Koordistan*, from the late lamented Dr. Smith, as contained in the second volume of your Journal. Valuable as are his observations, however, he is probably wide of the truth on one point in regard to which he and Dr. Ainsworth are so much at variance,—I mean, the latitude of Julamerk. Dr. Smith locates that town considerably North of Oroomiah, which is nearly in 37° N. Lat., whereas it is probably in just about the same latitude as Oroomiah, or two or three miles South of it. This view is entirely accordant with the present impression of Dr. Wright, who is quoted by Dr. Smith, but who has since visited Julamerk again, and given more attention to the subject. It is true that we have not yet had all the instruments desirable, to settle that question; but we have been over the ground repeatedly, with this subject in mind. We hope to obtain a quadrant in the course of a few months, and then, as we have commenced a mission-station in Gawar, a mountain-valley seventy miles due West from Oroomiah, and only about a day's ride from Julamerk, the point in question can be easily and accurately decided.

. . . .

You may be interested to know that a weekly newspaper, in the Persian language, has been commenced at Tehrân, which is ably conducted by Mr. Burgess, an intelligent Englishman. A very good geography, with an atlas containing numerous maps, has also been published in the Persian language, the present year, by a European adventurer in this country, who is well qualified for the task. These things are interesting to the oriental scholar, as well as hopeful for the civilization of Persia. I hope to have the pleasure of sending you a copy of this newspaper and geography for your Library.

The visit of Dr. Layard to Van, a year ago last summer, and the prospective publication of the copies of the cuneiform inscriptions which he took, near that ancient town, leaves nothing to be desired on that subject. I allude to it, as I had formerly in mind to visit those inscriptions, but was prevented.

We have printed six hundred pages, in quarto form, of the Old Testament in ancient and modern Syriac, and four hundred pages remain. The work is going steadily forward, though slowly, which you will not regard as strange, when you call to mind that we have only unskillful Nestorian printers. We shall of course send a copy of the work, when completed, to your Library, as also of all the books which we print from time to time."

From a letter from the Rev. Austin H. Wright, M. D., Missionary in Persia:

"Oroomiah, November 17, 1851.

. . . . . . We take the deepest interest in the publications of the Society. The present volume is full of most valuable matter, and will furnish useful reading, at leisure hours, for months to come.

. . . .

I am about sending you some specimens of a Syriac manuscript called *Makamat*, a work probably excelling, as a literary curiosity, the Arabic volume of the same name. . . . . .

In a recent missionary tour in Koordistan, it fell in my way to visit the celebrated mines of sulphuret of arsenic, situated near the village of Goranis, and three hours from Kochanis, the residence of the Nestorian Patriarch, Mar Shimon. These mines are now worked by the Turkish Government, which employs in them about twenty men, Koords and Greeks. I entered the mine worked by the Greeks, and brought away from it some beautiful specimens of realgar and orpiment.*

The unfortunate Professor Schulz came to Goranis, and it was here that he fell into the hands of the bloody Koordish chiefs Noorullah Beg and Solyman Beg. The latter accompanied the German professor back towards Bashkullah, and in a deep ravine on the way, at a retired spot, barbarously murdered him. The Nestorians of the village entertained us with an account of the professor's visit to them, of his going to their church, and reverently kissing the cross, and of their anxious fears for his life, when he rode away in the company of the treacherous chief.

God rules, and retribution sooner or later overtakes the guilty. Noorullah Beg, who ordered and planned the professor's death, is now an exile from his country, a prisoner of the Porte on the island of Crete; and Solyman Beg, who bathed his hands in the learned traveller's blood, died some years since in Erzroom, a miserable criminal in the hands of justice."

---

* Compare Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 223, and ii. pp. 309, ff.

E. E. S.

From a letter from William Winthrop, Esq., U. S. Consul at Malta:

"United States Consulate, Malta, February 22, 1851.

. . . .

In the minutes [of the Society] under date of May 24th, 1847, I notice the name of Dr. Holt Yates, he being made a member of the Oriental Society. I had the pleasure of making this gentleman's acquaintance when passing through this island, some months since, on his way to England, where he now is. I mention this circumstance, as Dr. Yates, when here, presented me with a manuscript touching on the position, climate, and products of the valley of the Orontes, which I arranged for publication. I now have the pleasure of forwarding you this little sketch.* . . . . . .

I have taken due note of your suggestions in reference to the antiquities of this island; but some time and much attention will be required before I shall be able to fulfill the wish expressed by me in my last communication.†

From a letter from Dr. Albrecht Weber, of Berlin:

"Berlin, March 29, 1851.

. . . .

In exchange for the highly valuable first volume of your Journal, I shall take the liberty of presenting to your Society a copy of my catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts deposited here in the Royal Library, which will be printed in the course of this year. . . .

I have already had the pleasure of instructing two of your countrymen in Sanskrit, Mr. Wales and Mr. Whitney. . . . . Mr. Whitney certainly entitles us to great hopes, as he combines earnestness and diligence with a sound and critical judgment. I hope to induce him to undertake an edition of the *Taittirîya-Aranyaka*, one of the most interesting Vedic Scriptures. The text, in two different recensions, is to be found in the East India House, in more than one copy, together with Sâyana's ample and perspicuous commentary: so far, the editing is not too difficult, while, on the other hand, it is of great importance for the Vedic antiquities."

---

* *The Valley of the Orontes, its position, climate, and products.* Malta: 1850.

† "It would afford me much pleasure to give the members of the Oriental Society a brief description of the most interesting remains of antiquity on this island, should I find that it would come within the scope of their publication." —*Letter from Mr. Winthrop, November* 14, 1850.

From a letter from Prof. Rudolph Roth, of Tübingen:

"Tübingen, August 2, 1851.

. . . .

We see with pleasure, how the Society knows of means to concentrate, and call into exercise, the erudite abilities possessed by America.

. . . .

In return, I hope to be able, in the course of this year, to offer to the American Oriental Society my commentary on the *Nirukta*, of which all but an appendix was long since completed, but which will not be hurried in the printing,—executed, to be sure, very far from me, in Göttingen.

In the course of the coming winter, I hope to publish a part of my studies on the Veda and the Zendavesta. I shall treat of the fundamental conceptions and doctrines of both religions, and believe myself able to show, also, their relationship in many single points wherein they have been, hitherto, thought to differ. In connection with this, it will be possible, also, to determine more exactly the compass and significance of the Zoroastrian reformation.

For such labors, the means are at length, though slowly, increasing. Professor Spiegel in Erlangen has now published the first heft of his edition of the *Vendidâd*, which contains chapters 1–10. It is printed with types made on purpose for it, in the Government Printing Office of Vienna, but has a bookseller for publisher. The text is still only conformed to the manuscripts, and not yet settled in accordance with the principles of higher criticism. This course, to begin with, is certainly the right one; but the other, also, must soon be entered upon.

Some months ago, the same *savant* printed a grammar of the Pârsi, i. e. of that dialect which goes immediately before the modern Persian, and was formerly called Pazend. In the appendix, he has printed off and translated some valuable fragments in Pârsi.

Wilson's and Langlois' translations of the *Rigveda*, of the former, Volume I. and of the latter, Volumes I. II. III. will have already floated over the ocean. . . . .

Wilson's translation has at least this value, that we see by it how a learned Indian of the fourteenth century of the Christian era understood the hymns of the fourteenth century before Christ; although no translation of the Veda, it will serve as a contribution to the history of its interpretation in India. But Langlois' book has not even such a value. . . . . Whoever attempts to form an idea, from this book, of Indian antiquity, religion and usages, will do the same as one who would make himself acquainted with Persian antiquity out of Anquetil. A translation according to the requirements and with the helps of philology, is still wanting. But, indeed, there is no such thing as hurrying thus to translate the whole: that is not so easy as it may be in the case of the *Râmâyana* and the *Mahâbhârata.* The lexicon must first be settled, and for this we need a more exact knowledge and investigation of particulars. Every translation which we make now, is only a structure for the nonce, which must be reconstructed. . . . . How long has Homer been labored upon, and not every thing, as yet, in respect to the lexicon, is fixed!

I have had for a scholar, through this summer, one of your countrymen, Mr. Whitney of Northampton. . . . . Through the winter, he will reside in Berlin, in order to collect there whatever can be found for the *Atharvaveda*, and then return here with what is brought together. We shall then together see what can be done for this Veda, hitherto without a claimant, which I consider as the most important next to the *Rigveda.*"

From a letter from Dr. Gustav Flügel, of Meissen:

"Meissen, November 14, 1851.

. . . .

I was not in Saxony when your letter arrived. The Government of Austria had invited me to draw up, at Vienna, a *catalogue raisonné* of the oriental manuscripts of the Imperial Library, which will be printed; and in fulfilling this honorable call I passed the whole summer at Vienna. . . . . . . At the same time, I should like to be informed in what manner I might best discharge my duty as corresponding member of your Society.

The Numbers of your Journal, in the continuation of which I rejoice in advance, interest me highly; and you will see, hereafter, in what way I shall know how to profit by the treasures there laid up."

From a letter from Prof. Fitz Edward Hall, of Benares:

"Benares, January 5, 1852.

Since I last wrote to you, a considerable number of oriental works of interest have been published in this country. The first volume of Dr. Sprenger's *Life of Mohammad* has been out for some time. Dr. S. has also just published an edition of the *Gulistân.* The Rev. H. M. Banerjea has published the first volume of his *Purâna-Sangraha*, (text, variants, and English version,) which embraces about a twentieth part of the *Mârkandeya-Purâna.* In Number 35 of the *Bibliotheca Indica* you will find the commencement of Dr. Ballantyne's translation of the *Sâhitya-Darpana.* The same work is continued in Number 36, which has just reached me. From the Benares College we have published a new edition of the *Tarka-Sangraha*, with English and Hindî versions; also *Sanskrit First Lessons*, a Hindî translation of the *Mitra-Lâbha*, and a brochure of the *Mîmânsâ-Sûtras.* The first part of the *Yoga-Sûtras* will also be ready in a few days; after which we shall go on with the *Sânkhya-Sûtras.* Dr. Sprenger is publishing, under the patronage of the Court of Directors, a *Catalogue of Arabic, Persian, and Urdû Literature.* A new edition of the *Raghuvansa* is publishing at Calcutta. The *Panchadasî*, with a Bengâlî translation, the *Pûrva-Darsana-Sangraha*, and a new edition of the *Siddhânta-Kaumudî* are also soon to go to press. I am told that Sir H. M. Elliot has resolved to enlarge the plan of his *Index*, and to extend the work to ten volumes. The *Prabodha-Chandrodaya* has just been lithographed at Punâ."

II. TRANSLATION OF THE FIRMÂN OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY SULTÂN 'ABD-EL-MEJÎD,

GRANTED IN FAVOR OF HIS PROTESTANT SUBJECTS.

[The following edict of the reigning Sultân is remarkable for its clear-headed, distinct, and manly recognition, and enforcement, of the great principle of religious liberty. The translation, together with lithographed copies of the original, was sent to us by the Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, missionary in Turkey. —E. E. S.]

To my Vizier Mohammed Pasha, Minister of Police at my Capital, the honorable Minister and glorious Counsellor, the Model of the world and Regulator of the affairs of the community, who, directing the public interests with sublime prudence, consolidating the structure of the empire with wisdom, and strengthening the columns of its prosperity and renown, is the recipient of every grace from the Most High. May God prolong his glory!

When this Sublime and August mandate reaches you, let it be known that:

Whereas, hitherto, those of my Christian subjects who have embraced the Protestant faith have suffered inconvenience and difficulties, in consequence of their not being placed under a separate and special jurisdiction, and in consequence of the Patriarchs and Primates of their old creeds, which they have abandoned, naturally not being able to administer their affairs;

And whereas, in necessary accordance with my Imperial compassion, which extends to all classes of my subjects, it is contrary to my Imperial pleasure that any one class of them should be exposed to trouble;

And whereas, by reason of their faith, the above mentioned already form a separate community;

It is therefore my Royal compassionate will, that, by all means, measures be adopted for facilitating the administration of their affairs, so that they may live in peace, quiet, and security.

Let then a respectable and trustworthy person, acceptable to, and chosen by themselves, from among their own number, be appointed, with the title of "Agent of the Protestants," who shall be attached to the department of the Minister of Police.

It shall be the duty of the Agent to have under his charge the register of the members of the community, which shall be kept at the Police. The Agent shall cause to be registered therein all births and deaths in the community. All applications for passports and marriage-licences, and special transactions of the community that are to be presented to the Sublime Porte, or to any other department, must be given under the official seal of this Agent.

For the execution of my will, this my Royal mandate and August command has been specially issued and granted from my Imperial chancery.

Hence, you the Minister above named, in accordance with the explanations given, will execute, to the letter, the preceding ordinance; except that, as the collection of the capitation-tax and the delivery of passports are subjected to specific regulations, you will not do any thing contrary to them. You will not permit any thing to be required of them on pretence of fees or expenses, for marriage-licences, or registration.

You will see to it, that, like the other communities of the empire, in all their affairs, and in all matters appertaining to their cemeteries, and places of worship, they shall have every facility and needed assistance. You will not permit that any of the other communities shall in any way interfere with their rites, or with their religious concerns, and, in short, in no wise with any of their affairs, secular or religious; that thus they may be enabled to exercise the usages of their faith in security.

And it is enjoined upon you not to allow them to be molested an iota, in these particulars, or in any others; and that all attention and perseverance be put in requisition, to maintain them in quiet and security. And, in case of necessity, they are permitted to make representations regarding their affairs, through their Agent, to the Sublime Porte.

When this my Imperial will shall be brought to your knowledge and appreciation, you will have this August edict registered in the proper department, and cause it to be perpetuated in the hands of the above mentioned subjects; and you will see to it that its requirements be always executed in their full import.

Thus be it known to you, and respect my sacred signet.

Written in the holy month of Moharrem, A. H. 1267 (Nov. 1850).

Given in the protected city of Constantinople.

III. Bibliographical Intelligence.

It has been thought that some of our members, who have not the sources of information at command, and perhaps some other readers of this Journal, would be glad to be informed of the more important publications, pertaining to the field of oriental research, which appear, in successive years, in the Old World. To meet the wishes of such, we propose to give, in each Number of this Journal, a list of books and single articles published within about a year, accompanied with brief notes, original, or borrowed, or without any. More extended notices of particular books, or of the progress of research in a particular direction, may be occasionally added.

Adopting a geographical arrangement, as the most convenient for practical purposes, we shall classify the works to be mentioned under the heads of Africa, Western Asia, Eastern Asia, and Oceanica, subdividing, however, into groups indicated by the headings of Philology, History, Geography, Other Sciences, Religion, and Belles-Lettres. But from the strictness of this subdivision by subjects it will be sometimes best to deviate.—E. E. S.

I. Africa.

1. *Philology.*

Ueber das Numidische Alphabet. Von O. Blau. (In *Zeitsch. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, Heft 1 for 1852.)

An important contribution to the deciphering of the Numidian part of the celebrated bilingual inscription of Thugga, founded upon a revised reading of the parallel Phoenician, with occasional reference to the apparently identical alphabet of the Tuaryeks. The Numidian alphabet is, in the view of this writer, closely allied to the Himyaritic. See *Proceedd. of Am. Or. Soc.* in *Literary World* for Nov. 10, 1849, where a similar opinion was expressed.

Inscriptio Rosettana hieroglyphica, vel interpr. decreti Roset. sacrâ linguâ litterisque sacris vet. Aegyptt. redactæ partis. Acced. gloss. Aegyptiaco-Coptico-Lat., atque ix. tabb. lith. text. hierogl. atque signa phonet. script. hierogl. exhibentes. Auct. H. Brugsch, Dr. Berolini: 1851.

De vet. Aegyptt. linguâ et litteris, sive de optimâ signa hierogl. explicandi viâ atque ràtione. Acced. indices et vocab. hierogl. specimen. Scripsit M. A. Uhlemann, Dr. Lipsiæ: 1851.

De nat. et indole ling. popularis Aegyptiorum. Dissert. Fasc. Prior: de nomine, de dialectis, de literr. sonis. Auct. H. Brugsch. Berolini: 1850.

Koptische Grammatik von Dr. M. G. Schwartze. Herausg. von Dr. H. Steinthal. Berlin: 1850.

2. *History.*

Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties Musulm. de l'Afrique Septentrionale, par Abou-Zëid Abd-er-Rahman Ibn-Moh. Ibn-Khaldoun. Publ. par M. le Baron de Slane. Texte Arabe. Tome II. Alger: 1851.

The first volume was published at Algiers in 1847.

Monuments Égyptiens du Musée Royal d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide, publ. d'après les ordres du Gouvernement Hollandais. Par le Dr. C. Leemans. Livr. 11. Leide: 1851.

Histoire critique de l'école d'Alexandrie. Par E. Vacherot. Ouvrage couronné par l'Institut. Tome III. Paris: 1851.

3. *Geography.*

Voyage au Ouadây par le cheykh Moh. Ibn-Omar-el-Tounsy. Trad. de l'Arabe par le Dr. Perron. Ouvrage accomp. de cartes et de planches. Paris: 1851.

Dahomey and the Dahomans, being the journals of two missions to the king of Dahomey, and residence at his capital, in the years 1849 and 1850. By Frederick E. Forbes. London: 1851. 2 vols.

Gives new information on the state of this kingdom. In the appendix is a vocabulary of the Vei language, of which Mr. Forbes discovered the alphabet.—*Journ. des Savans.*

Ueber Dr. H. Barth und Dr. Overweg's Begleitung d. J. Richardsonschen Reise-exped. zum Tschad-See und in d. innere Africa, nach

d. von verschied. Seiten her eingelauf. Originalberichten. Von C. Ritter. Ende Juli, 1850.

The *London Athenaeum*, Nos. 1240, 1242, 1249, 1250, 1254, 1255, 1262, 1263, 1265, gives us hints of the farther discoveries of this most important expedition, down to Sept. 1, 1851, when the German travellers, Richardson having died, were about to set off on their adventurous journey from Bornu to the shores of the Indian Ocean. Fuller accounts will be, probably, soon published in England.

II. Western Asia.

1. *Philology.*

W. Gesenius' Hebräische Grammatik. Neu bearb. und herausg. von Prof. E. Rödiger. 16te Aufl. Leipzig: 1851.

Alfijjah carmen didact. gramm. auct. Ibn Mâlik, et in Alfijjam comm. quem scripsit Ibn 'Akîl. Ed. F. Dieterici. Lipsiæ: 1851.

Observations on the physiology of the Arabic Language. By Dr. A. Sprenger. (In *Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal*, No. 2 for 1851.)

Samachscharii Lex. Arabicum Persicum ex codd. mss. Lips. Oxon. Vindob. et Berol. Ed. atque indicem Arab. adj. Dr. J. G. Wetzstein. Lipsiæ: 1850.

Grammatik der Pârsi-sprache nebst Sprachproben. Von Prof. F. Spiegel. Leipzig: 1851.

Institutiones ling. Persicæ cum Sansc. et Zend. ling. comparatæ. Pars II: Synt. et ars metr. Perss. Auct. J. A. Vullers. Gissæ: 1850.

Part I. was published in 1840.

Mémoire sur les inscriptions des Achéménides, conçues dans l'idiome des anciens Perses. Par M. Oppert. (In *Journ. Asiat.* for Feb.–Mar., Apr.–May, June, July, Sept.–Oct., Nov.–Dec., 1851.)

Gives many valuable gleanings from the field of Persian cuneiform inscriptions.

Rémarques sur la deuxième écriture cunéiforme de Persépolis. Par M. Isidore Löwenstern. (In *Revue Archéol.* for 1850.)

The object of the writer is to prove that the Median cuneiform inscriptions are in the primitive language of Persia, and that this is Semitic. —*Journ. Asiat.*

Recherches analytiques sur les inscriptions cunéiformes du système Médique. Par F. de Saulcy. (In *Journ. Asiat.* for Aug.–Sept., 1849, and May–June, 1850.)

Follows Westergaard in supposing the language of these inscriptions to be a mixed Turkish.—*Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*

Ueber die zweite Art der Achämenid. Keilschrift. Von Holtzmann. (In *Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, Heft 2 for 1851, and Heft 1 for 1852.)

Holtzmann finds in the so-called Median arrow-headed character a mixture of Semitic and Indo-European linguistic elements.

On the Khorsabad inscriptions. By the Rev. E. Hincks. (In *Transs. of the R. Irish Acad.* for 1850.)

On the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. By Major H. C. Rawlinson. (In *Journ. of R. As. Soc. of Gt. Br. and Ir.* for 1850.)

Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. By Lieut.-Col. H. C. Rawlinson. (In *Journ. of R. As. Soc. of Gr. Br. and Ir.* Vol. xiv. Part 1, 1851.)

We have here, at length, the Babylonian translation of the great Persian cuneiform inscription of Behistun, an analysis of the text to the end of the first column, and a few pages of a memoir in which the value of each of the Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform characters, "ideographic, determinative, phonetic, and mixed," to be met with in this inscription and others of the same class, is to be discussed, and the grammatical structure and affinities of the language of the Babylonian translation at Behistun, so far as they may be inferred from an analysis of the text, are to be pointed out. All this will doubtless prove a very important addition to the materials of study, to those in search of the key by which to unlock the volumes of inscriptions lately copied in ancient Assyria and Babylonia. But, as Col. Rawlinson himself says: "the more I have extended my investigations,—the more I have studied the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, and sought to verify previous conclusions by testing their general applicability,—the more reason have I found to mistrust that which before seemed plain," it is not to be expected that the difficulties of the subject will be found to have been overcome, so that the way can be said to be open to any definite conclusions, to be drawn from the deciphering of those inscriptions. It is understood that the distinguished author has again returned to the banks of the Tigris, where he will be sure to avail himself of every new discovery.

Études sur les inscriptions Assyr. de Persépolis, Hamadan, Van, et Khorsabad. Par Philoxène Luzzatto. Padoue: 1850.

Attempts to make out that the Assyrian cuneiform characters are alphabetic.—*Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*

Bemerkungen zur Inschrift e. Tongefässes mit Ninivit. Keilschrift. Von G. F. Grotefend. (In *Abhandll. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen,* for 1850.)

Nachträge zu d. Bemerkungen etc. (Ibidem.)

Sur les inscriptions Assyr. de Ninive (Khorsabad, Nimroud, Koioundjouk). Par F. de Saulcy. (In *Rev. Archéol.* for 1850.)

Note sur les noms des rois Assyriens publiés par M. Layard. Par F. de Saulcy. (Ibidem.)

Die dritte Gattung d. Achæm. Keilinscriften erläut. von M. A. Stern. Göttingen: 1850.

Stern supposes the Babylonian inscriptions of Persepolis to be alphabetic, and seeks to explain them almost entirely from the Hebrew and Aramean.—*Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*

Monument de Ninive, découvert et décrit par M. Botta, mesuré et dessiné par M. Flandin. V. Tomes fol.

This great national work was completed in 1851. The inscriptions have been published separately.

Inscriptions in the cuneiform character from Assyrian monuments, discovered by A. H. Layard. London: 1851.

2. *History.*

Geschichte d. Volkes Israel bis Christus. Von H. v. Ewald. 2te Ausg. Bd. I. Göttingen: 1851.

Recherches sur la chronologie des empires de Ninive, de Babylone, et d'Ecbatane, embrassant les deux cent neuf ans qui se sont écoulés de l'avénement de Nabonassar à la prise de Babylone par Cyrus. Par M. de Saulcy. (In *Mémm. de l'Acad. des Inss. et Belles-Lett.* for 1851.)

A very interesting and skillful *resumé* of the chronology of the Median, Babylonian, and Assyrian empires, as deducible from all the sources hitherto accessible, preparatory to the acquisition of new data from the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions.

Mémoire sur Darius le Mède et Balthasar, rois de Babylone. Par M. Quatremère. (Ibidem.)

Aims to prove that Darius the Mede was a tool of Cyrus, whom he set up as king at Babylon, on his taking that city; and that Belshazzar was a son of Evil Merodach through whom, in like manner, the usurper Nabonidus reigned.

Mémoire sur la ville d'Ecbatane. Par M. Quatremère. (Ibidem.)

Traité du calendrier Arabe, extrait de la Chronologie Universelle. Par M. Sédillot. Paris: 1851.

Genealogische Tabellen d. Arabischen Stämme und Familien, in zwei Abthh., mit histor. und geogr. Bemerkk. in ein. alphab. Register. Aus d. Quellen zusammengestellt. Von Dr. F. Wüstenfeld. Abth. 1: Die Ismâ'ilitischen Stämme. Göttingen: 1852.

Ibn-el-Athiri Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur. Vol. XI. annos H. 527–583 cont., ad. fid. cod. Upsal. collatis passim Parisinis. Ed. Prof. C. J. Tornberg. Upsaliæ: 1852.

Life of Mohammad. By A. Sprenger. Vol. I. Calcutta: 1851.

Documents numismatiques pour servir à l'histoire des Arabes d'Espagne. Par A. De Longpérier. Paris: 1851.

Histoire des Arabes et des Mores d'Espagne, traitant de la constitution du peuple Arabe-Esp., de sa civilis., de ses moeurs, et de son infl. sur la civilis. mod. Par L. Viardot. Paris: 1851. 2 vols.

Geschichte der Chalifen. Von Prof. G. Weil. Bd. III. Mannheim: 1851.

The first two volumes appeared in 1846 and 1848.

Ueber das Syrische Fürstenhaus d. Benû-Schihâb. Von Prof. Fleischer. (In *Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, Heft 1 for 1851.)

On the ancestry of the celebrated prince of Lebanon, Emîr Beshîr.

Literatur-Geschichte d. Araber, von ihrem Beginne bis zu Ende des 12ten Jahrh. d. Hidschret. Von Freiherrn v. Hammer-Purgstall. Abth. 1. Wien: 1851. 2 vols.

Derbend-Nâmeh, or the History of Derbend; translated from a select Turkish version, and published with the text and with notes, illustrative of the history, geogr., antiqq., etc., occurring throughout the work. By Prof. Mirza A. Kazem-Beg. St. Petersburg: 1851.

Additions et éclaircissements à l'histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'en 1469 de J. C. Par M. Brosset. St. Pétersbourgh: 1851.

Translation of some uncertain Greek legends on coins of the Indo-Scythian princes of Cabul. By H. Torrens. (In *Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal*, No. 2 for 1851.

Intended as a re-commencement of research respecting the history of ancient Bactria.

Heldensagen von Firdusi, zum ersten Male metrisch aus d. Pers. übers. und mit einer Einleitung über d. Iranische Epos. Von A. F. v. Schaack. Berlin: 1851.

"Gives copious translations from the earlier portion of the Shâh-Nâmeh. As valuable as the work itself, is the long preface prefixed to it, on the development of epics in general, and the great Persian one in particular: an attempt at the history of the latter, and a sketch of its contents."—*Letter from Mr. W. D. Whitney, at Berlin.*

Die Alexander-Sage bei d. Orientalen. Von Dr. F. Spiegel. Berlin: 1851.

History of the war in Affghanistan, from the unpublished letters and journals of political and military officers employed in Affghanistan throughout the entire period of British connection with that country. By J. W. Kaye. London: 1851. 2 vols.

3. *Geography.*

Lexicon geographicum cui titulus est *Merâsid-el-Ittilâ'*. E duobus codd. mss. Arabice ed. Prof. T. G. J. Juynboll. Fasc. 3. Lugduni Batav.: 1851.

Fasciculi 1 and 2 were published in 1850.

Die Erdkunde von Asien. Von Prof. C. Ritter. Bd. VIII., Abth. 2: Die Sinai-Halbinsel, Palästina, und Syrien, Abschn. 2, Abth. 2: Palästina, und Syrien. Berlin: 1851.

The Ansayrii, or Assassins; with travels in the further East, including a visit to Nineveh. By Lieut. F. Walpole. London: 1851. 3 vols.

The author of this book is said to have ingratiated himself with the Nusairîyeh of Lebanon, by pretending to be of the English branch of their sect!

Vingt et un jours à la Mer Morte. Par E. Delessert. Paris: 1851.

The author was a member of the expedition which, in 1850, under the direction of M. Saulcy, was charged to explore Syria and particularly the borders of the Dead Sea. Although this book does not pretend to be a scientific report, it contains a summary indication of the principal results of the expedition. The ruins of Zeboim, Sodom, Zoar, Admah, and Gomorrah are said to have been discovered.—*Journ. des Savans.*

Mémoire sur le lieu où les Israélites traversèrent la Mer Rouge. Par M. Quatremère. (In *Memm. de l'Acad. des Inss. et Belles-Lett.* for 1851.)

Lettres sur la Turquie. Par M. A. Ubicini. Première Partie. Paris: 1851.

These letters make known the present condition of Turkey better than any work on the East hitherto published.—*Journ. des Savans.*

Fragments de géographes et d'historiens Arabes et Persans inédits, rel. aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie Méridionale; trad. et accomp. de notes crit. Par M. Defrémery. Suite et Fin. (In *Journ. Asiat.* for Feb.–Mar., 1851.)

The previous articles are in the *Journ. Asiat.* for June and Nov.–Dec., 1849, and July and Sept., 1850.

Rapport sur un voyage archéol. dans la Géorgie et l'Arménie exécuté en 1847 et en 1848. Par M. Brosset. 3e et dern. Livr. avec un Atlas. St. Pétersbourgh: 1851.

Voyage en Perse. Par Flandin et Coste. Continued.

Of the seventy livraisons of which this great national work will consist, fifty-nine have been received in this country; and it was to be completed early in 1852.

The palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored; an essay on ancient Assyrian and Persian architecture. By James Fergusson. London: 1851.

Souvenirs de voyage en Arménie et en Perse. L'Arménie. Téhéran et Ispahan. Chiraz et le Golfe Persique. Par M. E. Flandin. (In *Rev. des deux Mondes* for May 15, Sept. 15, and Nov. 15, 1851.)

4. *Other Sciences.*

L'Algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyami, publ. trad. et accomp. d'extraits de mss. inéd. Par F. Wœpcke. Paris: 1851.

The editor aims to show that the mathematical school of Baghdâd had, in the eleventh century, reached a degree of knowledge in algebra far beyond the highest which the Greeks attained to.—*Journ. Asiat.*

Les Sciences Arabes au moyen-age. Par M. E. Dulaurier. (In *Rev. des deux Mondes* for Feb. 15, 1851.)

5. *Religion.*

Ueber d. ersten Aegyptischen Götterkreis und seine geschichtlich-mythologische Entstehung. Gelesen in d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. am 26 Juni, 1851. Von R. Lepsius. Berlin: 1851.

Saï an sinsin, sive Liber metempsychosis vet. Aegyptiorum. E duabus papyris funebribus hieraticis signis exaratis nunc primum edidit, Lat. vertit, notas adj. Dr. H. Brugsch. Berlin: 1851.

Abhandlung über d. Phönikischen Ansichten von d. Weltschöpfung und d. geschichtlichen Werth Sanchoniathons. Von H. v. Ewald. (In *Abhandll. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen* for 1851.)

Liber Geneseos sec. Arab. Pentateuchi Samaritani versionem ab Abû-Sa'ìdo conser., quem ex tribus codd. ed. Dr. A. Kuenen. Specimen. Lugduni Batav.: 1851.

Liber Henoch Aethiopice ad quinque codd. fid. editus, cum variis lectionibus. Curâ Dr. A. Dillmann. Lipsiæ: 1851.

Abû-l-Fath Muhammed asch-Schahrastânî's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen, zum ersten Male vollständ. aus. d. Arab. übers. und mit erklärend. Anmerkungen versehn. Von Dr. T. Haarbrücker. 2ter Theil. Halle: 1851.

The first Part was published in 1850.

Zwei metaphys. Abhandlungen von Behmenjâr Ben-el-Marzubân, d. Pers. Aristoteliker aus Avicenna's Schule. Arab. und Deutsch mit Anmerkk. herausg. von Dr. Salomon Poper. Leipzig: 1851.

Vendidâd Sade, die heiligen Schriften Zoroaster's: Yaçna, Vispered und Vendidâd, nach d. lithogr. Ausgaben von Paris und Bombay, mit Index und Glossar herausg. Von Dr. H. Brockhaus. Leipzig: 1850.

The text is printed in Roman letters.

Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen, zum ersten Male im Grundtexte sammt d. Huzvâresch-Uebersetzung herausg. Von Dr. F. Spiegel. Abth. 1. Leipzig: 1851.

A German translation is to accompany this edition, though it will appear separately. Spiegel is controled in his interpretation of the text by the Pehlvi translation which dates from the times of the Sâsânides.

Der neunzehnte Fargard des Vendidâd. Von Dr. F. Spiegel. Abtheilungen 1, 2. (In *Abhandll. d. K. Acad. d. Wiss. zu München* for 1850–51.)

Ueber einige eingeschobene Stellen im Vendidâd. Von Dr. F. Spiegel. (Ibidem for 1850.)

Ueber d. zweiten Theil des Yaçna, und zwei verschied. Dialecte darin. Von. Dr. F. Spiegel. (In Weber's *Indische Studien*, Bd. i. Heft 3, 1850.)

The three last named publications relate to the criticism of the text, and the interpretation, of the Avesta.—*Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*

Studien über das Zendavesta. Von Prof. Spiegel. 3. Die Lehre von d. unendlichen Zeit bei d. Parsen. (In *Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, Heft 2 for 1851.) 4. Ueber d. Cultus d. Gestirne und die Weltansicht d. Parsen in d. verschied. Epochen ihrer Entwickelung. (Ibidem, Heft 1 for 1852.)

A continuation of an article in the first volume of the same Journal: 1. Die tradition d. Parsen, and 2. Zur Parsischen Eschatologie.

Vendidadi capita quinque priora. Ed. C. Lassen. 1852.

Bundehesh, liber Pehlvicus. E vetustiss. cod. Havn. descripsit, duas inss. regis Saporis primi adj. N. L. Westergaard. Havniæ: 1851.

The design of the editor in publishing, here, two inscriptions of Sapor, is to show that the Pehlvi of books differs from the language of the early Sâsânides.

Translation of the Vichitra Nâtak, or Beautiful Epitome,—a fragment of the Sikh Granth entitled The Book of the Tenth Pontiff. By Capt. George Siddons. (In *Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal*, Nos. 4 and 6, for 1851.)

This translation was begun in the same Journal, No. 7 for 1850.

6. *Belles-Lettres.*

Hamasæ Carmina cum Tebrisii scholl. integris edita vers. Lat. commentarioque illustr. et indicibus instr. G. G. Freytag, Dr. Prof. Pars Posterior. Fasc. 4. Bonnæ: 1851.

The publication of this last Part was begun in 1847.

Septem Mo'allakât, carmina antiquissima Arabum. Textum ad fid. optim. codd. et editt. recens., scholia edit. Calcuttensis auctiora atque emendatiora add., annott. crit. adj. Dr. F. G. Arnold. Lipsiæ: 1850.

Probe aus einer Anthologie neuarabischer Gesänge, in der Wüste gesammelt. Von G. A. Wallin. (In *Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, Heft 1 for 1851.)

The author, recently returned from a six years' residence in Arabia, is now Professor of oriental languages in the University of Helsingfors in Russia.—*Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*

Anvâr-i-Suheli, or Lights of Canopus; being the Persian version of the Fables of Bidpai, by Husain Vaiz Kashifi. Edited by Lieut. Col. J. W. J. Ouseley. London: 1852.

III. EASTERN ASIA.

1. *Philology.*

Vollständige Grammatik d. Sanskrit-Sprache, zum Gebrauch f. Vorless. und zum Selbststudium. Von T. Benfey. Berlin: 1851.

"It grounds itself on the native grammarians, whose infinite ocean of rules and counter-rules, limitations and exceptions, it professes to exhaust."—*Letter from Mr. W. D. Whitney, at Berlin.*

Grammatica Linguæ Thai. Auct. D. F. Bapt. Pallegoix, Episc. Mallensi Vicar. Apostol. Siamesi. Bangkok: 1850.

"The most valuable introduction to the Siamese language and literature yet before the public; and we are glad to learn that the Bishop proposes shortly to commence the publication of a Siamese dictionary, which is a great desideratum."—*Journ. of Ind. Archip.*

2. *History.*

Ramayana, poema Indiano di Valmici, testo Sanscr. sec. i codici manoscritti della scuola Gaudana. Per G. Gorresio. Vol. VII. Parigi: 1851.

This volume is the second of the Italian translation accompanying the text. The text itself, of which this is the only complete edition, occupies five volumes. The editor has followed the manuscripts of the Bengâlî recension.

Abstract of the Sijara Malayu, or Malayan Annals, with notes. By T. Braddell. (In *Journ. of Ind. Archip.* for Feb., Mar., Apr., May, Aug., and Sept., 1851.)

"The abstracts are taken from Dr. Leyden's translation, altered when it appears necessary, from the original, using for that purpose the version [edition] lately printed at Singapore; and the whole is intended as a preliminary to assist in further investigations into the origin of the civilization and literature of the Malays, as well as into the general history of that interesting people."—*Introd. to the Abstr.*

Le Tcheou-li, ou Rites des Tcheou, trad. pour la première fois du Chinois. Par feu E. Biot. Paris: 1851. 2 vols.

The traditionary institutes of the Chinese Empire, as established by the family of the Tcheou, in the latter half of the twelfth century before Christ.—*Biot.*

San-Koué-Tchy Ilan Kouroun-i-Pithé, histoire des trois royaumes, roman hist. trad. sur les textes Chinois et Mandchou de la Bibl. de Paris. Par Théodore Pavie. Tome II. Paris: 1851.

The first volume appeared in 1845. This work is based upon events in the history of China from A. D. 168 to A. D. 265.

Le Siècle des Youên. Notices et extraits des principaux monumm. littér. de la dynastie des Youên. Par M. Bazin. (In *Journ. Asiat.* for Jan., Feb.–Mar., Apr.–May, June, Sept.–Oct., and Nov.–Dec., 1851.)

Earlier parts of these Notices may be found in the same Journal for Jan., Feb.–Mar., and Nov.–Dec., 1850. The period of the Youên, or the Mongol dynasty of China, established by Kubilai-khân, from A. D. 1260 to A. D. 1368, was the golden age of Chinese literature.—*Bazin.*

Histoire de la vie d'Hiouen-thsang, et de ses voyages dans l'Inde trad. du Chinois; fragment lu à l'Acad. des Inss. Par M. S. Julien. Paris: 1851.

Hiouen-thsang, a Buddhist of the seventh century, spent seventeen years on a pilgrimage in India, and elsewhere, and after his return wrote an account of what he had seen and heard; while one of his disciples wrote, also, a history of the life and travels of his master. M. Julien has nearly finished a translation of both these works, with a commentary. The above fragment is a specimen.

3. *Geography.*

Atlas von Vorder-Asien zu Carl Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien. Heft 6: Das Stromgebiet d. Indus. Von C. Zimmermann. Berlin: 1851.

Some additional remarks upon the ancient city of Anurâjapura, or Anurâdhapura, and the hill-temple of Mehentêlê, in the island of Ceylon. By Capt. I. J. Chapman. (In *Journ. of R. As. Soc. of Gr. Br. and Ir.* for 1851.)

An important supplement to a valuable paper on the same subject in the third volume of the *Transs. of the R. As. Soc.* Two inscriptions are given, in which occur the names of three ancient kings of Ceylon, corresponding to names handed down in the *Mahâvanso.* Others exist, which have not yet been copied. Some of these inscriptions are in the Lâth character of Central India, and others not. See *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. [illegible]07, ff.

Huc's Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, during the years 1844–46. From the French by W. Hazlitt. Vol. I. London: 1851.

The original work was published at Paris in 1850, in two vols. It is a narrative of the adventures and observations of two missionaries of the Congregation of St. Lazarus, on a tour of exploration, at the command of His Holiness, through Tartary to Lhassa, the capital of Thibet, whence they returned "through Alpine passes to the frontier of China, and from thence to Canton." "These volumes confirm the astonishing resemblance that exists between the external rites and institutions of Buddhism and those of the Church of Rome."—*Edinb. Review.*

4. *Religion.*

Yajurveda the White. Edited by Dr. A. Weber. Part I. The Vâyasaneyi-Sanhitâ, with the commentary of Mahîdhara. Nos. 4, 5. Berlin: 1851.

The Nos. 1, 2, 3 were published in 1849–50. The publication of the Vedas is rapidly progressing. By a letter from Mr. W. D. Whitney, a member of the Or. Soc. now in Germany, we learn that Weber intended to complete his edition of the White Sanhitâ of the Yajus in the spring of 1852; and that a new volume of Müller's edition of the Rigveda, begun in 1849, was also to appear at the same time.* The Sâmaveda was published by Stevenson, under Wilson's supervision, in

---

* It should be noticed, in this connection, that an edition of the Rigveda, with the commentary of Mâdhavâchârya, and an English translation, was begun in 1848, by Dr. E. Röer, at Calcutta, under the patronage of the East India Company, but was afterwards abandoned, in consequence of the announcement of Müller's edition.

1843, and by Benfey in 1848. As for the Atharvaveda, Mr. Whitney has been collating the manuscripts at Berlin, during the past winter, preparatory to an edition of it, either by Roth and himself together, or by himself alone. He has been able to make out, "thanks to the goodness of the codices, a very correct text, on which one may found minute studies into the character and contents of the collection. I cannot believe," adds Mr. W., in the letter from which we quote, "that it is not, after the Rik, the most important of all for the study of Indian antiquity, and I am astonished that some one has not, ere this, been driven, by a recognition of this fact, to a publication of it."

The Aitareya Upanishad with the commentary of Sankara Âchârya and the gloss of Ânânda Giri; and the Swetâswatara Upanishad with the commentary of Sankara Âchârya. Edited by Dr. E. Röer. (In *Biblioth. Ind.*, printed at Calcutta, for Sept. and Oct., 1850.)

The Aphorisms of the Mîmânsâ philosophy by Jaimini, with extracts from the commentaries. In Sanskrit and English. Allahabad: 1851.

Division of the Categories of the Nyâya philosophy, with a commentary, by Viswanâtha Panchânana. Edited, and the text translated from the original Sanskrit, by Dr. E. Röer. (In *Biblioth. Ind.* for Aug. and Nov., 1850.)

A new edition of the *Bhâsha-Paritshheda.*

Beiträge zur Kenntniss d. Indischen Philosophie. Von Dr. Max Müller. I. Kaṇâda's Vaiçeshika-Lehre. (In *Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, Heft 1 for 1852.)

Based, chiefly, upon the original works on Indian philosophy lately published by Dr. Ballantyne of Benares, who will soon have edited the Sûtras, or Aphorisms, of all the leading systems of philosophy belonging to India. See Prof. F. E. Hall's letter, under Extracts from correspondence.

Die höchsten Götter d. Arischen Völker. Von Prof. Roth. (In *Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, Heft 1 for 1852.)

An attempt to throw some light upon the conceptions of the Supreme Being which the Arian family of nations had, in primitive times, before the religion of Ormuzd and the Vedic faith had developed themselves in distinct forms. Roth is of opinion that the highest deities of the primitive Arian times represented, chiefly, not the conspicuous processes of external nature, but the higher relations of moral and social life; and that the tendency of the Ormuzd-religion was to reject the symbolizing of nature, altogether, while the Vedic faith gave the most prominence to this.

On the sacrifice of human beings as an element of the ancient religion of India. By Prof. H. H. Wilson. (In *Journ. of R. As. Soc. of Gr. Br. and Ir.* for 1851.)

Wilson finds evidence in a version of the legend of Sunahsephas, in the *Aitareya-Brâhmana*, that human sacrifices, "for the propitiation of some divinity, by devoting to him that which was most precious to the sacrificer," were not unknown in the Vedic period of the religion of India.

IV. OCEANICA.

1. *Philology.*

Wörterbuch d. Japanischen Sprache. Von Dr. A. Pfizmaier. Lief. 1. Wien: 1851.

> This work may be soon in demand, if the expected results are realized from the national expedition about to leave this country for Japan, and a similar one reported to be preparing in France.

Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific islands. By J. R. Logan. Language. Chap. I. General character of the Indo-Pacific languages. Chap. II. Classification of the Indo-Pacific langg. Chap. III. Comparative characteristics of each group: 1. Polynesian. 2. Micronesian. 3. Papuanesian. 4. Australian. 5. East Indonesian. 6. West Indonesian. 7. North-East Indonesian. (In *Journ. of Ind. Archip.* for April, 1851.)

2. *Geography.*

Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutz-Ländern. Von P. F. v. Siebold. Sect. xvii–xx. Leyden: 1851.

IV. DR. VASSALLO ON MALTESE ANTIQUITIES.

Dei Monumenti Antichi nel Gruppo di Malta Cenni Storici del Dr. Cesare Vassallo. Periodo Fenicio ed Egizio. Valletta: 1851.

The author of this pamphlet of fifty-five pages is Government-Librarian on the island of Malta, and gives proof, in these *Historical Hints*, of possessing both zeal and knowledge with reference to the antiquities of that ancient entrepot of commerce between the East and the West. Many architectural remains, it appears, of which some traces are to be seen above ground, still lie buried in their own ruins in the environs of Gudia, Zabbar, Musta, and Medina, and on the island of Gozo; and many ancient specimens of sculpture and the plastic art, from this locality, are lost to the world in private cabinets. Yet numerous objects of interest to the antiquarian have been long opened to the light of day, while new excavations are adding, from time to time, to the material for description and study. At the present day, too, such remnants of ancient civilization and religion may be studied with more hope of arriving at just conclusions than could formerly be entertained with reason, especially when those old writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who have been chiefly depended upon for a knowledge of Maltese antiquities, made and published their observations. Dr. Vassallo's pamphlet, though brief, tells us of all the discoveries of antiquities which have been made in the Maltese island-group, down to the most recent date, and criticizes some of the speculations of his predecessors. It is, however, most to be valued for its descriptions of ruins.

After alluding to the ties of religion, as well as of commercial interest and custom in civil affairs, which bound all the colonies of the Phoenicians to the mother-country, although they were virtually independent of it as respects their own government, the author observes that, from the number of sacred edifices of the Phoenicians already brought to light in the Maltese island-group, and of deities known to have been worshipped there, it might seem to have been originally intended by the colony from Tyre, or Sidon, which established itself at Malta, to make this "a grand national Pantheon." But such are the inequalities in the workmanship of these several edifices, that they cannot all be referred to the same age, but must be viewed as the result of the labors of successive generations, as the progress of time gave increase of skill to the hand of the workman.

As a specimen of the work before us, we give here the author's description of the ruins of Hajar Kim, the remains of a temple which he ranks as the fourth in the order of age, among the edifices in question, the excavation of which was accomplished in recent times.

> " *Hajiar Kim*, or Stone of worship,* is a place about a mile to the South of the village of Krendi. Even from ancient times, the massive columns which rise up there, had awakened admiration and curiosity in those who had visited them; and there was a general desire that some one should take in hand, some time or other, to clear the space surrounded by those masses, of the stones which encumbered it, in the assurance that something of interest to archeological science in general, and more particularly to the civil and religious history of the Maltese group, would without fail be revealed. Consequently, in November of the year 1839, Sir H. F. Bouverie authorized Sir V. Casolani, Collector of the public dues, to undertake the excavation; which having lasted two months, the Phoenician temple of Hajiar Kim was discovered such as it is now found.
>
> . . . .
>
> On a glance at the plan of the temple, two parallel spaces present themselves, of compressed oval form, and of unequal extension. The larger is one hundred and five feet in length, (English,) the other, eighty. The two breadths added together make seventy feet.
>
> To the first space two others adjoin, very nearly of the same form, but of only thirty-eight feet in length, each.
>
> The enclosing wall is constructed of colossal stones, placed for the most part vertically, as indeed are the walls of the interior subdivisions.
>
> Various are the entrances; but it is beyond question that the principal one was that which looks to the East.

---

* The translation should be, undoubtedly, the Upright Stone, in allusion to the columns which have always marked the locality.

Looking at the semicircles, divided from the rest by stones placed for the purpose, and at the two spaces which adjoin the larger area, it is manifest that the design was to make six principal divisions.

A few steps from the enclosure, are to be seen four broad stones which rise up to the height of fourteen and fifteen feet, and which, united at the lower extremity, cover a line of twenty-seven feet; also two others besides, of very nearly equal dimensions; and a seventh isolated.

In one of the principal spaces is seen a small altar of interesting form. It is four-sided, two feet and five inches high, one foot wide; half way up the side. In the angles jut out eight small pilasters, which sustain an *abacus;* and on the intermediate faces are represented in *alto relievo* two portions of serpents, united in a point, from whence a palm-tree springs, which with its branches covers and adorns the whole surface. Upon the *abacus* rises, to the height of four inches, a circle of one foot and more in diameter. All the surfaces, at least those above the circle, are pierced with holes in every direction.

Near to the altar above described, stands the sacred slab, grooved in between two parallel and vertical stones. This, as usual, is pierced with holes over the whole surface, and in the middle is discoverable, by two raised spiral lines, the half of an egg in *alto relievo.* The sacred slab rests, through its whole length, upon a support, which is certainly the sacred threshold. In the space which intervenes between the two stones above mentioned, were found bones of quadrupeds in great quantity; and it is probable that, by farther excavation there, the bone-pit would be found in that place.

Very many fragments of vases, of various dimensions, were also found: some of them adorned in tiles, and some in circles; a part in intaglio, and a part in relief; all of *terra cotta.* Three monopods, of a single stone, are still uninjured, and the very ruins, under which they formerly lay for so many ages, have preserved them.

In some parts of the temple, which no one is able to indicate, were found very many concavo-convex stones; others of conical form; others hemispherical, which, matched and united, would make either a sphere or an egg. Various are their respective sizes, that is to say, from five to three and a half inches in diameter.

But the most valuable objects found there, are certainly six small statues of our stone, varying in size, and without the head. They are, perhaps, all which have come down to us, made by Phoenician art. Two are sitting, and a large robe envelopes and covers them, distinctive of their feminine sex; and one of the two has a tress of hair falling down the back as low as the heels. Four are in a squatting posture, and are entirely naked. A seventh, which is the largest, is mutilated from the knee down; and a girdle covers it from the navel to the middle of the thigh. In all is to be observed an obesity which renders them strikingly alike, and which, despite of oneself, moves one to laughter. In two of them, where the neck joins the breast, there is a cavity, and some holes suitable for setting in, and fastening, a false head. The bases, either formed of the hems of the respective robes, or of the crouched limbs, are circular, and measure from one foot and eight inches to three feet in circumference; their heights vary from seven to nine inches. The larger of the small statues would stand perfectly in a circle of little more than four feet. It is to be remarked, that, looked at in front, they represent an external line composed of two semicircles of unequal diameter, the smaller placed above the larger. And one controling thought is apparent, to make circular lines predominate in every part and in every limb belonging to them."

The author's notices of remains of Phoenician sacred architecture are followed by a description of the celebrated necropolis of the hill of Ben Gemma,* which he closes with the remark that, "if one chose to devote himself to the work of tracing out Phoenician necropolises, Roman catacombs, and Christian dormitories and crypts, there would be material, here, for writing a most interesting *Malta Subterranea.*

But beside Phoenician remains, there have been also found, in the Maltese group, some which seem to be Egyptian. The author infers that there was a time when the Egyptians held sway there. However this may be, the motley character of the Phoenician colonies, in general, would seem sufficiently to account for traces of other influences there than those derived from the mother-country. Egyptian influence is traced in the ancient excavation discovered by the United States Consul at Malta, which was described in the second volume of this Journal. With reference to the question of the origin of this monument, our author observes that the severity of the rectangles in its *tout ensemble*, contrasted with the established circular forms of Phoenician religious architecture, is descisive; and moreover, that the Phoenicians erected, and did not excavate, their temples.

We should have been glad to speak of some of the articles in *terra cotta*, glass, and marble, Phoenician and Egyptian, which have been found in the Maltese group. But this notice is already longer than was intended, and must now be brought to a close.

E. E. S.

V. THE JEWS AT KHAIFUNG-FU IN CHINA.

In Vol. II. p. 341 of this Journal it was announced that a communication had been opened with the Jews at Khaifung-fu, that eight Hebrew manuscripts had been obtained from them, and that valuable information had been collected about the state of that community, by two Christian Chinese travellers.

It now appears that the journals of these travellers, with an introduction by George Smith, D. D. Bp. of Victoria, have been published at Shanghai in a pamphlet form,† and that fac-similes of four of the manuscripts, viz. sections XIII. XXIII. XXX. XLVII. of the Mosaic law have been taken by Chinese block-makers, and that a second visit to Khaifung-fu had been successfully performed by the same travellers.

---

* Probably, the Son of cloud, though Dr. Vassallo translates the name the Son of the Crested.

† The Jews at K'hae-fung-foo: being a narrative of a mission of inquiry, to the Jewish synagogue at K'hae-fung-foo, on behalf of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews; with an introduction, by the Right Revd. George Smith, D. D., Lord Bishop of Victoria. Shanghae: 1851. pp. xii. and 82.

The introduction informs us that a benevolent lady and friend of Israel, lately deceased, had placed, at the disposal of the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews, the necessary funds for instituting an inquiry concerning the Jews in China, and of establishing a mission among them, and that the carrying out of this plan had been committed to the Bishop of Victoria. At the suggestion of Dr. Medhurst of the London Missionary Society, two native converts were sent into the interior to the supposed residence of these Jews; the results of which mission are now given to the public.

"After receiving various cautionary suggestions and instructions as to their mode of proceeding, our two Chinese friends left Shanghae on November 15th, 1850. They followed the route which had been previously laid down for them, by way of Soo-chow, and thence to Chin-këang-foo, where they crossed the river Yang-tsze-këang. They pursued their course thence in boats as before, along the grand canal, to the point of its junction with the Yellow River. Here, after a slight detention, they renewed their journey in a rude cart or barrow, drawn by mules, along the southern bank of the Yellow River, arriving at K'hae-fung-foo on December 9th, having travelled a distance of about seven hundred miles in a north-west direction from Shanghae.

"The journals of our travellers will best convey, in their own simple truthful language, an idea of the state of the country and population through which they passed. The generally perceptible poverty and distress of the people in the vicinity of the Yellow River, the frequent signs of dilapidated dwellings, villages in ruins, and partial neglect of cultivation, may be taken as proofs of the devastating effects, from time to time, produced by the overflowing of this vast central stream, and of the occasional desolation spread on either side of its embankments. But we must be cautious in admitting a too hasty conclusion, that these appearances militate against the popular accounts of the higher degree of prosperity and civilization, generally prevailing in other parts of the Chinese empire."

The last remark is undoubtedly correct; for the Yellow River resembles the Mississippi in its violence and the amount of its waters.

We will now give the journal of one of the travellers, after his arrival at Khaifung-fu, in his own words.

"Dec. 9, 1851.—About 4 in the evening, we arrived at the provincial city K'hae-fûng-foò; before we reached the Tsaou-mûn (east gate), the pagoda of Thëë-t'hă-shé was in sight, and the walls looked very beautiful and wide; as soon as we arrived at the city, we stept out from the cart to look out for an inn; after we had found one, and put all our things in order, we immediately sallied forth in quest of the Jewish synagogue; we did not at once enquire of the Chinese, but went into a Mohammedan's shop to take our dinner; while eating we asked whether they belonged to the religion of Mohammed, or the Jews; they said, We are Mohammedans. After that we asked whether the T'eaou-kin-keaóu or Jews were here; they said, Yes. We asked them again, where they lived and where was their shé (temple). They said, The Jews are very few here, not more than seven families, and their szè foò (teacher) is now no more; some of the sect are very poor, and some, having a little money, have opened shops to support their families. They told us also, that the temple was situated close by the south-west corner of the Hò-shîn-meaóu. Following their directions, we soon discovered the place, which we found to be in ruins; within the precincts of the temple, were a number of small apartments, all inhabited by the descendants of the ancient people, who had spread out a great quantity of cabbages in the open air, just by the side of the temple; the residents there were mostly women, some of whom were widows: on asking them, How many people live here? and, Is the sze foò (teacher) still alive? they said, We who belong to this religion, are the only people who live here, and our teacher is now no more; our temple is all ruined, and we are nearly starved. We asked them, Are there any who can read the Hebrew character? they said, Formerly there were some who could, but now all have been scattered abroad, and there is not one now who can read it. They said also, A teacher of our religion sent us two letters some time ago; you bring your letter to-morrow that we may see if it is the same as his hand-writing. Whereupon we took our leave, and returned to our inn. The Jewish synagogue at K'hae-fung-foò, resembles a Chinese temple, with ornaments, &c., and many Chinese characters are written there, by the front, and above the doors.

"Dec. 10.—To-day, about 8 o'clock in the morning, we went to the temple of the Jews, to do our appointed duty. At the first entrance, before the door, there were two stone lions with pedestals, and some characters to point out the name of the temple (Ts'hing-chin-shé); the space within the gate was inhabited by the professors of Judaism, who lived in a sort of pavilion, with a mat and straw-roof; on each side of this, there was a small gate, at one of which the people went in and out at leisure, or during the time of service, the other one being choked up with mud. Over the second entrance were written in Chinese characters, King weí haou t'hëen, (venerate Heaven); this inclosure was also inhabited by the Jewish people; on the right side of it, there was a stone tablet, engraved with ancient and modern Chinese letters; after which was placed the pae-fang, or ornamental gateway, with a round white marble table in front of it; in front of the pae-fang, was written fŭh, happiness, and below it, lîng t'hung woo mŭh, the mind holding communion with Heaven. On each side of the pae-fang, there were various apartments, some of which were broken down; on the back of the pae-fang, there were written in characters, K'hin jŏ haou t'hëen, (reverently accord with the expansive Heavens); below these, on the ground, stone flower-pots and tripods were placed; after passing which, we came to the third court, where we saw a marble railing, with steps on each side; having entered which, the temple itself appeared, with two stone lions in front. Finding that the front door of the temple was shut, we tried to open it, but could not, when several of the professors came up, and entered into conversation with us, questioning us about our object; so we told them we came from a distance to bring a letter; they then let us see two letters, one from a rabbi, and the other from Mr. Layton, Consul at Amoy, requesting them to send some Hebrew tracts; it was written half in Chinese and half in Hebrew. They told us also, that they had been nearly starved, since their temple had been neglected; and that their congregation consisted now of only seven clans (or sings) viz. Chaou, Kaou, Le, Shih, Kin, Chang and Gae. Most of the men were acquainted with letters. After conversing some time with them, one of the men opened the door for us, so we took advantage of the opportunity, to go in and examine the sacred place; the men told us, that several strangers had before tried to enter, but they would not allow them to do so, because many of them were merely pretended professors of their religion; but finding that we had been sent by some of their own people, and had a letter in their own character, they allowed us to see the place."

Then follows a detailed account of the interior of the synagogue, and copies are given of various Hebrew and Chinese inscriptions existing there.

The Hebrew inscriptions are for the most part passages of the Old Testament.

The inscriptions on p. 27, which the journalist explains thus: 'Ineffable is his name, for Jehovah is the God of gods,' I would restore and amend as follows,

בי כי שמו ביהוה אלהי האלהים

'Blessed be Jehovah, for his name is Jehovah, the God of gods.'

The two first letters are Rabbinic abbreviations for ברוך יהוה 'blessed be Jehovah.' The Beth before 'Jehovah' I have substituted for what in the copy looks more like a Caph, on the supposition that it may be a Beth essentiae, comp. Ps 68 : 5. Is. 26 : 4, as explained by Gesenius. Should this conjecture be verified, it will serve to confirm Gesenius' views concerning this peculiar use of the prefix Beth.

The inscription on p. 36, which the journalist explains thus: 'Who is he that is above all outgoings, even Jehovah, Jehovah the most High,' I would read as follows,

כי על כל מוצא פי יהוה יחיה האדם

'But by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah shall man live.' Compare Deut. 8 : 3, last clause.

The long Chinese inscriptions are evidently apologetic, intended to recommend the Jewish religion to the favorable regard of the Chinese. Peculiar philosophic, perhaps mystic, views are found in them, relating to the Divine Reason or Logos, which we know not whether to derive from the Jews themselves, or from their intercourse perhaps with the Taoists in China. In either case they present an interesting problem in the history of theological ideas.

The Hebrew manuscripts are thus described by Bp. Smith,

> "These eight MSS. are written on thick paper, bound in silk, and bear internal marks of foreign, probably Persian, origin. The writing appears to have been executed by means of a style, and to be in an antique Hebrew form with vowel points. The cursory examination which we have been already enabled to bestow on them, leads to the belief that they will be found by western biblical scholars, to be remarkable for their generally exact agreement with the received text of the Hebrew Old Testament.

We accede fully to the last remark, although the fac-similes, as they are presented to us, abound in errors, probably owing to imperfect transcription by the Chinese block-makers.

The Raphe is used, as in most Hebrew manuscripts, to denote the absence of Daghesh and Mappik. The omission of the Raphe in printed Hebrew Bibles has gone on a false idea, that the aspirate sounds of the Beghadhchephath are the original natural sounds of these letters. Whereas the Dagheshed sounds are the original ones. The Masorites, who made use of Daghesh and Raphe both, did not countenance this error.

Kamets is expressed, as often in manuscripts, by a small horizontal line with a dot under it, and not by a small ᴛ.

The dots are carelessly made.

The accents Merka, Tiphha, etc., are expressed by straight lines instead of curves.

Similar letters, as Yodh and Waw, Daleth and Resh, etc., are often confounded.

It appears from the following article from the *North China Herald*, that the subject has not been permitted to rest here, but that a second visit has been paid to the Jews of Khaifung-fu, and more manuscripts obtained.

> **Books of Moses in China.**—The two Chinese travellers, K'hew-t'heen-sang and Tseang-yung-che, who formerly visited K'hae-fung-foo, have paid that city a second visit, and returned. They embarked on the 20th of May, and reached Shanghae again on the 20th of July, having been absent two months. Their object in going was to obtain the rolls of the law, and bring away some of the Jews, in both of which they have been completely successful. Some difficulty was at first experienced, when they announced their object to the assembled Israelites in K'hae-fung-foo: a part of them being favorable thereto, and the rest averse. A fortnight was spent in deliberations, during which time our travellers gradually won more of the professors of Judaism over to their side. Lest they should think, however, that strangers wished to obtain their records for nothing, they proposed to pay a suitable price for what they received. This reasoning gradually prevailed; at first they brought a few of the miscellaneous portions of the Law, written in separate pamphlets, similar to those which had been previously procured. These, amounting to several tens, will probably make up altogether a considerable part of the five books of Moses. There is among them also a chronicle of three or four Jewish families, with the names written both in Chinese and Hebrew. Unfortunately this is without dates, otherwise it would have been a valuable historical document. After some delay, and debating about the price of the rolls, one was at length brought to the inn where the travellers lodged, but in a very decayed condition. This was objected to, on account of its apparent incompleteness; but the Jews said, the roll in question was more ancient than the rest, and that its decayed state was to be ascribed to its having been immersed in the flood which occurred in their city two or three hundred years ago. At length a meeting of all the professors was held in the Synagogue, amounting to several hundreds, when it was decided that more rolls should be given, and five additional ones, in a good state of preservation, were handed over in the presence of all, and the sum agreed for paid. On examining the six rolls now brought, they are found each one to contain a complete copy of the five books of Moses, (excepting the one first brought, which is defective,) some more ancient and others more fresh in their appearance. They are all beautifully written, without points, or marks for divisions, on white sheep-skins, cut square and sewed together, about twenty or thirty yards long, and rolled on sticks. They are for the present to be seen at the house of the Rev. W. H. Medhurst,

and will, when good opportunities offer, be successively forwarded to the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, through the Bishop of Victoria, to be ultimately deposited in the British Museum, where a number of ancient copies of the Scriptures already lie.

The Illustrated London News of Dec. 13, 1851, contains a statement embracing some of the preceding facts, together with portraits of Chaou Wan-kwei and Chaou Kin-Ching, two Israelites brought from Khaifung-fu to Shanghai, where the former is studying Hebrew with an English missionary.

The messengers appear not fully to have understood their business; for the ancient decayed manuscript, to which they objected, will be valued more highly than all the rest together. The Jesuit missionaries speak of an inundation at Khaifung-fu in 1642, at which time the manuscript referred to may have sustained its injury.

The way is now open for learning the special usages of these Chinese Jews, and the time approximatively when they passed to China; facts which will be interesting in themselves and important in their bearing on other subjects.

J. W. G.

VI. Chinese Repository.

By a letter just received from Mr. Samuel W. Williams, of Canton, we learn that this highly valued publication, having reached its twentieth volume, is discontinued; and that Mr. Williams is now preparing a General Index to the work. Scholars will know how to appreciate such a help to the use of its rich stores of information.

E. E. S.

ADDITIONS

TO THE

LIBRARY AND CABINET

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

MARCH, 1851—APRIL, 1852.

ADDITIONS, ETC.

Ivangeli e li Yingcuele, e li Baliweyo G'Umatu. Umkungunhlovu. I baliwe gu D. D. Buchanan & Co. 1848. 12°. pp. 81. [Two Zulu tracts.]

Incwadi Yokubala. Port Natal. Printed at the American Mission Press. 1849. 12°. pp. 48.

Presented by the Rev. Dr. Anderson.

History of the Conquerors of Hind, by Maha Raja Apurva Krishna Bahadur. Chapter 3. Calcutta: 1848. 8°.

Presented by the Author.

Journal Asiatique, ou Recueil de Mémoires d'Extraits et de Notices relat. à l'histoire, à la philos. aux langues et à la littér. des peuples orientaux, publié par la Société Asiatique. IV^{e} Série. Tomes XVII–XVIII. Paris: 1851.

Presented by the Asiatic Society of Paris.

Synopsis of a Grammar of the Karen Language, embracing both Dialects, Sgau, and Pgho or Sho. By F. Mason. 1846. 4°. pp. 458.

The Morning Star. Vols. II–IX. Nos. 17–96. Jan., 1844–Aug., 1850. 4°. [A monthly Journal of two quarto leaves.]

Thesaurus of Karen Knowledge, comprising Traditions, Legends, . . . etc., alphabetically arranged, and forming a complete Native Karen Dictionary. . . . Written by Sau Kau-Too, and compiled by J. Wade. 3 vols. 12°. Tavoy: 1847–49. [2 sets.]

An Introduction to the Science of Astronomy, designed for the use of the higher Karen Schools. By Rev. E. B. Cross. 8°. 1848. [10 plates.]

An Arithmetic for the Use of Karen Schools. . . . By Rev. E. B. Cross. 8°. 1849.

A Vocabulary of the Sgau Karen Language. By Rev. J. Wade. 12°. 1849. pp. 1024. [2 copies.]

The Sacred Book of Moses, called Exodus. Translated by Rev. F. Mason. First edition. 12°. 1849. [2 copies.]

Primary Geography. By Mrs. H. M. Mason. 12°, 1848. [2 copies.]

An Anglo-Karen Vocabulary. Monosyllables. By C. Bennett. For the use of Karen Schools. 18°. 1846. [2 copies.]

Notes of a Course of Lectures . . . by W. J. Vansommeren, M. D. Translated into the Karen by E. B. Cross. 18°. 1850. [2 copies.]

A Catechism for Young Classes in Sabbath Schools. 18°. 1850. [2 copies.]

A Volume of School Tracts, comprising: 1. Sgau Karen Spelling Book. 2. Catechism. 3. Father's Advice. 4. Land Measurement. 5. Mental Arithmetic, by Mrs. H. M. Mason. 6. Mrs. Mason's Primary Geography. 18°.

Materia Medica and Pathology. 32°. 1848.

Presented by the Rev. C. Bennett of Tavoy, and all printed at the Tavoy Karen Missionary Press.

Fac-simile of Part of a Treaty between the English and Siamese. 4°. [In Siamese, Malay, and English; one sheet; lithographed in Boston.]

Presented by Mr. Binney.

Le Magyarisme, ou la Guerre des Nationalités en Hongrie, par M. J. Boldényi. Paris: 1850. [2 copies.]

Presented by the Author.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. No. XIV. January, 1851. 8°.

Presented by the Bombay Br. of the R. Asiatic Society.

Chinese copy of the so-called Syrian Monument of Khai-fung-fu.

Presented by the Rev. Dr. Elijah C. Bridgman, of Canton.

A Block of stone with a Greek inscription upon it, from Maiseh, 4½ hours S. of Ba'albek, in a valley of Anti-Lebanon.

Presented by Henry A. DeForest, M. D., of Beirût.

A Vocabulary, English and Hindoostanee, compiled for the use of Strangers. 18°. [A detached portion of a thicker volume, i. e. pages 49–84; but containing the complete *civil* vocabulary, and the first page of another called "Military Terms."]

Animal Biography in English and Romanized Bengálí. No. 1. The Dog. Kukur. [Calcutta; without date.] 12°. pp. 65.

Bákyábalí, or Idiomatic Exercises, English and Bengálí. Part III. Verbs. 12°. [Calcutta; without date; part of a thicker volume, i. e. pp. 121–237.]

The Gospel of Matthew in Hindustání. Translated by the Rev. H. Martyn, and transferred into the Roman character by the Rev. J. Thomas. Calcutta. Baptist Mission Press. 1834. 8°.

The same [another edition]. 1835. 8°.

The Gospel of Mark in Hindustání. Translated by the Rev. H. Martyn, and transferred into the Roman character. Calcutta. Baptist Mission Press. 1835. 8°.

The Gospel of Matthew in Bengálí and English. The Bengálí in the Roman character. From the Translation of the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries. Calcutta: 1835. 8°.

Bagh o Bahar. Folio.

The Laws of Menu in the original Sanscrita, with Bengalee and English Translations. Nos. I.–V. pp. 1–119. Calcutta. Church Mission Press. 1832–33. 4°.

A Vocabulary, English, Latin, and Bengalese. For the Use of Students. Translated and printed by Ramkissen San. Calcutta: 1821. 4°. [2 copies.]

The Prem Sagur, or the History of Krishnu, according to the Tenth Chapter of the Bhagubut of Vyasudevu. Translated into Hindee from the Bruj Brasha of Chutoorbhooj Misr, by Lulloo Lal. Calcutta: 1831. 4°.

Part I. of the English, French, and Bengalee Primer; or an easy Vocabulary of Fifteen Hundred Common Words, for the use of Youth. By W. B. Johnson. A new Edition. Calcutta. [Without date.] 4°. pp. 82.

Muntakhabāt-i-Hindī, or Selections in Hindustani, with verbal Translations, or particular Vocabularies, and a Grammatical Analysis of some parts. By John Shakespear, Oriental Professor, etc. 2 vols. 4°. London: 1817–25. [In Arabic and Nagari characters.]

A Grammar of the Hindustani Language. By John Shakespear, Professor of the Oriental Languages, etc. 2d edition. London: 1818. 4°.

A collection of Moral Precepts and Reflections, gathered from various sources, in English and Hindostany, and translated for the instruction of Youth. Printed at His Majesty the King of Oude's. Lithographic Press. Lucknou: A. D. 1833. Royal 8°.

Presented by John J. Dixwell and George B. Dixwell.

Firmân of His Imperial Majesty Sultân 'Abd-Ul-Medjîd, granted in favor of his Protestant subjects. [3 copies.]
Translation of the foregoing. [3 copies.]
Presented by the Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, of Constantinople.

Guide to Northern Archæology, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, edited for the use of English Readers by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere. London: 1848. 8°. pp. 128. 2 maps.
[Annexed to the above are: 1. General Anniversary Meeting, 15 Feb., 1851. pp. 8. 2. English Catalogue of the Society's publications. pp. 4. 3. List of Founders, [in Danish,] 1 Jan., 1849. pp. 8. 4. The same, [in English,] 1 Jan., 1851. pp. 8. 5. American Section of Founders and Fellows. [Without date.] pp. 8.
Presented by the Earl of Ellesmere.

Hamasæ Carmina, ed. G. G. Freytag. Vol. II. Fasc. 4. 4°.
Presented by the Editor.

Analyse d'un Monologue Dramatique Indien, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris: 1850. 8°. pp. 22.
Presented by the Author.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Bd. V. Hefte 1, 2, 3, 4; Bd. VI. Heft 1. Leipzig: 1851–52.
Indische Studien, von Dr. Albrecht Weber. Bd. I.; Bd. II. Hefte 1, 2. Berlin: 1850–51.
Presented by the German Oriental Society.

The Gospel of Luke, translated into the Loo-chooan: first rough copy, [in the original characters,] by Dr. Bettelheim. MS.
The Gospel of St. Luke, translated into the Loo-chooan, [in Roman characters,] by Dr. Bettelheim. MS.
Presented by Commander James Glynn, U. S. N.

The Classical Reader, or Selections from standard Tamil Authors. Jaffna: 1847.
The Key of Nâthântam, or Mystic Doctrine of the Deity, etc. [Tamil MS. on talipot-leaf.]
Presented by the Rev. Henry R. Hoisington.

Derbend-Nâmeh, or the History of Derbend, translated by Mirza A. Kazem-Beg. St. Petersburg: 1851. 4°.
Presented by the Translator.

Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL.D. Part I. Philadelphia: 1851.

Presented by Major Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Book of Common Prayer, as used by the United Church of England and Ireland, and the Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung, or read, in churches. Translated from the original languages into Arabic. London: 1850.

Book of the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ. Newly translated from the Original Greek into Arabic, at the expense of the English Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. London: 1851.

Presented by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Lee, of Cambridge, England.

The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia, edited by J. R. Logan, F. G. S. Vols. III. IV. Singapore: 1849–50.

Presented by the Editor.

Philosophical Almanac in Chinese, by D. J. Macgowan, M. D. Ningpo: 1851.

A Treatise on Astronomy, by Benjamin Hobson, M. D. Canton: 1849. [In Chinese.]

Presented by William A. Macy.

Arabico-Hebrew Pentateuch, with an interlinear Persian translation, by a Persico-Jewish Rabbi of Hamadân. MS. fol.

The Mesnavy, by Moola-i-Room. A poem in Persian, embodying the religious scheme of the Sooffees. MS. fol.

The Book of the Paradise in Eden, by Ebed Jesu. MS. fol.

Presented by the Rev. James L. Merrick.

The New Testament, a literal Translation from the Syriac Peshito Version, by James Murdock, D. D. New York: 1851.

Presented by the Translator.

History of Alexander, in the ancient Syriac, as found among the Nestorian Christians. MS.

Specimens of a newspaper in the Nestorian Syriac, entitled *Rays of Light*, lately established at Oroomiah.

Presented by the Rev. Dr. Justin Perkins, of Oroomiah.

El-Kâmûs, translated into Turkish by Asim Effendi. Bulak: 1834. 3 vols. folio.

Durr-i-Yekta, a theological treatise after the sect of Abû Hanîfa. [In Turkish.] Constantinople: 1827. 8°.

Life of the Prophet, by Mohammed Moyn-ed-Dîn of Herât. [In Arabic.] Constantinople: 1847. 4°.

Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou-Français composé d'après un Dictionnaire Mantchou-Chinois par M. Amyot, Missionaire à Pekin; redigé et publié avec des Additions, et l'Alphabet de cette Langue, par L. Langlès. Paris: 1789–90. 3 vols. 4°.

Dictionnaire Turc-Français à l'usage des agents diplomatiques et consulaires, des commerçants, des navigateurs, et autres voyageurs dans le Levant, par J. D. Kieffer et T. X. Bianchi. Paris: 1835–37. 2 vols. 8°.

Le Guide de la Conversation en Français et en Turc, à l'usage des Voyageurs Français dans le Levant et des Turcs qui viennent en France; suivi du Texte Turc et de la Traduction du Traité de Commerce du 25 Novembre, 1838, entre la France et la Turquie. Par C. X. Bianchi. Paris: 1839. Oblong 8vo.

Bibliothèque Asiatique et Africaine, ou Catalogue des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Asie et à l'Afrique qui ont paru depuis la découverte de l'imprimerie jusqu'en 1700, par H. Ternaux-Compans. Paris: 1841. 8°.

Éclaircissements sur quelques Particularités des Langues Tatares et Finnoises, par L. O. Roehrig. Paris: 1845. 8°. pp. 26. [2 copies.]

Notice d'un Manuscrit Turc, en caractères Ouïgurs, envoyé par M. de Hammer à M. Abel-Remusat, par P. Amedée Jaubert. Paris: 1825. 8°. pp. 32. [With a lithograph copy of the MS.]

Catalogo dei Libri esistenti nella Tipografia Poliglotta della Sacra Congregazione de Propagandâ Fide. Roma: 1850. pp. 31.

James Madden's Oriental Catalogue for 1847. London: 1847. 8vo. pp. 80.

Presented by George W. Pratt.

Ueber Dr. H. Barth und Dr. Overweg's Begleitung der J. Richardsonschen Reise-expedition zum Tschad-See und in das innere Africa. Nach den von verschiedenen Seiten her eingelaufenen Originalberichten an die Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin und ihre Mitglieder, von C. Ritter. Ende Juli, 1850. Erster Bericht.

Presented by the Author.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. XIII. Part I.; Vol. XIV. Part I. Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions. By Lieut. Col. H. C. Rawlinson, C. B. London: 1851. 8°.

Presented by the Royal Asiatic Society.

Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Copenhague: 1840–44. 8°. pp. 440. Tables I.–XVIII^{c}. [On 18 leaves in 2 *cahiers.*]

[Annexed are: 1. List of Founders, [in French,] 1 Jan., 1845. pp. 8; 2. American Section. [Without date.] pp. 8.

List of the Society's publications. [In English; without date.] pp. 4.

Do., [in German,] 29 Jan., 1838. pp. 4. [2 copies.]

Do., [do.,] 31 Jan., 1839. pp. 4.

Dons et Cotisations des Membres, 1839–1841.

Fondateurs, 1 Jan., 1842. pp. 4. [3 copies.]

Do., 1 Jan., 1845. pp. 8. [2 copies.]

Do., [in Danish,] 1 Jan., 1849. pp. 8. [5 copies.]

Do., [in French,] 1 Jan., 1850. pp. 8. [42 copies.]

General Anniversary Meeting, 15 Feb., 1851. pp. 8. [53 copies.]

Presented by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.

Bulletin de la Classe des Sciences Historiques Philologiques et Politiques de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg. Tome VIII. Nos. 7–24.

Verhandlungen der Sechsten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner, in Cassel, 1843. Cassel: 1844. 4°.

Presented by Edward E. Salisbury.

ΒΑΛΑΒΑΡΑΤΑ, or an Abridgment of the Mahâbhârata. [In Romaic.]

Presented by the Rev. Dr. Barnas Sears.

English and Nestorian Lexicon. [Compiled by the Mission of the American Board at Oroomiah.] 2 vols. MS.

Paradigm of the verb *to be* in the Tiyary dialect of the Modern Syriac, written by Kasha Abraham in Ashetha. MS.

Notes on the Grammar of the Sichuana language, furnished by Mr. Hughes of Griqua Town, in 1835; also, An English, Sichuana and Zulu Vocabulary, collected by H. I. Vénable in conjunction with Messrs. Lindley and Wilson, at Griqua Town, Kuruman, Masika, and Natal, in 1835–38.

Presented by the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vol. II. Washington: 1851.

The Fourth Annual Report of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington: 1850. 8°. pp. 64.

Smithsonian Reports.—Notices of Public Libraries in the United States of America. By Charles C. Jewett, Libr. of the S. I. Washington: 1851. 8°. pp. 207.

Presented by the Smithsonian Institution.

Fragmentum Libri Margarita Mirabilium, auctore Ibn-El-Vardi. Ed. Carolus Joh. Tornberg. Pars Prior. Upsaliæ: 1835. Pars Posterior. Upsaliæ: 1839.

Ibn-el-Athir's Chrönika. Elfte delen ifran Arabiskan öfversatt af Carl Iohan. Tornberg. Häftet I. Lund: 1851.

Ibn Khalduni Narratio de Expeditionibus Francorum in terras Islamismo subjectas. Ed. Carolus Joh. Tornberg. Upsaliæ: 1840.

Primordia dominationis Murabitorum e libro Arabico vulgò *Kartâs* inscripto, auctore Abu-l-Hhassano Ibn Abi Zera'. Ed. Carolus Joh. Tornberg. Upsaliæ: 1839.

Codices Orientales Bibliothecæ Regiæ Universitatis Lundensis. Recensuit Carolus Joh. Tornberg. Lundæ: 1840.

Codices Arabici, Persici, et Turcici, Bibliothecæ Regiæ Universitatis Upsaliensis. Disposuit et descripsit C. J. Tornberg. Upsaliæ: 1849.

Numi Cufici Regii Numophylacii Holmiensis, quos omnes in terrâ Sueciæ repertos digessit et interpretatus est Dr. Carolus Joh. Tornberg. Upsaliæ: 1848.

Symbolæ ad rem numariam Muhammedanorum. Ex Museo Regio Holmiensi ed. Carolus Joh. Tornberg. Fasc. I. Upsaliæ: 1846.

Annales Regum Mauritaniæ à condito Idrisidarum imperio ad annum fugæ 726, ab Abu-l-Hassan Ali Ben Abd Allah Ibn Abi Zer' Fesano. Ed. Carolus Joh. Tornberg. Vol. I. Textum Arabicum continens. Upsaliæ: 1843; Vol. II. Versionem Latinam, Scrip-

turæ Varietatem, et Observationes continens. Upsaliæ: 1846.
Presented by Professor C. J. Tornberg, of Upsal.

Bundehesh, liber Pehlvicus. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descripsit, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit N. L. Westergaard, Professor Havniensis. Havniæ: 1851.
Presented by the Editor.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated from the Original Greek into Maráthí. Printed for the Ahmednuggur Mission, at the American Mission Press. 1850. 18°.
Presented by the Rev. R. G. Wilder, of Bombay.

Last Will of Táu-kwáng, Emperor of China [accompanied with a translation].
Inaugural Proclamation of Hien-fung, the Emperor of China [accompanied with a translation].
Imperial Decree giving directions for the canonization of the Empress Dowager, mother of His Majesty Táu-kwáng.
Testimony of Kí-ying, late Governor General of Canton, etc., to the truth of Christianity, with a translation.
Copy of an Imperial Edict issued by the present Emperor Hien-fung, on his accession, remitting all arrearages of taxes and revenue due from the people and officers of the empire.
Letter from Rev. B. J. Bettelheim, M. D., of Lewchew, giving an account of his labors there during the last three years. Canton: 1850.
Presented by Samuel Wells Williams, of Canton.

The Christian Instructor and Missionary Record. Vols. VI.–VIII. Madras: 1848–50.
Presented by the Rev. Miron Winslow, of Madras.

A Grammar of the Turkish Language of Azerbîjân, by Robert Ross Glen, Esq. MS.
A fragment of Ebed Jesu's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Authors and their Works. MS.
A brief account of the Council of Nice, as given by Maroota of Meparkat, by direction of the Patriarch Isaac. MS. [In Syriac; with a translation.]
The Kurân. [Lithographed.]
Presented by the Rev. Austin H. Wright, of Oroomiah.

CHARLES FOLSOM, *Librarian.*

ERRATA.

Page	24,	for	*Na-la-gee-ree*	read	*Na-la-ge-re.*
"	"	"	*Be-lu*	"	*Be-loo.*
"	54,	"	*Na-yin-za-ya*	"	*Nay-yen-za-ya.*
"	65,	"	*he eat rice*	"	*he ate rice.*
"	67,	"	*Tha-ma-da*	"	*Thu-ma-da.*
"	68,	"	*Gau-ta-mee*	"	*Gau-da-mee.*
"	73,	"	*Wa-pa-thee*	"	*We-pa-tha.*
"	81,	"	*Anara-gee-ree*	"	*Anara-ge-re.*
"	120,	"	*are eight, as follows: the*	"	*are eight, as follows. The*
"	"	"	*This is one reason*	"	*This is one cause.*
"	139,	"	*Tha-mu-da-tha-na*	"	*Thu-ma-da-tha-na.*
"	181,	"	*Asrâkil*	"	*Isrâfil.*

ARTICLE IV.

CATALOGUE
OF
ALL WORKS KNOWN TO EXIST
IN THE
ARMENIAN LANGUAGE,
OF A DATE EARLIER THAN
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

REV. H. G. O. DWIGHT,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN TURKEY.

(Read October 22, 1851.)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Armenian learned men do not hesitate to date the origin of their national literature as far back as one hundred and forty-nine years before the Christian era. They tell us of a Marapas, a Gherûpnah, an Ûghiub, a Partadzan, an Arditeos, and a Khorohpûd, distinguished literary characters, who flourished during the interval from that period down to near the beginning of the fourth century. These individuals are represented as having written, particularly, historical and mythological works; but, as none of these works remain, we shall not now spend time in investigating the truth of the record concerning them, of which we neither affirm nor deny anything. It better accords with our present purpose to take our starting point from where the statements of history are confirmed by undeniable vouchers existing in our very hands.

During the fourth century, the Armenian nation was converted from paganism to Christianity; and under the stimulating influences of their new faith, many were led to put forth the most extraordinary efforts for the cultivation of their minds, and the enlargement of their sphere of knowledge. As religious questions absorbed their attention, so these became the common, though not exclusive, topics of their books. The want of an alphabet of their own led them to use sometimes the Syriac, and sometimes the Greek character, in writing in their vernacular tongue. The inconvenience of this expedient was soon most deeply felt; and early in the fifth century (A. D. 406), Mesrob, after encountering many difficulties, and making many fatiguing and perilous journeys in pursuit of his object, successfully terminated his efforts, and presented to his countrymen an alphabet exclusively their own, consisting of thirty-six characters. Two more have since been added, making thirty-eight in all. From this era may be dated the beginning of Armenian literature, as it is at present known to the world. The first golden age of this literature was the fifth century, and the second was the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Rarely have men in any age or country, made more energetic, praiseworthy, and successful efforts in the cultivation of letters, than those whose names are recorded under the first two centuries in our catalogue. In the fifth century, schools and colleges were established throughout Armenia; and with wise forethought, several of the most talented young men were selected and sent abroad, some to Constantinople, some to Athens, and some to Alexandria, to acquire a knowledge of language and the sciences. These, on returning, brought to their native land a large collection of valuable books, in different tongues, many of which were translated into the vernacular Armenian. The names of Sahag, Mesrob, Üzkon, Movses, Tavit, Yeznig, and Yeghishe are, and ever will be, deserving of the most honorable remembrance, wherever real merit is appreciated, and the love of letters cherished. A perusal of the subjoined catalogue will show that in succeeding ages, also, individuals have been found among the Armenians not less deserving, perhaps, of literary renown.

The catalogue has been derived from various sources, and no pains have been spared to make it as full and correct as the circumstances of the case would allow. I have made free use of the Preface to the large Armenian Lexicon, in two volumes quarto, published at Venice, A. D. 1836; and am also largely indebted to the book in Italian entitled: "Quadro della Storia letteraria di Armenia," printed at the same press, A. D. 1829. Several manuscript catalogues of Armenian books, procured expressly for this work, have also been constantly at hand. A thorough exploration of the monasteries in the interior of Turkey, and in Russian and Persian Armenia, no doubt, would greatly add to this list of Armenian works. It is believed that a visit of this sort to the Armenian monasteries of Cilicia would be especially rewarded. It is known, however, that both in Cilicia and in Armenia proper, whole libraries, containing many ancient and valuable manuscripts, were consigned to the flames by the Persians, the Seljûkians, the Turks, and the Egyptians, who successively overrun and wasted the kingdom of Armenia.

The catalogue, it will be seen, embraces no writers after the sixteenth century, because this seemed to be about the limit to which the independent national literature of the Armenians could be considered as reaching. After the final extinction of the Armenian kingdom, A. D. 1375, literature rapidly declined, and by the sixteenth century few writers remained, worthy of any notice. The revival of learning among the modern Armenians, dating itself from the eighteenth century, under the persevering and praiseworthy efforts of the Mukhitarists of Venice, joined afterwards by their brethren of Vienna, is a subject well worthy of a separate article; but it cannot be entered upon here. Wherever in this catalogue Venice is referred to, as the place where manuscripts are found, or books have been printed, the monastery of Mukhitarist monks is always intended. It is situated on the island of St. Lazarus, in the close vicinity of Venice. It may probably be safely taken for granted, that nearly all the manuscripts mentioned, which are assigned to no place, can be found in the library of this institution. Its members belong to that portion of the Armenian race who have embraced the Roman Catholic faith.

A few explanatory remarks will finish what we have to say by way of introduction to the catalogue.

The following directions may be given for the pronunciation of the Armenian words as written in the Roman character:

a is to be sounded as it is in *art.*
e " as *a* in *ace.*
i " as *e* in *eve.*
o " as it is in *no.*
u " as it is in *but;* and in *tun* at the end of words, as the French *u.*
ü " as the German ö.
û " as *oo* in *too.*
g with no *h* following, is always hard, as in *get.*
J, capital, is always hard, as in *jar.*
j, small letter, is always soft, as *s* in *evasion.*
kh is a guttural sound partaking of the sound both of the *k* and *h.*
gh is a still deeper guttural, partaking of the sound of *g* and *h.*
ch is sounded as in *charm.*

The termination *tsi* distinguishes Armenian patronymics, which are often used where family names would be found in our language.

The spiritual head of the Armenian church is termed by the people *Catholicos,* and resides at Echmiadzin. The appellation *Patriarch* is applied to the ecclesiastico-civil officer at the Turkish capital, who represents the Armenian community at the Porte.

CATALOGUE.

FOURTH CENTURY.

1. Ագաթանգեղոս, *Akatankeghos* (*Agatangelos*).

(*a*) Վարք եւ գործք սրբոյն Տրդատայ, *Vark yev kordzk sürpoin Dürtada;* history of the life and deeds of Dürtad (Tiriadates) king of Armenia. Akatankeghos was private secretary of the king, and was familiar with Greek and Roman literature.

(*b*) Վարք եւ պատմութիւն սրբոյն Գրիգորի Լուսաւորչին, *Vark yev badmûtiun sürpoin Kürikori Lûsavorchin;* life of Kürikor Lûsavorich (Gregory the Illuminator), by whose means Dürtad, the king, and the whole Armenian people were converted from heathenism to Christianity. Two editions of this work have been printed in Constantinople: one, A. D. 1709, and the other, A. D. 1824.

2. Յակոբ, *Hagop* (*Jacob*), surnamed *Üzkon* (*the Wise*).

Զգոն, *Üzkon;* homilies, doctrinal and practical, on the Christian religion. The author was a relative of Kürikor Lûsavorich, Bishop of Nisibin in Mesopotamia, and one of the members of the council of Nice. His homilies compose a book called after him Üzkon. This work was translated into Latin and published at Rome, A. D. 1756, by Cardinal Antonelli. A new edition of the same was published at Venice, A. D. 1765, and finally an edition in Armenian alone was printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1824.

3. Գրիգոր Լուսաւորիչ, *Kürikor Lûsavorich* (*Gregory the Illuminator*).

(*a*) Յաճախապատում, *HaJakhabadûm;* a book of sacred homilies on various points of Christian doctrine and practice; the last of which is addressed to monks. Printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1737, and in Venice, A. D. 1838.

(*b*) Աղօթք Լուսաւորչի, *Aghotk Lûsavorchi;* sûndry prayers found in the Armenian prayer-book.

(*c*) Թուղթն դաշանց, *Tûghtün tashants;* articles of agreement between the Armenian, Greek, and Roman churches, signed by Kürikor Lûsavorich, the first Catholicos of the Armenians, and Dürtad the king, on the one side, and Bishop Sylvester of Rome, and Constantine the Great, on the other.

4. Սահակ Պարթեւացի, *Sahag* (*Isaac*) *Bartevatsi.*

(*a*) Սահակայ Պարթեւի կանոնք, *Sahaga Bartevi ganonk;* treatise on the canons of the church. The author was Catholicos of the Armenian church, and was surnamed the Great.

(*b*) Սահակայ Պարթեւի թուղթք, *Sahaga Bartevi tûghtk;* two letters: one to the Greek Emperor Theodosius the Less, and the other to Atticus, Greek Patriarch at Constantinople.

This author was one of the most learned men of the age, and after the invention of the alphabet, in the beginning of the fifth century, translated the whole Old Testament, from the Greek Septuagint, into the Armenian language.

5. Զենոբ Գլակ, *Zenop* (*Zenobius*) *Külag.*

Տարոնոյ և Լուսաւորչի պատմութիւն, *Darono yev Lûsavorchi badmûtiun;* history of the most remarkable events in Daron, a province of Armenia, including an account of Kürikor Lûsavorich. The author was Bishop of Külag. This work was originally written in Syriac, but was immediately translated into the Armenian. An edition of the latter was printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1719.

FIFTH CENTURY, THE GOLDEN AGE OF ARMENIAN LITERATURE.

1. Կորիւն սքանչելի, *Goriun üshancheli* (*the Admirable*).

Վարք սրբոյն Մեսրոպայ և Գիւտի, *Vark sürpoin Mesroba yev Kiudi;* lives of Mesrob and Kiud, the former the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, and the latter a Catholicos of the Armenian church, and a cotemporary.

2. Ղազար Փարպեցի, *Ghazar* (*Lazarus*) *Parbetsi.*

Պատմութիւն Հայոց, *Badmûtiun Haiots;* history of the Armenians. This work is valuable as containing a particular account of the invention of the Armenian alphabet, and the progress made by the Armenians in literature in the fifth century, and especially the translation of the Bible, and other books, from the Greek language. Printed in Venice, A. D. 1793.

3. Յովհաննէս Մանդակունեցի, *Hovhannes* (*John*) *Mantagûnetsi.*

(*a*) Ճառք Երրորդութեան, *Jark Yerrortûtyan;* homilies on the Trinity, and on the birth of Christ.

(*b*) Ճառք Խրատականք, *Jark khüradagunk;* twenty homilies, doctrinal and practical.

(*c*) Քարոզք և ատենաբանութիւնք, *Karozk yev adenapanûtiunk;* sundry discourses and orations.

This author was Catholicos of the Armenians.

4. Մովսէս Խորենացի, *Movses* (*Moses*) *Khorenatsi.*

(*a*) Պատմութիւն Հայոց, *Badmûtiun Haiots;* history of Armenia in three books, from the foundation of the empire until A. D. 441. The author was a truly learned man, and the most celebrated historian of the Armenians. He spent several years in the cities of Constantinople, Rome, Athens, and Alexandria, in acquiring languages, and increasing the stores of his knowledge; and he is considered as standing in the first rank of Armenian classical scholars. His history, which is a standard work, has been several times printed in different places. The first edition was published at Amsterdam, A. D. 1695; and the second at London, A. D. 1736, with a Latin translation by the two Whistons.

A manuscript copy on parchment, apparently very ancient, is found in the library of the Armenian college at Tiflis, in Georgia.

(*b*) Ճարտասանութիւն, *Jardasanûtiun;* treatise on rhetoric, in ten books. An edition was printed in Venice with explanatory notes, A. D. 1796.

(*c*) Աշխարհագրութիւն, *Ashkharhakürûtiun;* treatise of geography; most of the materials being drawn from the geography of Ptolemy, and the mathematician Pappus of Alexandria. First printed in Marseilles, A. D. 1683; and afterwards in London, with a Latin translation by the Whistons, A. D. 1726. It exists in manuscript, in the Armenian college at Tiflis.

(*d*) Թուղթ առ Սահակ Արծրունի, *Tûght ar Sahag Ardzürûni;* letter to Sahag Ardüzrûni on the assumption of the virgin Mary.

(*e*) Ճառ Այլակերպութեան, *Jar Ailagerbûtyan;* homily on the transfiguration of Christ.

(*f*) Ներբող Հռիփսիմեայ, *Nerpogh Hüripsimya;* panegyric on Hüripsime, an Armenian nun and martyr.

(*g*) Երգք, *Yerküh;* hymns used in the Armenian worship.

To this same author are ascribed Critical Remarks on the Armenian grammar, and an Explanation of the offices of the Armenian church; but neither of these works are extant. It is believed that he wrote many other works which cannot now be found.

5. Մամբրէ վերծանող, *Mampre-verdzánogh* (*the Reader*).

(*a*) Ճառ 'ի յարութիւն Ղազարու, *Jar 'i harûtiun Ghazarû;* homily on the resurrection of Lazarus.

(*b*) Ճառք 'ի գալուստ Տեառն յԵրուսաղէմ, *Jark 'i kalûsd Dearün hErûsaghem;* two homilies on the triumphant entrance of Christ into Jerusalem.

This writer was a Vartabed, and the younger brother of Movses Khorenatsi.

6. Մեսրոպ Մաշտոց, *Mesrob Mashdots.*

(*a*) Մաշտոց գիրք, *Mashdots kirk;* ritual and liturgy of the Armenian church. This work was commenced in this century by Mesrob and Sahag, but was greatly enlarged by subsequent ecclesiastical writers of different ages.

(*b*) Թուղթք, *Tûghtk;* letters on various subjects.

(*c*) Հոգեւոր երգք, *Hokevor yerküh;* devotional hymns set to music for use in the church.

This writer was the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, and the translator of the New Testament from the Greek original into the Armenian language. He also made the alphabet for the Georgian tongue, and wrote and translated many works not now extant.

7. Սահակ Պարթեւացի, *Sahag Bartevátsi.* (See Fourth Century).

8. Դաւիթ անյաղթ, *Tavit anhaght* (*David the Invincible*).

(*a*) **Սահմանք իմաստասիրութեան**, *Sahmank imasdasirûtyan;* treatise on philosophical definitions. This work is found in manuscript in the Armenian Catholic college at St. Lazarus, Venice, and also in the college at Tiflis; and a translation of it is said to exist in the Greek language, though when and by whom the translation was made is not known. The Armenian original was printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1731. Tavit was well versed in the Greek language and philosophy; so the Greeks called him David the Philosopher. He was a disciple of Mesrob and Sahag.

(*b*) **Բարձրացուցէք**, *Partsüratsûtsék;* homily on the holy cross. It was aimed at the so-called Nestorian heresy.

(*c*) **Լուծմունք հինգ ձայնից**, *Lûdzmûnk hink tsainits;* translation and explication of the Introduction of Porphyry to the logic of Aristotle.

(*d*) **Պատասխան առ Գիւտ**, *Badaskhan ar Kiud;* reply to a letter of Kiud, an Armenian Catholicos.

(*e*) **Հարցուածով՝ պիտառութիւն**, *Hartsûadzov bidarûtiun;* a short philosophical catechism.

9. **Եզնիկ Կողբացի**, *Yeznig Goghpatsi.*

(*a*) **Եզնիկ**, *Yeznig;* confutation of various sects, as the pagans, the fire-worshippers, the Greek philosophers, and the Manichæans. This work is highly celebrated for its depth and acumen; as also for its illustrations of Persian mythology. It was printed in Smyrna, A. D. 1662, and in Venice, A. D. 1826. I have the impression that I have seen a translation of it either in French or in English.

(*b*) **Բարոյականք**, *Paroiugank;* moral precepts.

10. **Եղիշէ**, *Yeghishe* (*Elisha*).

(*a*) **Պատմութիւն վասն Վարդանայ**, *Badmûtiun vasün Vartana;* history of the persecution of the Armenian and Georgian Christians, by the fire-worshippers of Persia; a very celebrated work of a very renowned author. Printed twice in Constantinople, A. D. 1764 and 1823; once in Russia, A. D. 1787; and once in Venice, A. D. 1828.

(*b*) **Խրատ միանձանց**, *Khürad miantsants;* exhortation to monks. Printed at the end of the Venice edition of the last named work.

(c) Մեկնութիւն Տէրունական աղօթից, *Megnûtiun Derûnagan aghotits;* exposition of the Lord's prayer.

(d) Մեկնութիւն Յեսուայ և այլն, *Megnûtiun Hesûa yev ailün;* fragments of commentaries on Genesis, Joshua, Judges, Isaiah, etc.

(e) Զանազան Ճառք, *Zanazan Jark;* homilies on the sufferings, death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

(f) Աղօթք, *Aghotk;* two prayers, to be repeated over the graves of departed priests.

(g) Ճառ եկեղեցական կանոնաց, *Jar yegeghetsagan ganonats;* treatise on ecclesiastical canons.

(h) Նկարագրութիւն Թաբորական լերին և այլն, *Nügarakürûtiun Taporagan lerin yev ailün;* description of mount Tabor and other solitary places, for the benefit of monks.

(i) Ճառ վասն հոգւոց մարդկան, *Jar vasün hokvots martgan;* a philosophical essay on the soul.

SIXTH CENTURY.

1. Աբրահամ Մամիկոնեցի, *Apraham* (*Abraham*) *Mamigonetsi.*

(a) Պատմութիւն ժողովոյն Եփեսոսի, *Badmûtiun joghovoin Yepesosi;* history of the council of Ephesus, held A. D. 431. The author was an Archbishop, and was distinguished among his countrymen for his erudition. A manuscript copy of this work existed in Constantinople, A. D. 1825.

(b) Ճառք վասն նշխար սրբոց, *Jark vasün nüshkhar sürpots;* homilies on the veneration due to the relics of the saints, and the utility of prayers for the dead.

(c) Թղթակցութիւն ընդ Կիւրիոն, *Tüghtagtsûtiun unt Giurion;* correspondence of Giurion, Patriarch of the Georgians, on the doctrine of the council of Calcedon respecting the two natures of Christ.

2. Պետրոս Սիւնեցի, *Bedros* (*Peter*) *Siunetsi.*

(a) Ներբող 'ի սուրբ կոյսն և այլն, *Nerpogh 'i sûrp goisün yev ailün;* eulogy on the virgin Mary; and another on the birth of Christ. The author was Archbishop of Siunia.

(b) Ճառք զանազանք, *Jark zanazank;* treatises on various subjects.

(*c*) Ճառ բնութեան, *Jar pünûtyan;* treatise on Nature, compiled from the writings of Gregory Nyssa.

3. Ներսէս աբեղայ, *Nerses apegha* (*the Monk*).

Յիշատակ, *Hishadag;* life of the martyr Izdipusd or Diodatus.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

1. Անանիա Շիրակացի, *Anania* (*Ananias*) *Shiragatsi.*

(*a*) Գիրք աստեղաբաշխութեան, *Kirk asdeghapashkhûtyan;* book of astronomy. The author visited Greece, solely in pursuit of knowledge, and became famous both as a linguist and a mathematician.

(*b*) Գիրք վասն կշռոց և չափուց, *Kirk vasün güshrots yev chapûts;* weights and measures of the different nations.

(*c*) Մաթէմադիգայ, *Matematika;* mathematics. This and the preceding were printed in Venice, A. D. 1821.

(*d*) Թուաբանութիւն, *Tovapanûtiun;* arithmetic. This and the three preceding treatises were included by the author in one large work, entitled Օրացոյց, *Oratsoits* (*the Calendar*).

(*e*) Քրոնիկոն, *Küronigon;* chronology, gathered from previous authors, especially from Eusebius and Movses Khorenatsi, and brought down to the time of the author.

(*f*) Բան վասն տօնի զատկին և այլն, *Pan vasün doni zadgin yev ailün;* discourses on Easter and other feasts.

(*g*) Ճառք վասն խոնարհութեան, *Jark vasün khonarhûtyan;* homilies on contrition and humility.

(*h*) Վասն կենաց իւրոց, *Vasün genats iurots;* autobiography, particularly an account of the author's efforts to obtain a knowledge of mathematics and astronomy.

2. Կոմիտաս, *Gomidas.*

Ներբող Հռիփսիմեայ, *Nerpogh Hüripsimya;* hymn in honor of Hüripsime the Armenian nun and martyr. The author was Catholicos of the Armenians.

3. Յովհաննէս Մամիկոնեան, *Hovhannes* (*John*) *Mamiganyan.*

Պատմութիւն Տարօնոյ, *Badmûtiun Darono;* history of the province of Daron in ancient Armenia. Printed in

Constantinople, A. D. 1719, in the same volume with the works of Bishop Zenop.

4. Յովհաննէս Մայրագոմեցի, *Hovhannes* (*John*) *Mairakometsi.*

(*a*) Խրատ վարուց, *Khürad varûts;* counsels for good conduct.

(*b*) Հաւատարմատ, *Havadarmad;* on radical faith.

(*c*) Նոյեմակ, *Noiemag,* a word which has at present no signification.

These three works are said by the Romanists to be full of "infamous error." As a penalty for having written them, "the writer was driven," says one, "as he justly deserved, into perpetual exile."

5. Գրիգորատուր, *Kürikoradûr.*

Ընդդիմաբանութիւն, *Unttimapanûtiun;* confutation of the errors of Hovhannes Mairakometsi. No copy of this work is now known to exist, although much is said of it by subsequent writers.

6. Գրիգոր Արշարունեայ, *Kürikor* (*Gregory*) *Arsharûnya.*

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն ընթերցուածոց, *Megnûtiun untertsovadzots;* exposition of the rites and ceremonies of the Armenian church.

(*b*) Ճառք ծննդեան և այլն, *Jark dzüniintyan yev ailün;* homilies on the death and resurrection of Christ.

This author was Bishop of the province of Arsharûnia in Armenia, and is considered a model for pure and idiomatic Armenian.

7. Մաթուսաղայ Սիւնեցի, *Matûsagha Siunetsi.*

Թուղթ առ Հերակլէս, *Tûght ar Heragles;* letter on the Christian faith, addressed to the Greek-Emperor Heraclius. The author was Archbishop of Siunia.

8. Մովսէս Կաղանկատուացի, *Movses* (*Moses*) *Gaghangadûatsi.*

Պատմութիւն Աղուանից, *Badmûtiun Aghûanits;* history of the Aghûans (Albanians), a people whose country bordered on Armenia. A few fragments only of this work are found in Venice, but the entire history is known to exist, in manuscript, in Armenia. The style is pure and elegant.

This writer is placed by some in the tenth century.

9. Սահակ Ձորափորեցի, *Sahag (Isaac) Tsoraporetsi.*

(*a*) Ճառք արմաւենեաց և այլն, *Jark armavenyats yev ailün;* homilies on Palm Sunday, and on religious orders.

(*b*) Երգք վասն սուրբ խաչի, *Yerküük vasiin sûrp khachi;* hymns on the cross, and on the dedication of a church.

It is said that this same author also wrote a letter in Arabic to a certain Mohammed, a Saracen general, though no fragment of it has been preserved, so far as is at present known. This author was Catholicos of the Armenians.

10. Դաւիթ Բագրեւանդացի, *Tavit (David) Pakrevantatsi.*

(*a*) Բան վասն գործոց և չարչարանաց Քրիստոսի, *Pan vasiln kordzots yev charcharanats Kürisdosi;* treatise on the acts and sufferings of Christ.

(*b*) Բան վասն երկու բնութեանցն, *Pan vasiin yergû pünût-yantsiin;* treatise on the two natures of Christ.

11. Թէոդորոս Քռթենաւոր, *Teotoros (Theodore) Kürtenavor.*

(*a*) Ճառ ընդդէմ Մայրագոմեցւոյ, *Jar unttem Mairakometsvo;* confutation of the errors of Hovhannes Mairakometsi, and of the other heretics called Pelagians, and Julianists.

(*b*) Ճառ 'ի սուրբ խաչն, *Jar 'i sûrp khachiin;* homily on the cross. The author is said to have been familiar with Greek literature, both sacred and profane, and he is noted for the elegance of his style.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

1. Յովհաննէս Օձնեցի իմաստասէր, *Hovhannes (John) Otsnetsi, imasdaser (the Philosopher).*

(*a*) Կանոնք ըստ վերջին օծման և այլն, *Ganonk ụsd verchin odzman yev ailiin;* rules for administering extreme unction, and other church ceremonies.

(*b*) Ճառ ընդդէմ Պաւլիկեանց, *Jar unttem Bavligyants;* argument against the Paulicians.

(*c*) Ատենաբանութիւն ժողովական, *Adenapanûtiun joghovdgan;* oration before the national council at Tovin, A. D. 719. This is esteemed a very eloquent production.

(*d*) Ճառ ընդդէմ Մայրագոմեցւոյ և այլն, *Jar unttem Mairakometsvo yev ailiin;* treatises against errorists; also on the incarnation of Christ, and on his two natures. This work was at first condemned by the Pope of Rome, as heretical, but was afterwards restored by a counter bull. Two editions have been published at Venice, A. D. 1807 and 1816; the latter of which has a Latin translation.

(*e*) Բացայայտութիւն կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ, *Patsahaidûtiun garkats yegeghetsvo;* explanation of the ceremonies and ecclesiastical functions of the Armenian church.

This author was a disciple of Teotoros Kürtenavor, and afterwards Catholicos of the Armenians; and of all who have enjoyed this office, he alone was honored with the title of Philosopher.

2. Խոսրովիկ, *Khosrovig.*

(*a*) Ճառ 'ի վերայ մեծպահոց, *Jar 'i vera medzbahots;* homily on the fast of Lent.

(*b*) Խնդիրք վիճողականք ընդդէմ Յունաց, *Khüntirk viJoghagank unttem Hûnats;* controversial theses against the Greeks.

3. Ստեփաննոս Սիւնեցի, *Üsdepannos (Stephen) Siunetsi.*

(*a*) Թուղթ առ Գերմանոս, *Tûght ar Kermanos;* apologetic letter on the rites and faith of the Armenian church, addressed to Germanus, Greek Patriarch of Constantinople.

(*b*) Թուղթ առ Աթանաս, *Tûght ar Atanas;* controversial letter to Atana, Syrian Patriarch of Antioch.

(*c*) Մեկնութիւնք, *Megnûtiunk;* exposition of Job, Daniel, and Ezekiel.

(*d*) Բացայայտութիւն ժամագրքի, *Patsahaidûtiun jamakürki;* explanation of the Armenian breviary.

(*e*) Երգք 'ի վերայ յարութեանն, *Yerkük 'i vera harûtyanün;* hymns in praise of the resurrection of Christ; used still in the Armenian church-service.

(*f*) Բացայայտութիւն քերականութեան, *Patsahaidûtiun keraganûtyan;* illustrations of Armenian grammar; in which, as an example of grammatical rules, is given a doctrinal treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. Fragments, only, remain of this work, and of (*d*). The author was Archbishop of Siunia, and a man of much erudition.

NINTH CENTURY.

1. Համամ Արեւելցի, *Hamam Areveltsi.*

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն առակաց, *Megnûtiun aragatsün;* commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon. A copy in manuscript existed in Constantinople, A. D. 1826.

(*b*) Մեկնութիւն Յոբայ, *Megnûtiun Hovpa;* exposition of the thirty-eighth chapter of Job.

(*c*) Բանք քերականական, *Pank keraganagan;* an exegetical treatise on Armenian grammar.

This author composed an exposition of the one hundred and nineteenth Psalm, and also of the prophetic Psalms; neither of which works are now extant.

2. Յովհաննէս պատմիչ, *Hovhannes badmich* (*John the Historian*).

Հայոց պատմութիւն, *Haiots badmûtiun;* history of the Armenian nation, from the flood to the time of the author. It contains a list of all the persons who exercised the office of Catholicos from the foundation of the Armenian church to the age in which the author lived, he himself being the last Catholicos in the list.

3. Գագիկ և Գրիգոր, *Kakig yev Kürikor* (*Kakig* and *Gregory*).

Ատոմադիր, *Adomatir;* book of martyrology, compiled in part from the Syriac, and in part from legends of the Armenian martyrs, by the joint labors of these two authors, and forming a large volume, to which was given the name *Adomatir.* From this originated the still larger work called Յայսմաւուրք, *Haismavûrk,* which is read to this day in the Armenian churches. An expurgated edition of it, by Գրիգոր Փեշտըմալճեան, *Kürikor* (*Gregory*) *PeshdümalJyan,* was published some years ago at Constantinople.

4. Գէորգ Կարինցի, *Kevork* (*George*) *Garintsi.*

Թուղթ առ Յոհան Ասորի, *Tûght ar Hohan Asori;* letter to Yohanna, Syrian Patriarch, on the sacred rites of the Armenian nation; in which the author discourses particularly on the propriety of using unleavened bread in the Lord's supper. He was a native of Erzrûm and Catholicos of the Armenians.

5. Մաշտոց Եղիվարդեցի, *Mashdots Yeghivartetsi.*

Թուղթք, *Tûghtk;* two letters: one to the Armenian king Abas, in defence of the Catholicos Kevork, and the other to the inhabitants of the city of Tovin, on their deliverance from a terrible earthquake. This author was Catholicos, and it is believed that he greatly enlarged the Armenian liturgy, which is to this day called *Mashdots,* probably from him.

6. Ստեփաննոս, *Üsdepannos* (*Stephen*).

Վարք Մաշտոց վարդապետի, *Vark Mashdots vartabedi;* life of Mashdots Yeghivartetsi. The author was a Vartabed.

7. Սահակ Մռուտ, *Sahag* (*Isaac*) *Mürûd.*

Թուղթ առ Փոտ, *Tûght ar Pod;* answer to a letter from the Emperor Photius, on the differences between the Armenian and the Greek church. He wrote by command and in behalf of Ashdod the Armenian king, and takes strong ground against the Greeks.

8. Թովմա Արծրունի, *Tovma* (*Thomas*) *Ardzürûni.*

Պատմութիւն, *Badmûtiun;* history of the royal family of Ardzürûni. The author was a man of great erudition. The account is brought down by some other hand to A. D. 936.

9. Վահան Նիկիոյ, *Vahan Nigio.*

(*a*) Բանն ՚ի վերայ սուրբ Երրորդութեան, *Panün 'i vera sûrp Yerrortûtyan;* a long treatise on the Trinity. The author was Bishop of the Greek church in Nice, although by birth an Armenian. A copy of this work in manuscript is found in Venice.

(*b*) Թուղթ առ Զաքարիա, *Tûght ar Zakaria;* answer to a letter of Zakaria on the council of Calcedon. This was written originally in Greek, and was translated into the Armenian. The Greek original is found published in the "Bibliotheca of the Greek Fathers," second volume.

10. Զաքարիա Զակցի, *Zakaria* (*Zachariah*) *Zagtsi.*

(*a*) Ճառք ՚ի վերայ Տէրունական տօնից և այլն, *Jark 'i vera Derûnagan donits yev ailün;* homilies on the incarnation and baptism of Christ, on the feasts of our Lord, on the sacred Scriptures, etc. etc. The author was Catholicos of the Armenians, and was versed in several languages.

(*b*) Թղթակցութիւն ընդ Յոյնս, *Tüghtagtsûtiun unt Hoiniis;* two letters: one to the Emperor Photius, and the other to Vahan, Bishop of Nice; both in reference to the decisions of the council of Calcedon.

(*c*) Մեկնութիւնք, *Megnûtiunk;* exposition of Solomon's Song, and also of the four Gospels. This work is not now extant.

(*d*) Պատմութիւն ժողովոյ Շիրակվանայ, *Badmûtiun joghovo Shiragvana;* history of the Armenian general council at Shiragvan, A. D. 862, convened by the Catholicos Zakaria, to promote the re-union of the Greek and Armenian churches. The author of this history is not certainly known.

TENTH CENTURY.

1. Անանիա Նարեկացի, *Anania* (*Ananias*) *Naregatsi.*

(*a*) Ներբող 'ի վերայ եկեղեցւոյ Վաղարշապատայ, *Nerpogh 'i vera yegeghetsvo Vagharshabada;* eulogy on the Patriarchal church of Vagharshabad, or Echmiadzin. The author was a Vartabed, and presided over the celebrated monastery at Nareg, and has the reputation of having been a learned and eloquent man.

(*b*) Ճառ ընդդէմ Թոնդրակեցւոց, *Jar unttem Tontragetsvots;* a controversial tract against the Tontragetsik, a sect of reputed heretics who were descended from the Paulicians. A manuscript copy of each of the above works of this author is found in the library of St. Lazarus at Venice.

2. Ղեւոնդ երէց, *Ghevont yerets* (*Leontius the Priest*).

Պատմութիւն ելից Տաճկաց, *Badmûtiun yelits DaJgats;* history of the origin of the Mohammedan power, and also of the Khalifs. The writer was a Vartabed. An imperfect copy in manuscript is found at Venice.

3. Խոսրով մեծն, *Khosrov medzün* (*the Great*).

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն գրոց ժամանակարգութեան, *Megnûtiun kürots jamagarkûtyan;* exposition of the Armenian breviary. The author was descended from a noble family, and became Bishop of Antsevatsia. An edition of the work was printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1730.

(*b*) Մեկնութիւն պատարագի, *Megnûtiun badaraki;* exposition of the mass.

4. Գրիգոր Նարեկացի, *Kïrikor Naregatsi.*

(*a*) Նարեկ, *Nareg;* penitential prayers, ninety-five in number. The book is commonly called Nareg, and it is esteemed as one of the best specimens of fine writing in the language. Several editions have been printed in different places, but the most valuable, perhaps, are those of A. D. 1801 and 1827, published at Venice, with notes. The author is one of the most noted writers of the Armenian nation.

(*b*) Մեկնութիւն երգոց երգոյն, *Megnûtiun yerkots yerkoin;* commentary on Solomon's Song. Printed in Venice, A. D. 1789 and 1827. This last edition includes all the other works of the author.

(*c*) Ճառք և գովեստք, *Jark yev kovesdk;* four panegyrics: one upon the holy cross; one upon the blessed virgin; one upon the apostles; and one upon St. James of Nisibin. Several passages of the last were translated into Latin, and published at Rome, A. D. 1756, by Cardinal Antonelli. The Armenian original has been several times published. The Venice edition, A. D. 1827, is perhaps the best.

(*d*) Մեկնութիւն Յովբայ, *Megnûtiun Hovpa;* exposition of the thirty-eighth chapter of Job.

(*e*) Տաղք, *Daghk;* hymns and spiritual songs used in the Armenian church at the feast of Pentecost, that of the holy cross, of the holy virgin, and of the consecration of the temple. Printed in Venice, A. D. 1827.

5. Մեսրոպ երէց, *Mesrob yerets* (*the Priest*).

Պատմութիւն մեծին Ներսեսի, *Badmûtiun medzin Nersesi;* history of Nerses the Great. The author was an ecclesiastic. This work was printed in Madras, A. D. 1775.

6. Մովսէս Կաղանկատուացի, *Movses* (*Moses*) *Gaghangadovatsi.* See Seventh Century, p. 253.

7. Ստեփաննոս Ասողիկ, *Üsdepannos* (*Stephen*) *Asoghig.*

Պատմութիւն Հայոց, *Badmûtiun Haiots;* history of the Armenian nation from its origin to A. D. 1000 or 1004. This historian was a native of Tarsus. His work is said to be remarkably exact in its chronology.

8. Սամուէլ Կամրջաձորեցի, *Samûel* (*Samuel*) *Gamürchatsoretsi.*

Տօնական բանք, *Donagan pank;* exposition of the festivals and ecclesiastical offices of the Armenian church.

9. Թովմա վարդապետ Արծրունի, *Tovma (Thomas) vartabed Ardzürûni.*

Պատմութիւն, *Badmûtiun;* history, in five books. I have not been able to ascertain any thing more of this book or the author.

10. Դաւիթ վանահայր, *Tavit vanahair (David the Abbot).*

(*a*) Ճառ 'ի վերայ պահոց, *Jar 'i vera bahots;* treatise on fasting.

(*b*) Հարցք երկուց իմաստասիրացն, *Hartsk yergûts imasdasiratsiin;* dialogues between two philosophers.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1. Անանիա Սանահնեցի, *Anania (Ananias) Sanahnetsi.*

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն թղթոցն Պօղոսի, *Megnûtiun tüghtotsiin Boghosi;* commentary on the epistles of Paul, said to have been compiled from Chrysostom.

(*b*) Ճառ մարդկութեան Քրիստոսի, *Jar martgûtyan Kürisdosi;* treatise on the manhood of Christ, and on the ceremonies of the church; directed controversially against the Greek church.

(*c*) Ճառք 'ի վերայ խոնարհութեան և այլն., *Jark 'i vera khonarhûtyan yev ailiin;* homilies on humility and repentance, on instruction, and on the prophet Jonah, John the Baptist, and the apostle Peter.

(*d*) Խրատ առ քահանայս, *Khiirad ar kahanais;* advice to priests.

It is as yet a point in dispute, whether all these works are by one author.

2. Արիստակէս Լաստիվերտցի, *Arisdages (Aristaces) Lasdiverdtsi.*

Պատմութիւն Հայոց, *Badmûtiun Haiots;* history of the Armenian nation from A. D. 989 to A. D. 1071. The chief object of the writer was to describe the mournful overthrow of the famous city of Ani, by Alp Arslan, the second Sultan of the Seljûkian Turks, A. D. 1064. A copy in manuscript is found in the library of the Armenian college at Tiflis, in Georgia.

3. Պետրոս գետադարձ, *Bedros kedatarts* (*Peter the River-turner*).

Երգք Հոգեւորք, *Yerkük hokevork*; sacred hymns for the departed, and especially for the martyrs. The writer was Catholicos of the Armenians.

4. Պօղոս Տարօնացի, *Boghos* (*Paul*) *Daronatsi.*

Պատասխան առ Թէոփիստէ, *Badaskhan ar Teopiste*; reply to the Greek theologian Theopistus. This work, which was printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1752, is spoken of very disparagingly by the Romanists.

5. Յովհաննէս Կոզեռն, *Hovhannes* (*John*) *Gozeriin.*

(*a*) Ճառ 'ի վերայ Օրացուցի, *Jar 'i vera Oratsûtsi*; treatise on the Calendar. The author was a Vartabed, and a mathematician and astronomer.

(*b*) Քրիստոնէական վարդապետութիւն, *Küirisdoneagan vartabedûtiun*; a book on Christian doctrine; not now extant.

6. Գրիգոր մագիստրոս, *Kürikor makisdüros* (*Gregory the Magistrate*).

(*a*) Թուղթք առ զանազանս, *Tûghtk ar zanazaniis*; a collection of letters on various political, historical, and philosophical subjects. The author was of noble birth, and became a distinguished literary character. He was buried in a monastery near Erzrûm, A. D. 1058.

(*b*) Մեկնութիւն Քերականութեան, *Megnûtiun Keraganûtyan*; Armenian grammar:

(*c*) Ոտանաւոր հազար տուն, *Odanavor hazar dûn*; poem of one thousand verses, on the principal facts in the Old and New Testament.

(*d*) Ոտանաւոր 'ի սուրբ Խաչն, *Odanavor 'i sûrp Khachiin*; elegy, in verse, on the holy cross.

This author is said to have translated many valuable works from the Greek and Syriac into the Armenian, and among the former, a portion of Euclid's Elements of Geometry.

7. Գրիգոր վկայասէր, *Kürikor viigaiaser* (*Gregory the Lover of martyrs*).

Պատմութիւնք վկայից, *Badmûtiunk vügaiits;* stories of the martyrs, translated from the Syriac. The author was Catholicos of the Armenians.

8. Սիսիանոս վարդապետ, *Sisianos vartabed.*

Ճառ պատմական և ներբողական, *Jar badmagan yev nerpoghagan;* a panegyric on the forty martyrs of Sebastia or Sivas.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

1. Յովհաննէս սարկաւագ, *Hovhannes sargavak* (*John the Deacon*).

(*a*) Տօմարական բանք, *Domaragan pank;* explanation of national chronology.

(*b*) Պատմութիւն Հայոց, *Badmûtiun Haiots;* Armenian history. Manuscripts of this work and the preceding are found in the library of the Armenian college at Tiflis, in Georgia, one of them written A. D. 1403.

(*c*) Ճառք քահանայութեան և այլն, *Jark kahanaiûtyan yev ailün;* homilies on the priesthood, on the worship of images, Kürikor Lûsavorich, against the Nestorians, etc. etc.

(*d*) Աղօթք, *Aghotk;* a book of prayers; and Շարական, *Sharagan;* a book of hymns. The latter is greatly praised.

(*e*) Բնախօսութիւն վասն շարժման երկրի, *Pünakhosûtiun vasün sharjman yergüri;* philosophy of earthquakes.

(*f*) Նշանակ հաւատոյ, *Nüshanag havado;* exposition of the creed.

2. Խաչատուր Տարօնեցի, *Khachadûr Daronetsi.*

Հոգևոր երգք, *Hokèvor yerküik;* sacred hymns, and also prayers used in the Armenian liturgy. They are found in the Italian translation of the liturgy, as published at Venice, A. D. 1826.

3. Իգնատիոս վարդապետ, *Iknadios* (*Ignatius*) *vartabed.*

Մեկնութիւն Ղուկասու, *Megnûtiun Ghûgasû;* exposition of the Gospel of Luke. The author was a fellow student of Sarkis and Nerses Shünorhali. This work is considered as remarkably rich in thought, and strong and beautiful in style. Two editions have been printed in Constantinople: one, A. D. 1735, and the other, A. D. 1824.

4. Գրիգոր տղայ, *Kürikor dügha* (*Gregory the Child*).

(*a*) Թուղթ առ կայսր Յունաց, *Tûght 'ar gaisür Hûnats;* letter to the Greek Emperor Emmanuel Comnenus, at Constantinople, in reply to a letter of condolence from the Emperor on the death of Nerses Clayensis. The writer was distinguished for his erudition when quite young, and hence his surname *dügha,* which means *child.* He was nephew of the Nerses just mentioned, and his successor in the office of Catholicos.

(*b*) *Ibid;* letter to the same Emperor, in which the writer announces the assent of the Armenian national council held in Romgla in Mesopotamia, to a re-union with the Greek church; and communicates the confession of faith adopted by the said council.

(*c*) Թուղթ առ պատրիարգ Յունաց, *Tûght ar badriark Hûnats;* letter to Michael, Greek Patriarch at Constantinople, on the same subject.

(*d*) Թուղթք առ եկեղեցականաց, *Tûghtk ar yegeghetsaganats;* three letters addressed to the Armenian Bishops, Vartabeds, and Superiors of monasteries, for the convocation of the national council at Romgla.

(*e*) Թուղթք առ Պապի, *Tûghtk ar Babi;* seven letters said to have been addressed to the Roman Pope Lucius III. They are not now extant.

(*f*) Թուղթք առ Հաղբատացիս և այլն, *Tûghtk ar Haghpadatsis yev ailün;* letters to the Vartabeds in Sanahin and Haghpad, and to various other persons. A copy in manuscript, handsomely written, is found in the Armenian Mission library at Bebek, near Constantinople.

(*g*) Ոտանաւոր ողբ, *Odanavor oghp;* a poetical lamentation over the capture of Jerusalem by Saladdin, A. D. 1187.

5. Մխիթար Գօշ, *Mükhitar Kosh.*

(*a*) Առակք, *Aragük;* one hundred and ninety fables. They are noted for the purity of their style, and the excellence of their morals. They were printed in Venice, A. D. 1790.

(*b*) Դատաստանագիրք, *Tadasdanakirk;* book of statutes, collected from the most approved ancient writers, and especially from the Theodosian and the Justinian code. A manuscript copy is found in the Armenian college at Tiflis, in Georgia.

(*c*) Մ՝եկնութիւն Երեմիայի, *Megnûtiun Yeremiaii;* commentary on Jeremiah.

(*d*) Աղօթք, *Aghotk;* prayers for the communion.

Several other works are ascribed to this author, which are not extant.

6. Մ՝ատթէոս Ուռհայեցի, *Madteos* (*Matthew*) *Ûrhaiyetsi.*

Պատմութիւն, *Badmûtiun;* history of the Pakradûnyan kings of Armenia, commencing A. D. 952, and ending A. D. 1132. It is a work much lauded for the purity of its style, the richness of its incidents, and the accuracy of its statements. It was carried down to A. D. 1136 by Kürikor surnamed Yerets (the Priest).

7. Մ՝խիթար Հերացի, *Mükhitar Heratsi.*

Գիրք բժշկութեան, *Kirk püjüshgûtyan;* book of medicine. The author was a physician, and a particular friend of Nerses Shünorhali.

8. ՝Ներսէս Լամբրոնացի, *Nerses Lampronatsi.*

(*a*) Մ՝եկնութիւն խորհրդոյ սուրբ պատարագի, *Megnûtiun khorhürto sûrp badaraki;* exposition of the Armenian mass. The writer was Archbishop of Tarsus, and one of the most illustrious of all the literary men whom Armenia has produced. This work is found in manuscript, in the college at Tiflis, in Georgia.

(*b*) Մ՝եկնութիւնք զանազանք, *Megnûtiunk zanazank;* commentaries on various books of the Bible, as the Psalms, the books of Solomon, and those of the twelve minor prophets. The latter commentary was printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1826.

(*c*) Մ՝եկնութիւն յայտնութեան, *Megnûtiun haidnûtyan;* commentary on the Revelation. This is rather a translation from the Greek of Andrew, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, than an original work. A manuscript copy exists at Tiflis.

(*d*) Բացատրութիւն հաւատամքի, *Patsadürûtiun havadamki;* exposition of the creed.

(*e*) Ատենաբանութիւն 'ի ժողովն Հռոմկլայու, *Adenapanûtiun 'i joghovün Hromglaiû;* oration before the national council at Romgla, A. D. 1179. The subject of this oration, is the union of the Greek and Armenian churches, and it is considered as containing some of the highest specimens of eloquence to be found in any language. Several editions have been printed at different times and places; one of which, that of Venice, A. D. 1812, is accompanied by an Italian translation.

(*f*) Ճառք Տէրունական տօնից, *Jark Derünagan donits*; two homilies, on the feasts of the ascension and Pentecost, recommended as models of eloquence. They were printed in Venice, A. D. 1787, in connection with the oration above mentioned.

(*g*) Թուղթք առ Լեւոն և Օսկան, *Tüghtk ar Levon yev Osgan*; letters addressed to Levon, king of the Armenians, and Osgan, a monk of Antioch.

(*h*) Ճառք յանառակ որդին և այլն, *Jark hanarag ortin yev ailün*; sermons on the prodigal son, the wise steward, and the assumption of the virgin Mary.

(*i*) Ոտանաւոր գովեստ ՚ի վերայ սրբոյն Ներսեսի շնորհալւոյ, *Odanavor kovesd 'i vera sürpoin Nersesi shünorhalvo*; poetic eulogy on Nerses Shünorhali. This was published at St. Petersburg, in an edition of the works of the author, A. D. 1788; and at Constantinople, A. D. 1825.

(*j*) Տաղք, *Daghk*; sacred hymns; still used in the Armenian church, especially at Easter, on ascension day, and at other feasts.

9. Ներսէս շնորհալի, *Nerses shünorhali* (*the Graceful*).

(*a*) Յիսուս որդի, *Hisûs orti* (*Jesus the Son*); a poem consisting of eight thousand lines. The author was Catholicos of the Armenians, and one of the most distinguished of their writers. This poem has been repeatedly printed in various places.

(*b*) Ոտանաւոր պատմութիւն առմանն Եդեսայ, *Odanavor badmûtiün armanün Yetesya*; elegy on the capture of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, A. D. 1144, by Emadeddin Zengi, Sultan of Aleppo. It contains two thousand and ninety lines, and has often been printed. An edition printed in Paris, A. D. 1826, was accompanied by a translation in French. A copy of the Armenian, in manuscript, exists in the Armenian Mission library at Bebek.

(c) Պատմութիւն Հայոց, *Badmûtiun Haiots*; history of Armenia. Various editions have appeared at different times, one of which, printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1826, is condemned by the Romanists, as containing "audacious interpolations" against the council of Calcedon.

(d) Մեկնութիւն բարձրացուցեքի և այլն, *Megnûtiun partsüratsûtseki yev ailiin*; two homilies in rhyme: one on the holy cross, and the other on the celestial hierarchy.

(e) Այլ և այլ տաղք, *Ail yev ail daghk*; various sacred hymns used in the Armenian church-service.

(f) Հաւատով խոստովանիմ, *Havadov khosdovanim*; a prayer in twenty-four parts, for every hour in the day. This has often been printed, and the Venice edition, A. D. 1822, is in twenty-four different languages; the translations having been made under the superintendence of Father Aucher, Principal of the monastery of St. Lazarus, near Venice.

(g) Ընդհանրական, *Unthanragan*; pastoral encyclical letter, addressed to the whole Armenian church, at the time when the author was elected Catholicos. Printed in St. Petersburg, A. D. 1788; in Constantinople, A. D. 1825; and in Venice, A. D. 1829. This last edition has a Latin translation.

(h) Զանազան թուղթք, *Zanazan tûghtk*; letters to different individuals, on various subjects. Some of them are in a very finished style, and all have been printed both in St. Petersburg and in Constantinople.

(i) Ատենաբանութիւն, *Adenapanûtiun*; oration pronounced on the day of the author's election as Catholicos.

(j) Այլ և այլ ոտանաւորք, *Ail yev ail odanavork*; various other small works by the same author, as: verses on the alphabet, for children; confession of faith; exposition of an essay by David the Invincible; on the crucifixion; commentaries, and fragments of commentaries, on Matthew, and the seven Catholic Epistles, etc. etc.

10. Սամուէլ Անեցի, *Samûel (Samuel) Anetsi.*

Ժամանակագրութիւն, *Jamanagakürûtiun*; universal chronicle of the kingdoms of the world, brought down to A. D. 1179. It was published at Milan, A. D. 1818, with a Latin translation.

11. Սարգիս վարդապետ, *Sarkis (Sergius) vartabed.*

(*a*). Մեկնութիւն թղթոց կաթողիկեայց, *Megnûtiun tughtots gatoghigyaits;* commentary on the seven Catholic Epistles. An edition was printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1743, and another, A. D. 1826.

(*b*) Մեկնութիւն Եսայեայ, *Megnûtiun Yesaiya;* commentary on Isaiah; not known to exist at present.

(c) Ճառք, *Jark;* forty-three homilies, on various religious subjects; printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1743.

This author was a classmate of Nerses Shünorhali, and is considered one of the purest classical writers in the Armenian language.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Արիստակէս գրիչ, *Arisdages kürich (the Grammarian).*

(*a*) Ճառք մկրտութեան Քրիստոսի և այլն, *Jark mügürdûtyan Kürisdosi yev ailün;* homilies on the baptism of Christ, and his temptation in the wilderness.

(*b*) Քերականութիւն, *Keraganûtiun;* grammar, and the art of penmanship.

(*c*) Համառօտ բառարան, *Hamarod pararan;* pocket dictionary of the Armenian language.

Some ascribe these works to another writer of the same name in the eleventh century.

2. Կարապետ գիտնական, *Garabed kidnagan (the Learned).*

(*a*) Ոտանաւոր 'ի խրատ մանկանց, *Odanavor 'i khürad mangants;* poem for the instruction of youth.

(*b*) Համառօտութիւն Ճառից Սարգսի, *Hamarodûtiun Jarits Sarkisi;* abridgment of the forty-three homilies of Sarkis Vartabed, of the twelfth century.

(*c*) Վարք Շնորհալւոյ և այլն, *Vark Shünorhalvo yev ailün;* lives of Nerses Shünorhali, Iknadios Vartabed and Sarkis Vartabed.

This author was a learned man and a beautiful writer.

3. Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, *Giragos Kantsagetsi.*

Պատմութիւն ժամանակի իւրոյ, *Badmûtiun jamanagi iuro;* history of Armenia from A. D. 300 to 1260, being especially full on the times of the author. This work contains an account of the invasion of Armenia by the Tartars.

4. Կոստանդին Բարձրբերդցի, *Gosdantin* (*Constantine*) *Partsürperttsi.*

Վեց նամակք, *Vets namagük*; six letters: some to Pope Innocent IV, and others to the Armenian nation on theological points. The author was Catholicos of the Armenians.

5. Յովհաննէս Եզնկացի, *Hovhannes* (*John*) *Yezüngatsi*,

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն քերականութեան, *Megnûtiun keraganûtyan*; explication of the Armenian grammar.

(*b*) Ջառ յաղագս երկնային մարմնոց, *Jar haghakiis yergnaiin marmnots*; treatise on the heavenly bodies,—their properties and movements. An edition was printed, A. D. 1792, in New Nakhchevan, in Russia. A manuscript copy exists at Venice, and another at Tiflis, in Georgia.

(*c*) Գովեստ սուրբ Լուսաւորչին, *Kovesd sûrp Lûsavorchin*; two eulogies: one in honor of Kürikor Lûsavorich, and the other in honor of his sons and grandsons. Two editions of both have been printed in Constantinople: one, A. D. 1737, and the other A. D. 1824.

(*d*) Քարոզք և խրատք, *Karozk yev khüradk*; sermons and counsels. A copy in manuscript is found in the library of the Armenian college at Tiflis, in Georgia.

(*e*) Աշխարհացոյց, *Ashkharhatsoits*; geography of the world; found in the same library.

(*f*) Խրատական վարդապետութիւն, *Khüradagan vartabedûtiun*; a book of disciplinary precepts, taken from the so-called Apostolic Canons, and from the writings of the most illustrious Fathers and doctors.

(*g*) Մեկնութիւն Մատթէոսի, *Megnûtiun Madteosi*; commentary on the gospel of Matthew, commenced by Nerses Shünorhali, and completed by Hovhannes. It was printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1825.

(*h*) Բան ոտանաւոր երկնային մարմնոց և այլն, *Pan odanavor yergnaiin marmnots yev ailün*; poetical compositions, on the motions and order of the heavenly bodies; and various lyrical pieces, as chants, elegies, hymns, etc.

This author was versed in several languages.

6. Յովհաննէս Արճիշեցի, *Hovhannes* (*John*) *ArJishetsi.*

Համառօտ մեկնութիւն պատարագի, *Hamarod megnûtiun badaraki*; a short exposition of the Armenian mass; printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1717 and 1799.

7. Յովհաննէս Գառնեցի, *Hovhannes* (*John*) *Karnetsi.*

(*a*) Խրատք առ միանձինս, *Khüradk ar miantsiniis*; counsels to monks.

(*b*) Գիրք աղօթից, *Kirk aghotits;* book of prayers. The author was a Vartabed.

8. Յովհաննէս վանական, *Hovhannes vanagan* (*John the Monk*).

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն Յովբայ, *Megnûtiun Hovpa;* commentary on Job; found in manuscript at Tiflis, in Georgia.

(*b*) Հարցմունք և պատասխանք, *Hartsmûnk yev badaskhauk;* questions and answers on various subjects.

(*c*) Ճառք 'ի տարեմտում և այլն, *Jark 'i daremûdün yev ailün;* essays on the close of the year, and other topics.

(*d*) Բացատրութիւն Շարականի "ուրախացիր" և այլն, *Patsadürûtiun Sharagani "ûrakhatsir" yev ailün;* exposition of a hymn on the transfiguration, found in the Armenian service, etc.

(*e*) Հարցմունք 'ի վերայ Հին և Նոր կտակարանաց, *Hartsmûnk 'i vera Hin yev Nor güdagaranats;* questions on the Old and New Testaments.

(*f*) Ճառ հաւատոյ, *Jar havado;* discourse on faith.

(*g*) Բանք յաղագս բղխման Հոգոյն սրբոյ, *Pank haghakiis pülghkman Hokoin surpo;* procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. A portion of this work is found in the works of Giragos, a disciple of the author.

(*h*) Յարձակումն Թաթարաց, *Hartsagûmün Tatarats;* invasion of the Tartars, A. D. 1236, and its attendant events in Georgia and Armenia; not now extant.

9. Յակոբ Կլայեցի, *Hagop Gülaiyetsi.*

(*a*) Շրջաբերական նամակ, *Shürchaperagan namag;* encyclical letter on the author's accession to the office of Catholicos.

(*b*) Բացատրութիւն այլ և այլ սուրբ գրոց և Հայրապետաց, *Patsadürûtiun ail yel ail sûrp kürots yev hairabedats;* remarks upon various passages of the Scriptures, and the Fathers,

(c) Ոտանաւոր յաղագս ծննդեան, *Odanavor kághakiis dzününtyan;* hymn sung to this day in the church, at the feast of the nativity of the virgin Mary.

10. Գէորգ Սկեւռացի, *Kevork* (*George*) *Sgevratsi.*

Մեկնութիւն Եսայեայ, *Megnûtiun Yesaiya;* commentary on Isaiah, compiled chiefly from the works of Chrysostom, Ephraim, and Cyril of Alexandria. The compiler was a Vartabed.

11. Խաչատուր Կեչառացի, *Khachadûr Gecharatsi.*

(a) Պատմութիւն Աղեքսանդրի Մակեդոնացւոյ, *Badmütiun Agheksantri Magetonatsvo;* history of Alexander the Great.

(b) Ողբ արձանական, *Oghp artsanagan;* elegiac poem in honor of Alexander.

(c) Երգք, *Yerkük;* hymns and spiritual songs.

This author was a Vartabed.

12. Գրիգոր Սկեւռացի, *Kürikor* (*Gregory*) *Sgevratsi.*

(a) Ճառք զանազանք, *Jark zanazank;* homilies on the sufferings and resurrection of Christ, on John the Baptist, on the assumption of the virgin Mary, etc.

(b) Լուծմունք Եւագրի, *Lûdzmûnk Yevaküri;* explication of a book of Evagrius.

(c) Բան Եսայեայ գլխոյ ծգ, *Pan Yesaiya küilkho* 53; discourse on the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. A copy in manuscript exists in Venice.

(d) Ճառ քրիստոնէական վարդապետութեան, *Jar kürisdoneagan vartabedûtyan;* treatise on Christian doctrine.

13. Գրիգոր Անաւարզեցի, *Kürikor* (*Gregory*) *Anavarzetsi.*

(a) Նոր Օրացոյց, *Nor Oratsoits;* a new calendar, compiled after the model of the Greek and Latin.

(b) Վկայաբանութիւն, *Vügaiapanûtiun;* Armenian martyrology, enlarged by many additions from the Greek. Roman and Syrian.

(c) Երգք, *Yerkük;* various hymns.

(d) Թուղթք առ իշխանսն Հայոց, *Tüghtk ar ishkhanüs Haiots;* letters to several Armenian rulers on the necessity of zeal in extirpating heresies.

This author was Catholicos of the Armenians, and was a learned man, and a classical writer.

14. Մաղաքիա աբեղայ, *Maghakia apegha* (*Malachi the Monk*).

Պատմութիւն ազգին նետողաց, *Badmûtiun azkin nedoghats*; history of the invasion of Armenia by the Tartars, up to A. D. 1272.

15. Մխիթար Անեցի, *Mükhitar Anetsi*.

(*a*) Հնապատում ժամանակագրութիւն, *Hünabadûm jamanagakürûtiun*; antiquities of Armenia, Georgia, and Persia.

(*b*) Աստեղաբաշխութիւն, *Asdeghapashkhûtiun*; astronomy translated from the Persian. Neither this work nor the preceding is now extant. The author was an ecclesiastic, and well versed in foreign languages.

16. Մխիթար, Սկեւռացի, *Mükhitar Sgevratsi*.

Բան ընդդէմ Հռովմայ պապին, *Pan unttem Hrovmai babin*; a book against the claims of the Roman Pontiff to the primacy of the church. The author was an ecclesiastic.

17. Բենիկ վարդապետ, *Penig vartabed*.

Աղօթամատոյց գիրք, *Aghotamadoits kirk*; book of prayers, composed in imitation of the style of the celebrated Naregatsi.

18. Ստեփաննոս Ուրպելեան, *Üsdepannos* (*Stephen*) *Ûrbelyan*.

(*a*) Պատմագիրք վասն Սիւնեաց աշխարհին, *Badmakirk vasün Siunyats ashkharhin*; history of the province of Armenia called Siunia.

(*b*) Ձեռնարկ, *Tsernarg*; a manual of doctrine. Its object is chiefly to combat the doctrines of the council of Calcedon. It was printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1755.

(*c*) Ողբերգութիւն; *Oghperkûtiun*; an elegy on the fallen fortunes of the Armenian nation; printed in New Nakhchevan, in Russia, A. D. 1798.

(*d*) Թուղթ 'ի վերայ ժողովոյ Քաղկեդոնի, *Tûght 'i vera joghovo Kaghgetoni*; letter to the Catholicos Kürikor VII., on the council of Calcedon. This letter has never been printed, and a Romanist author says that, on account of its abominable heresies, no one can desire to see it published.

19. Վահրամ Րաբունի, *Vahram Rapûni.*

(a) Ոտանաւոր պատմութիւն Ռուբինեանց, *Otanavor badmûtiun Rûpenyants*; metrical history of the Armenian kings of Cilicia, called the Rûpenyants. Printed in Madras; A. D. 1810.

(b) Ճառ սուրբ Երրորդութեան, *Jar sûrp Yerrortûtyan*; treatise on the Trinity.

(c) Ճառ 'ի մարդեղութիւն, *Jar 'i marteghûtiun*; treatise on the incarnation.

(d) Ճառ 'ի յարութիւն և 'ի համբարձումն, *Jar 'i harûtiun yev 'i hampartsûmiün*; homily on the resurrection and ascension of Christ.

(e) Մեկնութիւն Դատաւորաց և Եսայեայ, *Megnûtiun Tadavorats yev Yesaiya*; exposition of the Judges and Isaiah.

(f) Ճառ 'ի պենտեկոստէ, *Jar 'i bendegosde*; essay on Pentecost.

This author was a native of Edessa, in Mesopotamia; and enjoyed the highest reputation

20. Վարդան Բարձրբերդցի, *Vartan Partsûrpertsi.*

(a) Ընդհանուր պատմութիւն, *Unthanûr badmûtiun*; universal history, from the beginning of the world, and brought down to A. D. 1267. This author was surnamed the Great, and he is said to have been well versed in the Greek, Syriac, Persian, Hebrew and Tartar languages.

(b) Մեկնութիւն հինգ գրոց Մովսէսի, *Megnûtiun hink kürots Movsesi*; commentary on the five books of Moses. It is found in manuscript at Tiflis, in Georgia.

(c) Մեկնութիւն Սաղմոսի, *Megnûtiun Saghmosi*; commentary on the Psalms and Solomon's Song.

(d) Գովեստ սուրբ Լուսաւորչին, *Kovesd sûrp Lûsavorchin*; eulogy on Kürikor Lûsavorich.

(e) Բացատրութիւն Շարականի, *Patsadürûtiun Sharagani*; exposition of the Armenian hymn-book.

(f) Մեկնութիւն զանազան բանից Աւետարանի, *Megnûtiun zanazan panits Avedarani*; commentary on various passages in the Gospels, particularly in John's Gospel.

(g) Ճառք զանազանք, *Jark zanazank*; homilies on various subjects.

(*h*) Քերականութիւն, *Keraganûtiun;* grammar of the Armenian language. A manuscript copy is said to exist at Constantinople.

(*i*) Առակք, *Aragük;* book of one hundred and forty-four fables, partly selected and partly original, called "The Fox-book." Forty-five of these fables were selected and published at Paris, A. D. 1825, by the Asiatic Society, with a French translation.

(*j*) Երեք երգք, *Yerek yerküük;* three hymns, much esteemed in the Armenian church.

(*k*) Մեկնութիւն Դանիելի, *Megnûtiun Tanieli;* commentary on Daniel. A manuscript of this work, said to have been written A. D. 1297, only twenty-six years after the death of the author, is found in the monastery of St. Lazarus, at Venice. It was also printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1826.

21. Վարդան կամ Վարխամ Սեաւլեռնցի, *Vartan, gam Varkham, Syavlerüntsi* (*Vartan, or Varkham, of Black Mountain*).

Խրատք առ Հայս, *Khüradk ar Haiüs;* warning to the Armenians against the encroachments of Romanism; and a refutation of the letter of the Roman Pontiff to the Armenian king Hetûm. The writer was a monk.

22. Զաքարիա Ձորձորեցի, *Zakaria* (*Zachariah*) *Dzordzoretsi.*

Թուղթ առ Յովհաննէս Որպէլ, *Tûght ar Hovhannes Orbel;* letter in answer to various questions of Hovhannes Orbel, as to the faith and customs of the times. The writer was Bishop of Dzordzor.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Հեթում Բ. արքայ Հայոց, *Hetûm II. arka Haiots* (*King of Armenia*).

Ոտանաւոր 'ի վերայ սուրբ գրոց, *Odanavor 'i vera sûrp kürots;* poems on the Bible. They are found in some of the printed editions of the Armenian Bible, as in that printed in Amsterdam, A. D. 1666; that of Constantinople, A. D. 1705; and that of Venice, A. D. 1733.

2. Հեթում պատմիչ, *Hetûm badmich* (*the Historian*):

(*a*) Պատմութիւն Թաթարաց, *Badmûtiun Tatarats;* history of the Tartars in the fourteenth century. The author was of royal blood, and became a monk.

(*b*) Պատմութիւն իւրոյ ժամանակի, *Badmûtiun iuro jamanagi;* oriental history. It was written in French by the author, and published at Paris, A. D. 1529, under the title: "Histoire merveilleuse du Gran-Can." A Latin translation was published at Haguenau, in France, A. D. 1529.

(*c*) Համառօտ տարեգրութիւն, *Hamarod darekiürûtiun;* compendious chronicle, containing various Armenian, Syrian, and European stories, from A. D. 1076 to the time of the author.

3. Յովհաննէս Գանձակեցի, *Hovhannes* (*John*) *Kantsagetsi.*

Տօնապատճառ, *DonabadJar;* book of feasts, that is, on the origin and design of the festivals of the church.

4. Յակոբ թարգման, *Hagop tarkman* (*Jacob the Interpreter*).

(*a*) Ճառ 'ի վերայ առաքինութեան, *Jar 'i vera arakinûtyan;* treatise on virtue.

(*b*) Ճառ 'ի վերայ մոլութեան, *Jar 'i vera molûtyan;* treatise on vice. This work and the preceding have gone through two editions at Venice.

(*c*) Ճառ 'ի վերայ իրաւանց և դատաստանի, *Jar 'i vera iravants yev tadasdani;* treatise on right and judgment.

5. Յովհաննէս Որոտնեցի, *Hovhannes* (*John*) *Orodnetsi.*

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն Յովհաննու և Պօղոսի, *Megnûtiun Hovhannû yev Boghosi;* commentary on the Gospel of John, and on Paul's epistles.

(*b*) Ճառ իմաստասիրութեան, *Jar imasdasirûtyan;* homily on philosophy.

(*c*) Ճառք զանազանք 'ի վերայ սուրբ գրոց, *Jark zanazank 'i vera sûrp kürots;* homilies intended to explain certain passages of the Scriptures.

(*d*) Բացատրութիւն գրոց Արիստոտելի, *Patsadürûtiun kürots Arisdodeli;* explanation of the two works of Aristotle called "the Categories" and περὶ ἑρμηνείας.

(*e*) Բան 'ի վերայ Փիլոնի Եբրայեցւոյ, *Pan 'i vera Piloni Yepraiyetsvo;* remarks on two homilies of Philo the Jew.

(*f*) Հինգ քարոզք, *Hink karozk;* five sermons on "Of old hast thou laid the foundations of the earth," "In the beginning was the Word," etc., and other passages. A manuscript copy is found in the library of the Armenian college at Tiflis, in Georgia.

6. Գրիգոր Տաթեւացի, *Kürikor* (*Gregory*) *Datevatsi.*

(*a*) Հարցաբանութիւն 'ի վերայ մոլորութեանց զանազանց և այլն, *Hartsapanûtiun 'i vera molorûtyants zanazants yev ailün;* book of questions and answers on the errors of the Jews, the Manichæans, the Mohammedans, and certain other sects; also, on the Creator; on the creation of man; the incarnation of the divine Word; the end of the world; the universal judgment; and various other subjects.

A folio edition of this work was published at Constantinople, A. D. 1729, the article relating to Mohammed being omitted. A manuscript copy of the entire work is found in the Armenian Mission library at Bebek.

(*b*) Ձմերան և ամառան, *Tsümeran yev amaran;* book of sermons adapted to the two seasons of the year, summer and winter. Printed in Constantinople, in two volumes folio, A. D. 1740 and 1741.

(*c*) Բացատրութիւն աշխարհական մատենագրից, *Patsadürûtiun ashkharhagan madenakürits;* exposition of profane writers.

(*d*) Բացատրութիւն գրչութեան, *Patsadürûtiun kürchûtyan;* explanation of the system of writing of Arisdages and Kevork.

(*e*) Բացատրութիւն Կիւրեղի, *Patsadürûtiun Giureghi;* explanation of a book of Cyril of Jerusalem.

(*f*) Մեկնութիւնք սուրբ գրոց զանազանց, *Megnûtiunk sûrp kürots zanazants;* sundry comments on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, book of Wisdom, Solomon's Songs, the Psalms, Job, Isaiah, and the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John; also, on the canonical hours of the Armenian service. Portions of these are found in Tiflis.

7. Գէորգ Եզնկացի, *Kevork* (*George*) *Yezüngatsi.*

(*a*) Հրահանգք 'ի վերայ մկրտութեան և այլն, *Hürahankük 'i vera mügürdûtyan yev ailün;* instructions on the mode of administering baptism and marriage. It is found in the Armenian college at Tiflis.

(*b*) Ներբող Հրեշտակապետաց, *Nerpogh Hüreshdagabedats;* panegyric in praise of archangels.

(*c*) Բացատրութիւն Ճառից Գրիգորի Նազիանզէն, *Patsadürûtiun Jarits Kürikori Nazianzen;* explanation of the homilies of Gregory Nazianzen.

8. Մատթէոս վարդապետ, *Madteos* (*Matthew*) *vartabed.*

Ճառ 'ի վերայ ստեղծման, *Jar 'i vera üsdeghdzman;* discourse on the creation. An ancient manuscript copy, supposed to have been written by the author's own hand, exists in the library of the Armenian college at Tiflis, in Georgia.

9. Մովսէս Եզնկացի, *Movses* (*Moses*) *Yezüngatsi.*

Յաւելուածք 'ի մեկնութիւն ժամագրոց, *Havelüadzk 'i megnûtiun jamakürots;* supplement to the exposition of the prayer-book by Khosrov.

10. Բարսեղ Մաշկուորցի, *Parsegh* (*Basil*) *Mashgûvortsi.*

Մեկնութիւն Մարկոսի, *Megnûtiun Margosi;* exposition of Mark the Evangelist. Printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1826.

11. Սմբատ պատմիչ, *Sümpad badmich* (*the Historian*).

Պատմութիւն Կիլիկեայ թագաւորաց, *Badmûtiun Giligya takavorats;* history of the most illustrious acts of the Armenian kings of Cilicia; not now extant.

12. Դանիէլ Սսեցի, *Taniel* (*Daniel*) *Süsetsi.*

Ջատագովութիւն Հայոց հաւատոյ, *Chadakovûtiun Haiots havado;* apology for the faith and morality of the Armenians; addressed to the Roman Pope.

13. Վարդան Մարաթացի, *Vartan Maratatsi.*

Աղօթամատոյց գիրք, *Aghotamadoits kirk;* prayer-book for use at the sacred places in Jerusalem.

14. Եսայի Նչեցի, *Yesaii* (*Isaiah*) *Nüchetsi.*

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն Եզեկիէլի, *Megnûtiun Yezegieli;* commentary on Ezekiel.

(*b*) Մեկնութիւն քերականին, *Megnûtiun keraganin;* an explanation of Armenian grammar.

(*c*) Մեկնութիւն ժամագրքի, *Megnûtiun jamakürki;* an exposition of the Armenian breviary.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Առաքել Սիւնեցի, *Arakel Siunetsi.*

(*a*) Ադամագիրք, *Atamakirk;* a poem in three cantos on Adam. The first two cantos were published at Constantinople, A. D. 1721.

(*b*) Ոտանաւոր 'ի վերայ նշանաց զոդիակոսին, *Odanavor 'i vera nüshanats zotiagosin;* the twelve signs of the zodiac, in verse. A manuscript copy is found in the Armenian college at Tiflis, in Georgia.

(*c*) Վարք Լուսաւորչի և Ներսեսի ոտանաւոր, *Vark Lûsavorchi yev Nersesi odanavor;* lives of Kürikor Lûsavorich and Nerses the Great, in verse.

(*d*) Բանք 'ի վերայ անյաղթ Դաւթի սահմանաց, *Pank 'i vera anhaght Tavti sahmanats;* remarks on the book of definitions of David the Invincible.

(*e*) Հրահանգ 'ի վերայ ձեռնադրութեան, *Hürahank 'i vera tsernatürûtyan;* instructions on the administration of the rite of ordination.

This author was archbishop of Siunia.

2. Ամիրտոլվաթ Ամասիացի, *Amirdolvat Amasiatsi.*

Անգիտաց անպէտ, *Ankidats anbed* (*the Useless to the ignorant*); book of universal medicine. The author was a native of Amasia, and a physician; had travelled extensively, and was reputed to be well versed in languages. The work consists of two large folio volumes, and is based on the theory that there are only two causes of all disease, namely, heat and cold.

3. Կիրակոս Եզնկացի, *Giragos Yezüngatsi.*

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն Եւագրի, *Megnûtiun Yevaküri;* commentary on Evagrius.

(*b*) Թուղթ ընդհանուր Հայոց ազգին, *Tûght unthanûr Haiots azkin;* letter addressed to the whole Armenian people.

(*c*) Հրահանգ 'ի վերայ խոստովանանքի և այլն, *Hürahank 'i vera khosdovananki yev ailün;* instructions on confessions, and on the true faith.

(*d*) Վկայաբանութիւն, *Vügaiapanûtiun;* book of martyrology.

(*e*) Օտանաւոր գովեստ սուրբ կուսոյ, *Odanavor kovesd sûrp gûso;* hymn in praise of the virgin Mary. The lines begin with letters in alphabetical order; it is found in the Armenian hymn-books.

This writer is considered as the purest of his age.

4. Յակոբ Ղրիմեցի, *Hagop* (*Jácob*) *Ghüirimetsi.*

(*a*) Ճառ ժամանակագրութեան, *Jar jamanagaküirûtyan;* treatise on chronology.

(*b*) Ճառ Յովհաննու յղացման և այլն, *Jar Hovhannû hüghatsman yev ailüin;* treatises on the conception of John the Baptist, the annunciation, and the birth, baptism and crucifixion of Christ.

5. Գրիգոր Խլաթեցի, *Küirikor* (*Gregory*) *Khüilatetsi.*

(*a*) Նոր վկայաբանութիւն, *Nor vüigaiapanûtiun;* lives of modern martyrs. This work was added to the great national Martyrology of the Armenians, called Haismavûrk, and published at Constantinople, A. D. 1706 and A. D. 1730.

(*b*) Հոգեւոր երգք, *Hokevor yerküik;* sacred songs in praise of the martyrs; used in the churches to this day.

This author was a monk.

6. Մխիթար Ապարանցի, *Müikhitar Abarantsi.*

Տրամախօսութիւն Ֆրա Մխիթարչի, *Düiramakhosûtiun Füira müikhitarchi;* reasonings and arguments on matters of faith; and a solution of various difficult questions of the age. This work is said by the Romanists to have an infusion of erroneous opinions.

7. Թովմայ Մեծոփեցի, *Tovma* (*Thomas*) *Medzopetsi.*

(*a*) Պատմութիւն Լանկթամուրայ և այլն, *Badmûtiun Langtamûra yev ailüin;* history of Timûr-leng (Tamerlane), and also an account of the division of the office of Catholicos between Echmiadzin and Sis. The author was a Vartabed.

(*b*) Մեկնութիւն Դանիելի, *Megnûtiun Tanieli;* commentary on Daniel.

(*c*) Թուղթք զանազանք, *Tûghtk zanazank;* collection of letters addressed to Tovma by some of his cotemporaries.

(*d*) Վերջին օծման կերպն, *Verchin odzman gerbüin;* the mode of administering the rite of extreme unction according to the Greek and Latin ritual.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Ղուկաս Կեղեցի, *Ghûgas* (*Luke*) *Geghetsi.*

(*a*) Ոտանաւոր Օրացոյց, *Odanavor Oratsoits;* a Gregorian calendar in verse.

(*b*) Երաժշտութեան կանոնք, *Yerajüshdûtyan ganonk;* rules for singing in the Armenian church.

2. Գրիգոր Աղթամարցի, *Kürikor* (*Gregory*) *Aghtamartsi.*

Ոտանաւոր բանք երիւք լեզուօք, *Odanavor pank yeriuk lezûok;* ten poems on various subjects, composed in three languages: Armenian, Turkish, and Persian. The author was Catholicos at the convent of Aghtamar.

3. Ստեփաննոս Սալմաստեցի, *Üsdepannos* (*Stephen*) *Salmasdetsi.*

Շրջաբերական թուղթ և այլն, *Shürchaperagan tûght yev ailün;* a circular epistle; a compendious exposition of John's Gospel; and a preliminary discourse on the four Evangelists. Of the last named work there is said to be extant a Persian translation, supposed to have been made by the author. He was Catholicos of the Armenians.

4. Թադէոս Սեբաստացի, *Tateos* (*Thaddeus*) *Sepasdatsi.*

Ողբերգութիւն, *Oghperkûtiun;* an elegy on the calamitous events of the age.

WORKS OF UNKNOWN AGE.

1. Աղթարք, *Aghtark* (*the Horoscope*); a book of fortune-telling by astrology. Anonymous.

2. Գանձք, *Kantsk* (*Treasures*); a collection of church-hymns, the best of which are by Nerses Shünorhali, and Kürikor Naregatsi.

3. Արհեստ թուոց, *Arhesd tûots* (*Art of numbers*); for the use of wise men and astrologers. Anonymous.

8. Ճառ 'ի սուրբ խաչն, *Jar 'i sûrp khachün;* essay on the holy cross, by Bishop Միսաէլ *Misael.*

5. Պատմութիւն Օրբէլեան ցեղին, *Badmûtiun Orpelyan tseghin;* history of the Orpelyan family. Anonymous.

6. Համառօտ աշխարհագրութիւն, *Hamarod ashkharhakürûtiun;* short geography, by a certain Vartan.

7. Առակք, *Aragük;* proverbs, by a certain Vartan.

8. Հռիփսիմեայ յիշատակարանի պատմութիւն, *Hüripsimya hishadagarani badmûtiun;* brief history of the building of a monument by Gomidas Catholicos in honor of Hüripsime the nun and martyr, by Vürtanes.

9. Ճառ ընդդէմ պատկերամարտիցն, *Jar unttem badgeramarditsün;* essay against the opposers of pictures, by the same.

10. Հին սաղմոսերգութիւն, *Hin saghmoserkûtiun;* ancient church-psalmody; the authors are partly ancient and partly modern; and some are mentioned by name, and some not.

11. Հին և Նոր օրացոյցք, *Hin yev Nor oratsoitsk;* ancient and modern calendars; division of time; etc. etc. Anonymous.

12. Տօնացոյց; *Donatsoits;* guide to the feasts. Anonymous.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE GREEK CHURCH FATHERS EXISTING IN THE ARMENIAN LANGUAGE.

Within the last three years, an appeal has been made, for the first time, it is believed, by Europeans, to Armenian literature, for the settlement of an important question in church history. In the year 1845, there appeared in London and Berlin a book entitled: "The ancient Syriac version of the Epistles of St. Ignatius to St. Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and the Romans, together with extracts from his epistles collected from the writings of Severus of Antioch, Timotheus of Alexandria, and others; by William Cureton." It was accompanied by a translation into English of the Syriac text, and by the original Greek text of the epistles found in this Syriac version. It was maintained by Mr. Cureton, that what the Greek text contains more than is found in the Syriac, does not belong to the original of Ignatius, but has been added by later hands.

In opposition to this view, Professor Petermann, in a dissertation read before the German Oriental Society in 1846, and in his collection of the epistles of Ignatius, published in 1849, argued that the Armenian version, which is said to be a century older than the Syriac (having been made in the fifth century), containing thirteen letters of Ignatius, is a true version of these epistles,—the Syriac consisting only of extracts, interspersed with prayers.

To this Mr. Cureton has replied, having published a new edition of his book in 1849, with a full and critical discussion of the subject, in which he endeavors to maintain his former ground.

These circumstances thus briefly related, very naturally suggest the inquiry, whether a critical examination of the translations of other Fathers of the Christian church, existing in the Armenian language, might not bring many interesting things to light; and especially, whether it might not aid in deciding what really came from their hands, and what is apocryphal. With the hope of stimulating investigation in this direction, I herewith subjoin a catalogue of all the works, or portions of the works, of the early Fathers, now existing in the Armenian language, so far as I have been able to ascertain. This list might be considerably enlarged, by a thorough exploration of the libraries in the Armenian convents in the interior of Turkey and Georgia; each of which, though small, is known to be more or less rich in ancient Armenian manuscripts.

I will simply add, that, whenever in this catalogue a translation is denominated ancient, it must be understood to belong to the fifth century, near the beginning of which the Armenian alphabet was first invented.

FIRST CENTURY.

Իգնատիոս Անտիոքացի, *Iknadios Andiokatsi* (*Ignatius of Antioch*).

Երեքտասան թուղթք, *Yerekdasan tûghtk*; thirteen letters, translated from the Greek by Mesrob and others in the fifth century. Printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1783. From the preface it appears, that this printed edition was compiled from five manuscript copies in Armenian; but how ancient these were, is not stated; nor whether each of them contained all the thirteen letters complete. The reverse of this seems to be implied.

THIRD CENTURY

1. Աղեքսանդր Երուսաղեմացի, *Agheksantür Yerûsaghematsi* (*Alexander* (probably Bishop) *of Jerusalem*).

Ճառ 'ի վերայ գլխատելոյ Յովհաննու, *Jar 'i vera külkhadelo Hovhannû*; an essay on the beheading of John the Baptist. This bishop lived about the middle of the third century.

2. Գրիգոր սքանչելագործ, *Kürikor üskanchelakördz* (*Gregory Thaumaturgus* (Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea)).

(*a*) Various homilies.

(*b*) Առաքելական կանոնք, *Arakelagan ganonk*; the so-called Apostolic and other canons.

FOURTH CENTURY.

1. Աթանաս Աղեքսանդրացի, *Atanas Agheksantratsi* (*Athanasius of Alexandria*).

(*a*) Աստուածաբանական ճառք, *Asdûadzapanagan Jark*; theological essays; ancient translation.

(*b*) Վարք սուրբ Անտոնիոսի, *Vark sûrp Andoniosi*; life of St. Antonius; abridged.

(*c*) Քարոզք զանազանք, *Karozk zanazank*; homilies on taking Christ down from the cross, his ascension, on the virgin Mary, and on Stephen.

(*d*) Հանգանակ հաւատոյ, *Hankanag havado*; Athanasian creed.

(*e*) Հարց և պատասխան, *Harts yev badaskhan*; questions and answers on various matters, ascribed to Athanasius and Cyril of Jerusalem.

2. Բարսեղ մեծն Կեսարացի, *Parsegh medzün Gesaratsi* (*Basil the Great, of Cæsarea*).

(*a*) Կանոնք միանձանց, *Ganonk miantsants*; rules of discipline for monastic orders.

(*b*) Քարոզ 'ի վերայ պահոց, *Karoz 'i vera bahots*; homily on fasting.

(c) Քարոզք 'ի վերայ Աւետարանի ըստ Յովհաննու և այլն, *Karozk 'i vera Avedarani usd Hovhannû yev ailün*; homilies on the beginning of John's Gospel; and on the order of prayer in the ancient Missals.

(*d*) Մեկնութիւն Սաղմոսաց, *Megnûtiun Saghmosats;* commentary on the Psalms; Թուղթք զանազանք, *Tûghtk zanazank;* various letters; Ճառք զանազանք, *Jark zanazank;* homilies on repentance, thanksgiving, charity, and prayer; also, against drunkenness and other vices; etc. etc.

(*e*) Ճառ ստեղծման, *Jar üsdeghdzman;* on the six days of creation.

All the above works of Basil claim to be ancient translations, that is, of the fifth century, though a few are of the sixth, or seventh.

3. Եպիփան Կիպրացի, *Yebipan Gibratsi* (*Epiphanius the Cypriote*).

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն Սաղմոսի հատուածք, *Megnûtiun Saghmosi hadûadzk;* fragments of a commentary on the Psalms.

(*b*) Քարոզք զանազանք, *Karozk zanazank;* homilies on the crucifixion, burial, and resurrection of Christ.

(*c*) Մեկնութիւն Գրքի ծննդոց, *Megnûtiun Kürki dzüniüntots;* commentary on Genesis.

(*d*) Մեկնութիւն Աւետարանի, *Megnûtiun Avedarani;* commentary on the Gospel, from the beginning of Christ's preaching.

All the above claim to be ancient translations.

4. Ոսկեբերան, *Osgeperan* (*Chrysostom*).

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն Մատթէոսի, *Megnûtiun Madteosi;* commentary on Matthew.

(*b*) Մեկնութիւն Գործոց, *Megnûtiun Kardzots;* commentary on the Acts.

(*c*) Մեկնութիւն Եսայեայ, *Megnûtiun Yesaiyâ;* commentary on Isaiah.

(*d*) Մեկնութիւն Ծննդոց և այլն, *Megnûtiun Dzüniüntots yev ailün;* commentary (unfinished) on Genesis, and other portions of the Old Testament.

(*e*) Մեկնութիւն Պօղոսի թղթոց, *Megnûtiun Boghosi tüghtots;* commentary on the epistles of Paul.

(*f*) Քարոզք զանազանք, *Karozk zanazank;* homilies on various religious subjects.

(*g*) Գովեստ Մեղիտոսի, *Kovesd Meghidosi;* eulogy on Melidos of Antioch, Chrysostom's teacher.

(*h*) Գովեստ Լուսաւորչի, *Kovesd Lûsavorchi;* eulogy on Gregory Lusavorich; written while the author was in exile, on Armenian soil.

Most of the above works were translated by Mesrob and his companions, not long after Chrysostom's death.

5. Գրիգոր Նիւսացի, *Kürikor Niusatsi* (*Gregory of Nyssa*).

(*a*) Մեկնութիւն երգ երգոց, *Megnûtiun yerk yerkots;* commentary on Solomon's Song, and on the nine beatitudes; ancient translation.

(*b*) Գովեստ Թէոդորոսի և այլն, *Kovesd Teotorosi yev ailün;* historical eulogy on Theodorus the General, and Gregory Thaumaturgus; ancient translation.

(*c*) Ճառ 'ի մարդկային բնութիւն, *Jar 'i martgaiin pünûtiun;* on the nature and constitution of man; translated in the eighth century by Üsdepan Siunetsi.

(*d*) Գովեստ անամուսնութեան, *Kovesd anamûsnûtyan;* eulogy on celibacy; ancient translation.

(*b*) Ճառ 'ի Բեթղեհեմի տղայոց սպաննութիւն, *Jar 'i Petghehemi düghaiots üsbannûtiun;* homily on the murder of the innocents at Bethlehem; and Գերեզման Քրիստոսի, *Kerezman Kürisdosi;* on the burial place of Christ.

(*f*) Գովեստ Մեղիտոսի, *Kovesd Meghidosi;* eulogy on Father Melidos.

6. Եւսեբիոս, *Yevsepios* (*Eusebius*).

(*a*) Պատմութիւն և ժամանակագրութիւն, *Badmûtiun yev jamanagakürûtiun;* history and chronology; translated by Mesrob's disciples under his direction, from the Syriac version.

(*b*) Քրոնիկոն, *Küronigon;* chronicles; said to be an excellent translation from the Greek original, either by Moses of Khoren, or before his time. An edition of this work with a Latin translation has been published at Venice. It is particularly valuable, as portions of the Greek original that were lost, are restored through this ancient Armenian version.

(*c*) Համաբարբառ, *Hamaparpar;* concordance of the four Gospels.

7. Կիւրեղ Երուսաղեմացի, *Giuregh Yerûsaghematsi* (*Cyril of Jerusalem*).

(a) Թուղթ առ Կայսր Կոստանդիանոս, *Tûght ar Gaisür Gosdantianos;* letter to the Emperor Constantine, on the appearance of the cross.

(b) Քարոզք, *Karozk;* lectures (subjects not given); an ancient translation. An edition has been printed in Venice.

(c) Մեկնութիւն Եսայեայ, *Megnûtiun Yesaiya;* commentary on Isaiah, compiled from Cyril, Chrysostom, and others. A. D. 1292.

8. Եփրեմ Ասորի, *Eprem Asori* (*Ephraim* (Bishop) *of Syria*).

(a) Մեկնութիւն Հին կտակարանի, *Megnûtiun Hin güdagarani;* commentary on the Old Testament; ancient translation.

(b) Մեկնութիւն չորից աւետարանչից, *Megnûtiun chorits avedaranchits;* commentary on the four Evangelists.

(c) Մեկնութիւն Նոր կտակարանի զանազան մասից, *Megnûtiun Nor güdagarani zanazan masits;* commentary on various portions of the New Testament.

(d) Մեկնութիւն Պօղոսի թղթոց, *Megnûtiun Boghosi tüghtots;* commentary on fourteen epistles of Paul, among which is the Third Epistle to the Corinthians.

(e) Քարոզք զանազանք, *Karozk zanazank;* homilies on the feasts of our Lord; and exhortations to penance, and fasting.

(*f*) Աղօթք, *Aghotk;* prayers; some of which are in manuscript, and some printed.

(*g*) Պատմութիւն Մարտիրոսաց, *Badmûtium Mardirosats;* history of Eastern martyrs.

9. Սեփիւռինոս, *Sepiurinos* ((Bishop) *Severianus*).

Ճառք վարդապետական, *Jark vartabedagan;* doctrinal and homiletical essays; ancient translation.

10. Եւագրիոս, *Evagrios* (*Evagrius* (monk of Pontus)).

Առածք, *Aradzk;* mystical aphorisms, theoretical and practical; ancient translation. The author was a disciple of Basil the Great.

11. Դիոնեսիոս Արիսպագացի, *Tionesios Arisbakatsi* (*Dionysius the Areopagite*).

(*a*) Քահանայապետութիւն Հրեշտակաց, *Kahanaiabedûtiun Hüreshdagats*; the celestial hierarchy, i. e. orders of angels; ecclesiastical orders, or priesthood of the church in full.

(*b*) Աստուծոյ անունք, *Asdûdzo anûnk*; names and attributes of God.

(*c*) Խորհրդական աստուածաբանութիւն, *Khorhürtagan asdûadzapanûtiun*; mystic theology.

(*d*) Թուղթ զանազանք, *Tûght zanazank*; various letters.

These works ascribed to Dionysius, are supposed to have been written in the fourth or fifth century. They were translated into the Armenian, probably, in the seventh.

12. *Anonymous.*

(*a*) Ճառք տօնից, *Jark donits*; homilies on the principal festivals, as Christmas, Baptism of our Lord, Easter, New Sabbath, Pentecost, and the Cross.

(*b*) Ճառ 'ի վերայ Մակաբայեցւոց, *Jar 'i vera Magapaiyetsvots*; essay on the Maccabees; Ճառ 'ի վերայ Կիպրիանոսի, *Jar 'i vera Gibrianosi*; on Cyprian; 'ի վերայ կարկուտի, *'i vera gargûdi*; on hail; and 'ի վերայ աղքատասիրութեան, *'i vera aghkadasirûtyan*; on love to the poor.

(*c*) Մեկնութիւն Ժողովողի, *Megnûtiun joghovoghi*; exposition of Ecclesiastes.

These were all translated in the fifth century, by Mesrob and his companions.

FIFTH CENTURY.

1. Կիւրեղ Աղեքսանդրացի, *Giuregh Agheksantüratsi* (*Cyri of Alexandria*).

(*a*) Մարդկութիւն Փրկչին, *Martgûtiun Pürgchin*; humanity of our Saviour.

(*b*) Բացատրութիւն Հաւատամքի Նիկիոյ, *Patsadürûtiun Havadamki Nigio*; exposition of the Nicene Creed.

(*c*) Քարոզ 'ի վերայ Կուսին, *Karoz 'i vera Gûsin*; homily on the virgin Mary.

(*d*) Մեկնութիւն Հին կտակարանի մասին; *Megnûtiun Hin güdagarani masin;* commentary on a portion of the Old Testament; ancient translation.

(*e*) Մեկնութիւն Ղուկասու; *Megnûtiun Ghugasû;* commentary on the Gospel of Luke.

(*f*) Գիրք գանձից, *Kirk kantsits;* book of treasures; a powerful argument against Arians, Eunomians, and those who deny the Holy Spirit; an ancient translation. This work is said by the Romanists at Venice to be very incorrect, differing much from the Greek original; but Protestants might possibly find the evidence of this not so conclusive.

2. Նիղոն միայնակեաց, *Nighon miainagyats* (*Nilus the Monk*).

Խրատք, *Khüradk;* counsels and instructions; being proverbs, and principles of spiritual life; ancient translation.

3. Գեննադիոս Կոստանդնուպոլսեցի, *Kennadios Gosdannûbolsetsi* (*Gennadius* (Greek Patriarch) *of Constantinople*).
Essays on the Ninevites and others.

SIXTH CENTURY.

1. Յովհաննէս Կլիմաքոս, *Hovhannes Gülimakos* (*John Climacus* (of Sinai)).

Սանդուղք 'ի Դրախտ, *Santûghk 'i Türakhd;* ladder to Paradise; ancient translation.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Մեկնութիւն Յովբայ, *Megnûtiun Hovpa;* commentary on Job; translated from an old Greek work, author and translator unknown.

2. Վարք Գրիգորի աստուածաբանին և Ոսկեբերանի, *Vark Kürikori asdûadzapani yev Osgeperani;* complete history of Gregory the Theologian, and Chrysostom, from the Greek; author and translator unknown.

3. Խօսակցութիւն մեծն Գրիգորի, *Khosagtsûtiun medziin Kürikori;* conversation of Pope Gregory the Great, and the rules of St. Benedict; translated into the Armenian by Nerses Lampronatsi.

4. Վարք Հայրապետաց, *Vark Hairabedats*; lives of the Fathers, containing monuments, maxims, and stories of the holy anchorites; translated from the Greek, by the same. Printed in Constantinople, A. D. 1720.

5. Հարց և պատասխան Փիլոնի, *Harts yev badaskhan Piloni*; questions and answers on Genesis, Exodus, the Aaronic priesthood, and Levitical rites and sacrifices, etc. etc., by Philo, a Jew of the Apostolic age. This is an ancient version from the Greek, and has been printed in Venice with a Latin translation.

SECULAR LITERATURE.

1. Պղատոն 'ի վերայ օրինաց, *Büghadon 'i vera orinats*; Plato's laws, his twelve books, and his conversations with Socrates and Euthyphron, and answers as if from the mouth of Socrates; ancient translation.

2. Վարք Աղեքսանդրու, *Vark Agheksantürû*; history of Alexander the Great; anonymous; ancient translation.

3. Պորփիւր 'ի վերայ հինգ ձայնից, *Borpiur 'i vera hink tsainits*; Porphyry's εἰσαγωγή, or περὶ τῶν πέντε φωνῶν; translated by Tavit the Invincible, in the fifth century.

4. Արիստոտէլի ստորոգութիւնք, *Arisdodeli üsdorokûtiunk*; Aristotle's Categories, περὶ ἑρμηνείας, two letters to Alexander the Great, treatise on the world, and on virtues; translated by the same.

5. Յոյն քերականութիւն, *Hoin keraganûtiun*; Greek grammar by Dionysius of Thrace; translated by the same.

6. Բժշկականութիւն Գաղենոսի, *Püjüshgaganûtiun Kaghenosi*; a medical work of Galen, with annotations; translator unknown, but evidently ancient.

7. Երկրաչափութիւն Եւկղիդեայ, *Yergrachapûtiun Yevgüghitya*; elements of Geometry by Euclid, abridged; translator unknown.

* * *

Note.—This article has been printed under the care of Mr. Christopher D. Seropyan, a native Armenian, graduated at Yale College; and we are much indebted to him for many important corrections.—COMM. OF PUBL.

ARTICLE V.

ON

THE MAIN RESULTS

OF THE LATER

VEDIC RESEARCHES IN GERMANY.

BY

WILLIAM D. WHITNEY.

(Read October 13, 1852.)

ON

THE MAIN RESULTS

OF THE LATER

VEDIC RESEARCHES IN GERMANY.

IT is a truth now well established, that the Vedas furnish the only sure foundation on which a knowledge of ancient and modern India can be built up. They are therefore at present engrossing the larger share of the attention of those who pursue this branch of Oriental study. Only recently, however, has their paramount importance been fully recognized: it was by slow degrees that they made their way up to the consideration in which they are now held. Once it was questioned whether any such books as the Vedas really existed, or whether, if they did exist, the jealous care of the Brahmans would ever allow them to be laid open to European eyes. This doubt dispelled, they were first introduced to the near acquaintance of scholars in the West by Colebrooke. His famous Essay on the Vedas appeared in the Asiatic Researches for 1805 (vol. viii.), and, owing to his very extensive library of manuscripts, and that rare command of the language which he possessed, and which enabled him to make a more or less thorough examination of nearly all of them, it presented such a general view of the whole body of Vedic literature as has not even yet been superseded. His comprehension of the subject, however, was in some respects essentially defective. He was unable to classify properly the great mass of writings which he had before him; to hold distinctly apart, and view in their true mutual relation, the four original texts and the liturgical and other works which had grouped themselves about them; and having looked at the contents of the former through the distorting medium of the native interpretation, he had failed to perceive what striking results, for every department of Indian antiquity, they were in a condition to furnish. Accordingly, his paper, instead of winding up with an exhortation to pursue diligently the path he had pointed out, and a promise of the abundant fruit to be gained by the conquest of the many difficulties that lay in the way, closed with the rather discouraging remark that the Vedas contained much that was interesting, and were well worthy the occasional attention of the Oriental student, but that their mass and the obscure dialect in which they were composed would probably long prevent the mastery of their contents. This prophecy was doubtless in some measure the cause of its own fulfillment: at any rate, many years did elapse before the next step was taken; and this time it was a German, Friedrich Rosen, Professor in the London University, who laid his hand anew to the work: his access to the great collections of Sanskrit manuscripts deposited in London had given him opportunity to learn the true value of the Vedas, and to perceive the high necessity of laying them open to the examination of European science. His Rig-Vedæ Specimen saw the light in 1830, and was followed, eight years later, by the publication of the first Ashṭaka, or eighth, of the same Veda: the Sanskrit text, accompanied by a Latin translation and notes; the latter incomplete, for he who should have finished them was already in his grave; a fatal interruption to the progress of this study, which had been recommenced so promisingly. For there was no one to take up again the thread where he had dropped it; and so another intermission of some years followed, during which the material already made public was elaborated more by the linguists than by the students of Indian antiquity: for the latter, it was still too much a fragment to be able to afford any very satisfactory results. The next publication of importance was Prof. Roth's Contributions to the History and Literature of the Veda, and appeared in 1846. He had spent some time at the French and English libraries, in a thorough examination, particularly, of the principal Veda, the Ṛik; and this little work of his, with other similar essays which accompanied or followed it, gave perhaps the most powerful impulse to that movement which has since carried all Sanskritists irresistibly to the study of the Vedas. About this time, too, a valuable collection of manuscripts had been purchased for the Royal Library in Berlin, and with the material thus placed within the easier reach of German science and industry, the work went on more rapidly. Dr. Weber's Vâjasaneyi-Sanhitæ Specimen appeared in 1845, soon followed by the commencement of an edition of the text of that Veda (the White Yajus), which has just now reached its completion. In 1848, Benfey published the Sâma-Veda, entire, with translation and glossary. A new edition of the Ṛik, too, with accented text and the native commentary, is now in progress at London; but many years must elapse before the whole text of this most important of the Vedas can be laid before us. The Atharva-Veda, the most comprehensive and valuable of the four collections, next after the Ṛik, lies still buried in the manuscripts, nor is there any immediate prospect of its publication. The whole study, then, being still so new, its material in so small part, and that so recently, made public, it is only those who having long had access to libraries of manuscripts have devoted to the subject their special attention, who can speak with authority, and from the results of original investigations, upon matters connected with the Vedas. To this, of course, I can lay no claim; the secondary advantage, however, of being placed under the personal instruction of persons thus qualified, I have enjoyed, having been fortunate enough to hear, during the past year and a half, the lectures of Prof. Roth in Tübingen, and of Dr. Weber in Berlin; scholars who, each in his own department of Vedic research, are, to say the least, not surpassed in Europe. To them will be due whatever the following paper may contain of interest or value; and I desire to make, at the outset, this general expression of my indebtedness to them, in lieu of particular acknowledgments from time to time in the course of the essay; without, however, at the same time rendering them accountable for what errors and imperfections may be found in the latter: these will be due to, and I trust partially excused by, the impossibility of gaining, in so short a period, full command of so great a subject. Completeness, indeed, in any respect, is not pretended to here: it is sought only to give such a general statement of the main results of the later Vedic researches in Germany as shall serve to introduce the subject to those to whom it may be unknown, and awaken, if possible, in some measure, that interest for it to which it is so justly entitled.

It will be in order first to name and describe the writings which are to be understood by the appellation "Veda," in the course of this paper. The word is one of varied application. Its original signification is simply "knowledge, science." It is then made to denote the whole body of the Hindû sacred literature, as containing eminently *the* science: as teaching that knowledge which, of all others, is best worth acquiring. This is not the sense in which it will be now employed. A discussion of this immense body of literary records, which extends itself over the whole religious and philosophical history of the Hindû people, is not what is here called for. We shall concern ourselves with but a single department of it. It is, namely, by the Indians themselves, divided into two grand portions, *mantra* and *brâhmaṇa* (which words we may render, though not literally, by the terms "worship" and "theology"); and this division, as is not always the case with one of native origin, is in fact an essential one, separating two widely different classes of writings, which stand related to one another as canonized text on the one hand, and canonized explication, dogmatical, exegetical, historical, prescriptive, on the other; which, in the main, are widely removed in time, and represent two distinct periods of religious development; and of which the one is in verse, the other in prose. The second, *brâhmaṇa,* is made up of the various single works which also bear the name of *brâhmaṇa* (as the Aitareya and Kaushîtaki Brâhmaṇas, which attach themselves to the Ṛig-Veda; the Çatapatha Brâhmaṇa, belonging to the Yajus, etc.); and other kindred writings, such as the Âraṇyakas, works prepared for the edification of those who had withdrawn themselves into the forest for seclusion and meditation, and Upanishads, lesser theological treatises. The first portion, *mantra,* consists of the four works commonly known as Ṛig-Veda, Sâma-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Atharva-Veda, and to these alone, the Vedas, in contradistinction to the Veda, will our attention at present be directed. They form together a peculiar class of writings, standing at the head of the whole body of Indian literature, agreeing with one another in the grand external characteristics of form and language, and in the general nature of their contents, and even all of them composed, in part, of the same matter; in other respects, such as internal arrangement, date and object of collection, and use in the ceremonial of the Indian religion, of a widely different character. Those features which are common to them all will naturally be the first to be illustrated.

The general form of the Vedas is that of lyrical poetry: they contain the songs in which the first ancestors of the Hindû people, at the very dawn of their existence as a separate nation, while they were still only on the threshold of the great country which they were afterwards to fill with their civilization, praised the gods, extolled heroic deeds, and sang of other matters which kindled their poetical fervor. This of itself were enough to attach a high and universal interest to these books, that as, in point of time also, they are probably the most ancient existing literary records of our race, so, at any rate in the progression of literary development, they are beyond dispute the earliest we possess: the most complete representation which has been preserved to modern times of that primitive lyrical epoch which theory assumes as the earliest in the literary history of every people. The mass as it lies before us is almost exclusively of a religious character; this may have its ground partly in the end for which the collections were afterward made, but is probably in a far higher degree due to the character of the people itself, which thus shows itself to have been at the beginning what it continued to be throughout its whole history, an essentially religious one: for no great people, surely, ever presented the spectacle of a development more predominantly religious; none ever grounded its whole fabric of social and political life more absolutely on a religious basis; none ever meditated more deeply and exclusively on things supernatural; none ever rose, on the one hand, higher into the airy regions of a purely speculative creed, or sunk, on the other, deeper into degrading superstitions, the two extremes to which such a tendency naturally leads. Hymns of a very different character are not entirely wanting, and this might be taken as an indication that, had they been more numerous, more would have been preserved to us: such, however, form but rare exceptions in the great body of religious poetry. Even passages which afford historical or geographical data, are infrequent, and notwithstanding the great mass of the text, the harvest of such information to be gleaned from it is but a scanty one. The songs are for the most part simple invocations and extollings of the divinity to which each is addressed: the character of the Vedic religion is too little mythical to afford opportunity for extensive variations of the theme which each god suggests, and high flights of pure poetical fancy are of uncommon occurrence; the attributes of the divinity are recounted; honorific epithets in profusion are heaped upon him; the devotion and service of his worshipper are plead, and blessings of all kinds besought in return; former kindnesses bestowed on ancestors, or friends, or the heroes of the olden time, are mentioned, and confidence expressed that favors not inferior will still be granted to the righteous. Something of monotony, of course, cannot well be avoided, and proper poetical interest of the highest order is not to be sought here. The metrical form of these lyrics is of the simplest character. Nearly all the numerous metres are variations of but a single movement, the iambic, differing from one another either in respect to the number of feet which go to make up a hemistich, and the number of the latter which compose a verse, or in the presence or absence of an added syllable which gives each hemistich a trochaic close. But farther than this, the laws regulating the succession of long and short syllables within the limits of the hemistich, are in general any thing but strict: all that is aimed at seems to be to give the whole a kind of rythmical flow, or general metrical movement, on which the four last syllables shall stamp the peculiar character: their quantity is much more definitely established, yet even among them exceptional irregularities are by no means rare.

The language of the Vedas is an older dialect, varying very considerably, both in its grammatical and lexical character, from the classical Sanskrit. Its grammatical peculiarities run through all departments: euphonic rules, word-formation and composition, declension, conjugation, syntax. Without entering into any specification of them, which would extend this paper beyond its proper limits, it will be enough to say here that they are partly such as characterize an older language, consisting in a greater originality of forms and the like, and partly such as characterize a language which is still in the bloom and vigor of life, its freedom untrammelled by other rules than those of common usage, and which has not, like the Sanskrit, passed into oblivion as a native spoken dialect, become merely a conventional medium of communication among the learned, been forced, as it were, into a mould of regularity by long and exhausting grammatical treatment, and received a development which is in some respects foreign and unnatural. The dissimilarity existing between the two, in respect to the stock of words of which each is made up, is, to say the least, not less marked. Not single words alone, but whole classes of derivations, and roots, with the families that are formed from them, which the Veda exhibits in frequent and familiar use, are wholly wanting, or have left but faint traces, in the classical dialect; and this to such an extent as seems to demand, if the two be actually related to one another directly as mother and daughter, a longer interval between them than we should be inclined to assume, from the character and degree of the grammatical, and more especially the phonetic, differences. The history of the Hindû dialects and their mutual relations, however, is as yet far from being satisfactorily traced out, and it is not worth while to risk here any hasty conclusions: at any rate, the value of the Vedic dialect, for clearing up this history and establishing the true character of the Sanskrit and its successors, is not less decided than that of the Vedas themselves, for elucidating the later Indian antiquity. In many of the points in which Vedic and Sanskrit disagree, the former strikingly approaches its next neighbors to the westward, the language of the Avesta, commonly called the Zend, and that of the Persian inscriptions; and this circumstance lends it a high importance as an aid in the restoration, now so happily in process of accomplishment, of those lost treasures of antiquity. Its farther preëminent value in a general linguistic point of view, as sustaining in a less degree to the Sanskrit the same relation as the latter to the other Indo-European languages, has been long fully recognized.

Other particular characteristics of the four Vedas, and the relations in which they stand to one another, will be most clearly exhibited by giving some account of the contents and arrangement of each, separately.

First among them, in extent and importance, is the Rig-Veda. Its text, *Sanhitâ,* is composed of a little more than a thousand hymns, *sûktas;* these are of various length, from one to more than fifty verses, and comprise altogether about ten thousand five hundred such verses, or *ric* (*ric* comes from the root *ric* or *arc*, "to praise," and signifies originally "a praising," but is then, by an easy and frequent transition, applied to denote the medium of praise, the stanza). From the latter it derives its name: it is the Veda of *ric*. Why it, as distinguished from the others, has a peculiar title to this appellation, will be made to appear hereafter. It is divided into ten books, called *Mandalas*, "circles." Of these, the first seven are quite homogeneous in respect to their character and internal arrangement. The first book is considerably the longest, containing a hundred and ninety-one hymns, which are, with single scattered exceptions, ascribed to fifteen different authors or *rishis* (this is the technical name for the inspired author of any *ric;* the word means "sage, seer"), among them some of the best known names of the Vedic period, as Gotama, Kanva, Kutsa, Çunahçepa, Kakshîvan: the hymns of each *rishi* stand together in a body, and, with the exception of those of Agastya, the last in the book, are so arranged that those addressed to Agni come first, those to Indra succeed them, and then follow promiscuously those to other divinities. Of the next six books, each is ascribed entire to a single poet, or poetic family; the second, containing forty-three hymns, to Gritsamada; the third, sixty-two, to Viçvâmitra; the fourth, fifty-eight, to Vâmadeva; the fifth, eighty-seven, to Atri and rishis of his kindred; the sixth, seventy-five, to Bharadvâja; the seventh, one hundred and four, to Vasishtha. In all of them, the hymns are arranged in strict accordance with the method above stated as observed in the subdivisions of the first book. Thus far, then, we seem to have a single collection, made and ordered by the same hand. With the succeeding books the case is otherwise. The eighth contains ninety-two hymns, assigned to a great number of different authors, some of whom are among those whose productions we have already found in the earlier books; a majority of them are of the race of Kanva; hymns of the same rishi do not always stand in connection together, and of any internal arrangement according to divinities there is no trace. This book has a special name: it is entitled *Pragâthâs;* the word etymologically signifies a kind of song (from the root *gai*, "to sing," and prefix *pra*, "forth" or "before"); why the hymns of this book in particular should be thus styled, does not at present appear: *pragâtha* is also the name of a certain metre of not infrequent occurrence among them, as well as of a rishi to whom a few of them are ascribed; but neither of these circumstances gives any clue to the reason of the appellation. With the ninth book the case is clearer: its hymns, one hundred and fourteen in number, are, without exception, addressed to the Soma, and, being intended to be sung while that drink was expressed from the plant that afforded it, and was clarified, are called *pâvamânyas*, "purificational." And here, for the sake of clearness, it may be well to turn aside for a moment to consider the origin and significance of that peculiar feature of the ancient Indian religion presented in the Soma-ritual. The word *soma* means simply "extract" (from the root *su*, "to express, extract"), and is the name of a beverage prepared from a certain herb, the asclepias acida, which grows abundantly upon the mountains of India and Persia. This plant, which by its name should be akin to our common milkweed, furnishes like the latter an abundant milky juice, which, when fermented, possesses intoxicating qualities. In this circumstance, it is believed, lies the explanation of the whole matter. The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine: it was, to their apprehension, a god, endowing those into whom it entered, with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta; it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory, as the *pâvamânya* hymns of the Veda exhibit it in a truly remarkable state of development. Soma is there addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow. And not only do such hymns compose one whole book of the Rik, and occur scattered here and there through other portions of it, but the most numerous single passages, and references every where appearing, show how closely it had intertwined itself with the whole ritual of the Vedic religion. Soma is an acceptable offering to all the gods; it is, however, peculiarly the property of Indra: he sallies out to slay the demon, and free the imprisoned waters, when inspired by the draughts of this drink which are presented him by his worshippers. The transference of the name Soma to the moon, which appears in the later history of the Indian religion, is hitherto obscure: the Vedas do not know it, nor do they seem to prepare the way for it in any manner.

To return to the ninth book of the Rik: the names of its numerous authors are some of them those whose acquaintance we have already formed; a few of its hymns, as also of the pragâthas, are ascribed to mythical personages. Both the eighth and the ninth book, now, stand in a peculiar connection with the Sâma-Veda: nearly half the verses of the pâvamânyas occur again in that collection, and of the pragâthas, more than a fifth, or nearly two-thirds as many hymns as form all the other books of the Rik (excepting the ninth) taken together. This is a significant circumstance, from which may one day be drawn valuable results for the history of both collections: for the present we must be content with simply stating it. The tenth book, again, stands apart from the rest, wearing the appearance of being a later appendage to the collection. It is a very long one, comprising, like the first, a hundred and ninety-one hymns. Of these, the first half is arranged upon no apparent system; the second commences with the longer hymns, and diminishes their length regularly to the close. As to their authors, the tradition is in very many cases entirely at fault, and either assigns them to some god or mythical character, or awkwardly manufactures out of an expression occurring in one of the verses, a name to stand as that of rishi. Both these are distinctive circumstances; still more peculiar, however, is the character of a large portion of its contents. Many of its hymns, indeed, do not remarkably differ from the mass of those found in the earlier books; but as a whole they are evidently of a much later date, and conceived in another spirit. They do not restrict themselves to the devotional strain that prevails elsewhere; they embrace a far wider range of subjects; they are mythical, like the hymn of Purûravas and Urvaçî, the dialogue between Yama and Yamî, the discussion between

Agni and the other gods, when he desires to resign his office as mediator, and they dissuade him from it; speculative, as the hymn on the origin of creation, translated in Colebrooke's Essay; simply practical, as the addresses to night and to forest-solitude; superstitious, as charms and exorcisms; of an anomalous character, as the hymn in which a ruined gambler deplores his fatal passion for play, recounts the misfortunes which it has caused him, and forswears the dice. They wear, in short, the peculiar character of the fourth Veda, the Atharva, and do in fact sustain to that collection such a relation as the eighth and ninth books to the Sâma-Veda: most of them occurring again among its contents.

After this general view, it will not seem doubtful what opinion is to be held of the character of the Rig-Veda as a collection. Such a mass of hymns could not have been brought together, and into such a form, merely for a liturgical purpose, for use in the ceremonial of the Indian worship. In the later distribution of the Vedas, indeed, to the various classes of priests who officiate at a sacrifice, the Rik is assigned to the *Hotar*, or "Invoker"; but this does not suppose of necessity any thing farther than that this Veda, as the chief of the sacred books, might not be wholly left out at an act of solemn worship; or imply that any other use was made of it than is made of our own Bible, for instance, when at any religious exercise an appropriate chapter or passage from it is read. The Rig-Veda is doubtless a historical collection, prompted by a desire to treasure up complete, and preserve from farther corruption, those ancient and inspired songs which the Indian nation had brought with them, as their most precious possession, from the earlier seats of the race.

With the Sâma-Veda the case is otherwise: this is a purely liturgical collection. Its Sanhitâ, foundation-text, is divided into two portions. The first and smaller, the *Ârcika,* is composed of five hundred and eighty-five ric, whereof five hundred and thirty-nine are found likewise in the Rig-Veda; here, however, they are rent from the connection in which they stood in the hymns of which they originally formed a part (so that only in one or two instances do two follow one another in the same order as in the Rik), and are arranged anew into fifty-nine decades, and these again are combined into chapters and books. The first twelve decades are addressed solely to Agni; the thirty-six next following, for the most part, to Indra: single invocations of Agni and other divinities are scattered here and there among them, and a part of one of the last is addressed to Soma. Thus far the verses are taken indifferently from all the books of the Rik excepting the ninth (which, save in the decade last mentioned, is represented by only two verses): the extracts from the eighth, however, as already before remarked, greatly preponderating in number. The remaining eleven decades are, without exception, from the Soma-hymns of the ninth book. The second portion, called the *Staubhika* (from the root *stubh*, which likewise means "to praise"), contains twelve hundred and twenty-three ric, eleven hundred and ninety-four of them occurring also in the Rig-Veda; they are arranged primarily in divisions which, as a general rule (though with frequent exceptions), consist each of three verses, and are in nearly all cases connected extracts from the hymns of the Rik; sometimes, indeed, a whole hymn, of from four to twelve verses, forms a single division. In numerous instances, the first or one of the following verses of a division is one which has already appeared in the Ârcika, and is here repeated, accompanied by those others which properly stand in connection with it: the number of such repetitions is so great as to reduce the actual contents of this Veda from one thousand eight hundred and eight ric to one thousand five hundred and forty-nine (not one thousand four hundred and seventy-two, as Benfey has erroneously stated it). In the second portion, the extracts from the eighth and ninth books of the Rik bear the same relative proportion to the rest as in the first, but any such internal arrangement of its verses as the latter exhibits is not traceable: invocations of all the divinities occur promiscuously mingled together. The verses which are peculiar to the Sâma present no characteristics to distinguish them from the others: they would appear to belong to hymns which were passed over in making the other collection; a large proportion of them, it may be remarked, are ascribed to Vâmadeva, the author of the fourth book of the Rik. The Sâma is provided with a peculiar and very complicated system of accents, consisting of no less than ten different signs: all of them together, however, express nothing different from what is denoted by the two signs of the other Vedas. Farther than this, it presents very numerous readings, differing considerably from those of the Rik; and these are stated to be for the most part of a higher antiquity and originality. It thus becomes an important critical aid to the study of the Rik; and in this circumstance, and in the light which its relations to the other collections may be made to shed upon the history of them all, seems to consist for us its chief value. In itself, it is the least interesting of the four Vedas.

The text thus described, however, does not strictly constitute the Sâma-Veda: this, by its name, is a Veda of *sâman*, and as yet we have only *ric*. *Sâman* is a word of not infrequent occurrence in the Vedic texts; its etymology is obscure: that which the Indians themselves give is of no value; its meaning is not a matter of doubt: as distinguished from *ric*, it signifies a musically modulated verse, a chant. These ric, then, have to undergo a modification to convert them into sâman. And to this end it is not enough that they be simply accompanied with a musical utterance: they are also variously transformed by the protraction of their vowels, the resolution of semi-vowels into vowels, the insertion of sundry sounds, syllables and words, the repetition of portions of the verse, and the like. The ric thus changed into their Sâma-form, are to be found in the *Gânas*, works which form a part of the very extensive literature attached to this Veda. By varying the method of its treatment, each ric is of course transformable into an indefinite number of different sâman, and this circumstance seems to explain the notices in later Indian works, to the effect that the Sâma-Veda contains four thousand, or even eight thousand sâman.

The general object of this collection is understood to have been, that its chants should be sung during the Soma-ritual: nearer particulars respecting the nature of the connection, the reason of the selection of these verses, the ground of their present arrangement, the method of their application in the ceremonial, it is not at present possible to give: these are matters which it is reserved for future investigations to elucidate.

The Yajur-Veda, the third of the collections, is of a similar character to the last, being yet more clearly intended to subserve a purely liturgical purpose. It grew up at a period long posterior to that to which is to be assigned the composition of the Vedic hymns, in connection with, and in consequence of, the development which the cultus, the body of religious ceremonies, received. In the early Vedic times, the sacrifice was still in the main an unfettered act of devotion, not committed to the charge of a body of privileged priests, not regulated in its minor details, but left to the free impulses of him who offered it; accompanied with ric and sâman, hymns and chants, that the mouth of the offerer might not be silent while his hands were presenting to the divinity the gift which his heart prompted. Thus it is said in a verse of the Sâma (I. 4, 2, 3, 10), "ric and sâma we reverence, by whose aid the ceremonies are performed: they two bear rule at the altar; they carry the sacrifice to the gods:" no mention is here made of *yajus*, nor does it seem that the word occurs in the earlier portions of the Vedic writings. As in process of time, however, the ritual assumed a more and more formal character, becoming finally a strictly and minutely regulated succession of single actions, not only were the verses fixed which were to be quoted during the ceremony, but there established themselves likewise a body of utterances, formulas of words, intended to accompany each individual action of the whole work, to explain, excuse, bless, give it a symbolical significancy, or the like. To show the minuteness of detail to which this was often carried, it may be mentioned that the first sentences in the text of the White Yajur-Veda were to be uttered by the priest as he cut from a particular tree a switch with which to drive away the calves from the cows whose milk was to furnish the material of the offering. These sacrificial formulas received the name of *yajus* (from the root *yaj*, "to sacrifice, offer"). A book, then, which should contain the whole body of these expressions, or those of them which were attached to any specified number of ceremonies, would be a Yajur-Veda, Veda of *yajus*. It might contain also many ric, which, being connected with certain parts of the ritual as its necessary accompaniments, had themselves become yajus. Such is, in fact, the Yajur-Veda which we possess: its text is made up of these formulas, partly in prose and partly in verse, arranged in the order in which they were to be made use of at the sacrifice. Any internal connection, of course, it does not possess; it would be a complete enigma to us, if not explained by a specification of the several actions to which, one after another, the formulas are attached. This explanation is furnished partly by the commentaries on the text, and partly by the Brâhmaṇas and Sûtras belonging to it. It lies now in the nature of the case, that the ceremonial would by no means every where be the same in its details; and there might be as many distinct Yajur-Vedas collected as there were in different regions various ways of conducting the sacrifice: and it is in accordance with this, that we find not one, but two principal texts of the Yajur-Veda, called respectively the White and the Black, or the Vâjasaneya and Taittirîya Sanhitâs. The origin of these appellations is not clear: the two latter may be patronymics from the families in which the texts first established themselves. Dr. Weber, however, is inclined to refer both the names Black and Taittirîya (deriving the latter from *tittiri*, the name of the parti-colored, speckled partridge) to the peculiar condition of turbidity, disorder, intermixture, in which the text they are applied to is found: mantra and brâhmaṇa being in it indiscriminately confounded together. Besides the existence of these two independent Sanhitâs, the "schools," *çâkhâs*, of this Veda, whose texts and their mode of application differ in less important particulars, have been exceedingly numerous. The Black Yajur-Veda or Taittirîya Sanhitâ is as yet little known, manuscripts of it being very rare in Europe; the other, by the edition and other labors of Dr. Weber, promises to be sooner and more fully laid open to the knowledge of modern science than any of the other Vedas, not excepting the Sâma. It contains about two thousand yajus, divided into forty *Âdhyâyas*, "lectures:" nearly half of them are in verse, or ṛic, and of these, far the greater portion are to be found also in the Ṛig-Veda; they present some various readings, yet not nearly so numerous as those of the Sâma-Veda, nor do they possess the same high value. A list of the sacrifices to which they belong may be found in Colebrooke's Essay: it is unnecessary to repeat it here.

Respecting the fourth Veda, the Atharva, few particulars have as yet been made known to the European public. Manuscripts of its text exist but sparingly, either in England or on the continent, perhaps hardly enough in all to found a really satisfactory edition upon: one or two attempts to prepare it for publication have been made, and afterwards relinquished for lack of means. It seems, too, to have experienced in Europe, in some measure, the same neglectful treatment which it has suffered in India: there it had to wait long before its claim to be regarded as a Veda was generally allowed; and it is well known to all who are in any degree conversant with the Sanskrit literature, that Ṛik, Sâma and Yajus are often named as the three Vedas, to the entire exclusion of the Atharva: it never, indeed, attained to the high consideration enjoyed by the other collections, nor, so far as is known, found a native commentator. It would be highly unjust, however, that the Indian example should in this respect be followed by us: for to us the Atharva is, next after the Ṛik, the most valuable of the four Vedas, as being itself also a historical collection, and in much the greater part of independent contents. Having taken occasion during the past winter to make a transcript of this Veda from the manuscripts of the Berlin Library, I hope at a future opportunity to give the Society more particular information respecting it: such a general notice, however, as the scope and extent of this paper call for, can already here be offered. First, as to its name: any such characteristic appellation as has been found for each of the other Vedas it seems to lack: its various titles have the air of having been manufactured, and arbitrarily applied to it, in order to challenge for the collection an antiquity and a dignity which do not properly belong to it. Atharvan and Angiras are the names of two of the most ancient and venerated Indian families, which even in the earlier hymns of the Ṛik are invested with a kind of mythical character: it is sought, then, to exalt this collection by asserting its special connection with them: entitling it the Veda of the Atharvan and Angiras, or that of the Atharvan alone: the latter is the appellation by which it is now generally distinguished. Another name by which it is sometimes known, is Brahmâ-Veda. The word Brahmâ, as here used, denotes the chief priest at a sacrificial ceremony, the one charged with the general supervision of the whole; not that he has anything to do with this Veda, but as the other three had been assigned to three of the regularly officiating priests, the Ṛik to the *Hotar*, or "Invoker," the Sâma to the *Udgâtar*, or "Chanter," the Yajus to the *Adhvaryu*, or "Offerer," it was found convenient, in order to assume for the Atharva a place in the structure of the Indian cultus analogous to that occupied by the others, to give it a name implying its connection with the Brahmâ. In extent, it stands next to the Ṛik, comprising nearly six thousand verses, in about six hundred and seventy hymns: these are divided into twenty books, *Kâṇḍas,* precisely why is not known, as the Indian traditions respecting author and the like are still very imperfectly understood: it is at any rate a material, and not a mere formal, division; some of the books have a peculiar character of their own: so the sixth, of which the ṛic are arranged in tristichs, whereof two in most instances form a hymn; the seventh, of which the hymns are very short, a majority of them containing but a single verse; the fifteenth, which is in prose, and in language and contents nearly akin with the Brâhmaṇas;* the twentieth, which is by far the longest of them all, nearly one thousand ṛic, most of them addressed to Indra, and all extracted, without variation, from the hymns of the Ṛik. It has been estimated that about one-third of the whole number occur again in the other Veda: here, however, they almost uniformly (excepting in the twentieth book) present readings varying very greatly from those of the latter: they appear to be generally of a much later and less genuine character, and are sometimes, it may be, even conscious arbitrary transformations of the original text. As to the internal character of the Atharva hymns, it may be said of them, as of the tenth book of the Ṛik, that they are the productions of another and a later period, and the expressions of a different spirit, from that of the earlier hymns in the other Veda. In the latter, the gods are approached with reverential awe, indeed, but with love and confidence also: a worship is paid them that exalts the offerer of it; the demons, embraced under the general name *Rakshas,* are objects of horror, whom the gods ward off and destroy; the divinities of the Atharva are regarded rather with a kind of cringing fear, as powers whose wrath is to be deprecated, and whose favor curried for: it knows a whole host of imps and hobgoblins, in ranks and classes, and addresses itself to them directly, offering them homage to induce them to abstain from doing harm. The *mantra,* prayer, which in the older Veda is the instrument of devotion, is here rather the tool of superstition: it wrings from the unwilling hands of the gods the favors which of old their good will to men induced them to grant, or by simple magical power obtains the fulfillment of the utterer's wishes. The most prominent characteristic feature of the Atharva is the multitude of incantations which it contains; these are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefitted, or, more often, by the sorcerer for him, and are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends: most frequently, perhaps, long life, or recovery from grievous sickness, is the object sought: then a talisman, such as a necklace, is sometimes given, or in very numerous cases some plant endowed with marvellous virtues is to be the immediate external means of the cure; farther, the attainment of wealth or power is aimed at, the downfall of enemies, success in love or in play, the removal of petty pests, and so on, even down to the growth of hair on a bald pate. There are hymns, too, in which a single rite or ceremony is taken up and exalted, somewhat in the same strain as the Soma in the pâvamânya hymns of the Ṛik. Others of a speculative mystical character are not wanting; yet their number is not so great as might naturally be expected, considering the development which the Hindû religion received in the periods following after that of the primitive Veda. It seems in the main, that the Atharva is of popular rather than of priestly origin; that, in making the transition from the Vedic to modern times, it forms an intermediate step rather to the gross idolatries and superstitions of the ignorant mass, than to the sublimated pantheism of the Brahmans.

---

* This has been published, text and translation, by Dr. Aufrecht, in the first volume of Weber's *Indische Studien.*

After this summary view of the single Vedas, it would be quite in order here to consider the general questions of the period of their composition, and their history as collections. But these points are still for the most part too obscure to admit of even an approximate solution. That must depend on the one hand, on a thorough investigation of all the internal evidences to be derived from the texts themselves, which is not practicable until the latter shall have been placed within more general reach; and on the other hand, on a reduction to chronological order of the present chaos of Indian literature and Indian history, which is a task, the satisfactory accomplishment of which may be even yet far distant. It is, perhaps, not worth while to attempt fixing the Vedic period more nearly than by saying that general considerations seem to refer it, with much probability, to the earlier half of the second thousand years preceding the Christian era. The time which the hymns themselves cover will not be to be measured by tens of years alone; and how much later, where, and under whose direction, their collection may have taken place, it is not now possible to determine. It seems likely, from the nature, as stated above, of the readings presented by the Sâma-Veda, that its verses may have been first rescued from the careless custody of oral tradition, and committed to writing: the immediate wants of the ceremonial might easily make themselves first felt, and the desire to treasure up the whole body of these venerated relics of the past have arisen later. At whatever time the work of collection may have been performed, it constituted a decided era in the Indian literary history: from this time the texts became a chief object of the science and industry of the nation, as their contents had always been of its highest reverence and admiration; and so thorough and religious was the care bestowed upon their preservation that, notwithstanding their mass and the thousands of years which have elapsed since their collection, not a single various reading, so far as is yet known, has been suffered to make its way into them. The influence which they have exerted upon the whole literary development of after ages is not easily to be rated too high. Entire classes of writings, forming a very large portion of the Sanskrit literature now in our hands, concern themselves directly with, and were occasioned by them; and they may even be said, in a sense, to be the direct efficient causes of that whole literature, since it was in the endeavor to restore the knowledge of their antiquated and half-understood dialect that the Indian people came to a consciousness of their own language: upon the Vedic grammar was founded the Sanskrit grammar, which snatched the language from the influence of farther corruption, and fixed it for all future ages as the instrument of learned and elegant composition. Any thing like a full consideration here, however, of this highly interesting subject, the direct part which the Vedas have performed in shaping the later Indian history, would lead too far: farther discussion of it may be deferred to another opportunity.

It remains, then, to give a comprehensive statement of the main results which the Vedas have hitherto yielded to the history of Indian antiquity. And it may be worth while, here, to notice precisely in what way they render their assistance. It is, namely, by presenting, not a designed description, but an unconscious picture, of that primitive condition out of which the institutions of following times sprung. In such a picture, particularly as taken from a single point of view, the religious one, there are naturally some points left out which we miss with regret, and others thrown into shadow which we could have wished to see brought out into clear light; yet this is an evil which is lessened by the very considerable extent of the Vedic writings, and farther consolation may be found in the consideration that, owing to the lamentable lack of a historic sense, which has ever been one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Indian mind, rendering all direct native testimony to a fact next to utterly worthless, only such indirect and unconscious notices could be relied upon as evidence. We are sure that in these texts was deposited a faithful and undistorted, if an imperfect, representation of relations existing at the time of their composition. Nor, as was shown above, have they been falsified by succeeding generations: however far they may have become removed from the comprehension of the Hindû, beyond full recovery to such efforts as his philology was capable of, however far the development of his civilization may have led him from the condition which they picture, the texts themselves were sacred, not to be altered: it was only allowed to interpretation to distort their meaning into a conformity with the dogmas of later days. It is to be remarked also, that, as things are at present situated, the Vedic period itself is more clearly laid open to us than some of those which succeed it, and that many steps in the progress of transition to the condition of modern times still remain obscure. Such deficiencies we can only hope satisfactorily to make up when the whole Indian literature shall have been more thoroughly investigated: till then we must be content to theorize across the interval with a probably near approach to truth.

We commence with a view of the geographical and social relations exhibited by these books. It has long been looked upon as settled beyond dispute that the present possessors of India were not the earliest owners of the soil, but, at a time not far beyond the reach of history, had made their way into the peninsula from its north-western side, over the passes of the Hindu-Koh, through the valley of the Kabul, across the wastes of the Penjab. And the Vedas show them as still only upon the threshold of their promised land, on the Indus, namely, and the region on either side of it, covering the whole Penjab, extending across the little neck of territory which, watered by the holy Sarasvatî, connects the latter with the great basin of Central Hindostan, and touching the borders of this basin on the courses of the Upper Yamuna and Ganges. The Ganges, however, is mentioned but once in the whole Rik, and then in a hymn of the tenth book in which it is called upon to join with all other streams in the exaltation of the Indus, the king of rivers. The latter, *Sindhu,* "river," par excellence, and the rivers of the Penjab are most frequently mentioned; and the region which they embrace is the proper scene in which the action of the Vedas is laid. For this country in general, its inhabitants have no more definite name than *sapta sindhavas,* "the seven rivers;" it may not be necessary to seek here just so many distinct streams: seven, according to the use of it so common in early times, may represent an indefinite number; if we choose, however, the required seven may be readily found in the Indus, its main western tributary, the Kabul, and the five chief streams of the Penjab. This territory is broken up into many petty districts, each shut out from near connection with the adjoining by mountains or wastes. And the political state of the people is such as this natural conformation of country must condition; they are divided into clans or tribes, independent of one another, save as they are bound together by the consciousness of a common descent, language, and religion, and by their united hostility to the original possessors of the soil on which they now have foothold. As distinguished from these, they entitle themselves Arians, *Âryas,* "the honorable," and call the former *dasyus,* "enemies, disturbers": among themselves, their simple appellation is generally *Viç,* "the dwellers, peoples." The exact form of their state is not a point which by positive notices is brought clearly to light in the hymns: the position of member of a political body, subject of a government, is one in which the individual is very rarely conceived of: it is as head of a family, master of wealth, that he makes his appearance; this is the grand central relation, in its bearing upon which every thing else is viewed. Such negative evidence alone, however, might be deemed sufficient to show that the Vedic peoples, like other races whom we know at similar primitive epochs in their history, were communities of freemen, whose kings were no more than their chief men and leaders in war. They were not strictly agricultural, although not neglecting the cultivation of the earth, when tempting opportunity offered itself: for their chief possessions were their flocks and herds. Among these, the horned cattle, kine, occupy as prominent a place as throughout the whole after course of Indian history: they form the main source and sign of wealth: the word *gau*, "cow," exhibits in the Vedic language the same extensive ramifications of meaning and composition as in the later Sanskrit; sheep and goats are not infrequently mentioned, yet make comparatively a very small figure; the horse is common and highly valued: as the noblest animal which the Vedic people knew, he is made in the hymns a most frequent subject of comparison and eulogy; he seems to have been used chiefly as an ally in war, to draw the battle-chariots (riding on horseback is unknown), and not to have been reduced to the servitude of the plough: he occupies, then, much the same position as in later times the elephant. The latter animal the Indians had hitherto hardly been introduced to: the assertion sometimes met with, that he was already at this period a domesticated animal, is founded on a misunderstanding of passages in which his name has been supposed to occur; he is, in fact, mentioned but two or three times in the Ṛik, by the name *mṛigo hastî*, "the beast with a hand," and in such a way as to show that he was still an object of wonder and terror; in the Atharva he occurs also very rarely, under the names *hastin* (the *mṛigas* now left off), and *dvâpin*, "double-drinker," and is exalted as the mightiest and most magnificent of animals: nothing appears there, however, to show that he had been reduced to the service of man. The commonest enemy of the herds is the wolf; the lion is also frequently mentioned; and, in the Atharva, the tiger; the bear is of very rare occurrence. If not properly an agricultural, this was by no means a nomadic people: pasturage for their herds was too abundant to compel them often to change their location: they dwelt together in open villages, *grámas,* or in fortified strong-holds, *pur.* They are a warlike race, engaged in constant hostilities not only with their aboriginal foes, but with their Arian brethren likewise: the object is that for which alone such a people strive, booty. It is with no evil conscience that they wage this predatory warfare: they ask of their gods success in it with the utmost simplicity and good faith; their prayers are ever, not for the peaceable preservation and increase only of their present possessions, but that they may be enriched with the spoils of their enemies. Their names for the combat, the similes they derive from it, the whole strain in which it is mentioned in their hymns, witness to the thorough zest and spirit with which they fought. Their weapons are the usual ones: sword, bow, spear, mail, and the like. The peaceful arts are not so prominent among them, as indeed in this respect the Indians always remained far behind the Egyptians and Chinese: any thing like architecture is not alluded to; from the circumstance that the artful construction of a poetic verse is often compared to the fabrication of a chariot by a smith, it would seem that the latter was the most perfect work of handicraft which they knew. Poetry is, of course, in full bloom; the art of lyrical composition is highly prized, and its productions, as the poets themselves in their hymns not seldom boast, are dearly paid for by the rich and great.

In all this, as will have been already remarked, appears nothing of that system of castes which has come to form so essential a part of our conceptions of the Indian state. And it is evident that such a system would be highly incongruous with a condition of things like that here described: where the population generally is a grazing and agricultural one, there could be no separate caste of tillers of the earth; where all are warriors, no class of soldiers; where each individual has full access by offering to the gods, no privileged order of priests. In the early Vedic times, then, the castes had no existence; the process by which they afterwards developed themselves, if not yet clear in all its details, may nevertheless be traced out, in the main, with tolerable certainty. From the mass of the Arian population severed themselves in course of time two privileged classes, a priesthood and an aristocracy. The beginnings of the former appear very early, in the employment by the great of certain individuals or families distinguished for wisdom, sanctity, poetic gift, as their representatives in worship, under the title of *purohita,* "one set in front." The change of the free Vedic religion into a regulated ceremonial would be accompanied by the growth of such families into a class who should possess a monopoly of communication with the gods; the accumulative possession of hereditary learning, exemption from the struggles and commotions amid which the later order of things was founded, would rapidly increase their influence and power; and among a people of such religious tendencies as the Hindûs, they might readily attain to the highest rank and consideration in the state. The name which they received marks them as those who busied themselves with, had the charge of, worship. The neuter noun *bráhman,* which has become the parent of a whole family of derivatives, is of frequent occurrence in the Veda: it comes from the root *bṛih,* "to exert, strain, extend," and denotes simply "worship," as the offering which the elevated affections and strained desires of the devout bring to the gods. From it, by a customary formative process, the gender being changed, and the accent thrown forward, is derived the masculine *brahmán,* signifying any presenter of such an offering, "a worshipper." These are the only significations of these two terms in the earlier parts of the Veda: their application to denote the impersonal divine principle, and the impersonation of that principle as highest divinity, is much later, and the work not so much of the religion, as of the religious philosophy, of the Hindû. The latter of the two has also become one of the names of the caste, but this is more frequently distinguished by the title *Brâhmaṇa,* which is an adjective formation from the neuter *bráhman* in its signification as given above. The second class would seem to have been founded by the families of those petty princes who had borne rule in the olden time, but had most of them lost their regal authority in the convulsions which attended the transference of the race from the narrower limits of the Penjab to the great valley of Hindostan, and the consolidation of the separate clans into extensive monarchies. Their name, *Kshatriya,* is an adjective from the ancient noun *kshatra,* which, as meaning "rule, dominion," occurs in all the three languages of the Veda, the Avesta, and the Persian inscriptions: it denotes, originally, simply "possessed of authority," and is so sometimes applied in the Veda even to the gods. After the separation from it of these two classes, the great mass of the Arian population would remain to constitute the third caste, still retaining the appellation *Viç* (or its derivative *Vaiçya*), which had been once the name of the whole people. The fourth class was not of Arian extraction, but was composed of such of the ancient possessors of the soil as had preferred to submit to, rather than retire before, the superior power of the invader, and became incorporated into the state in the capacity of menial dependents upon their conquerors. Their name, *Çûdra,* is probably the native appellation of a people thus reduced: it is a word of very rare occurrence in the Vedas, as we have already seen that the Arians commonly styled their native foes *dasyus*; in a single hymn of the Atharva, however, Çûdra is directly contrasted with Arian, and protection besought from an enemy of the one as of the other race. Farther than this it occurs only as name of the caste; for it should be observed that the period of composition of some of the Vedic lyrics extends itself down to a time when the system had in its main features become distinctly established: hymns of the tenth book of the Rik and of the Atharva recognize the four principal classes, and one even presents the fable of their origin from different parts of the body of the Deity.

It lies in the nature of the case, that the Vedic writings present upon no other point in Indian antiquity so full and detailed information as upon the ancient Indian religion. Nor could we, though having regard to the elucidation of Indian history alone, well wish it otherwise. Considering how closely, as already remarked, the whole course of that history is intertwined with religion, considering too what vast influence the later religious institutions and creations of India have had upon so large a portion of the human race, and how difficult was the problem they offered to one who would understand them thoroughly in their origin and history, nothing was more to be desired than just that picture which the Vedas present of the original national creed out of which all the others, in obedience to the laws imposed by the intellectual and moral growth of the people, sprung.

After what has been already seen of the difference between ancient and modern periods in the Indian history, no one will be surprised to find the Vedic religion as much unlike the creeds which have been wont, until very recently, to go exclusively by the name of Indian as the free Vedic state is unlike the artificially regulated institutions of Brahmanism. So wide and fundamental a difference, however, as actually exists, one might not be prepared for: saving a few names, they seem at first sight to have nothing in common; the chief figures in each are either entirely wanting in the other, or occupy so changed a position as to be scarcely recognizable for the same. To characterize the Vedic religion in general terms is not difficult: it is not one which has originated in the minds of single individuals, inspired or uninspired, and by them been taught to others; it is not one which has been nursed into its present form by the fostering care of a caste or priesthood; it is one which has arisen in the whole body of the people, and is a true expression of the collective view which a simple-minded, but highly gifted nation, inclined to religious veneration, took of the wonders of creation and the powers to which it conceived them ascribable. It is, what every original religion must be that is not communicated to man by direct inspiration from above, a nature-religion, a worship of the powers supposed to lie back of and produce the phenomena of the visible world. And in its character as such a religion it is the purest of those of which record has come down to us from antiquity, the least mixed with elements of reflection, of abstraction, of systematizing. It bears to the early religions of the other members of the Indo-European family such a relation as the Vedic dialect to their languages: being the most original, the least distorted, and the purest of them all; the one in which may be traced out most of the features of that creed which we may suppose to have been common to the whole family at the time of their dispersion; the one, too, which for its transparency and simplicity is best calculated to illustrate the rise and growth of such a religion in general. These properties lend it a high value as a guide to the explanation of the obscure myths and observances of the other kindred nations; and its importance for the investigation of the general history of religions among mankind is not less decided. These are not matters, however, which properly come under our particular notice here: it will be enough to have thus briefly referred to them before passing on to a summary presentation of the main features of the religion itself, and some of its more important relations to its Indian successors.

It is a very ancient classification of the Vedic divinities, being known to the hymns themselves, that allots them severally to one of the three domains: of earth, atmosphere, and heaven. This division may be conveniently retained here, and we may commence our view with the gods of the lower region, the earth.

The earth herself makes no remarkable figure here: she is indeed deified, at least partially; is addressed as the mother and sustainer of all beings; is, generally in company with the sky, invoked to grant blessings; yet this never advanced farther than a lively personification might go. The same may be said of rivers, trees, and other objects upon the earth's surface: they are not of the class of appearances which the Indian seized upon as objects of his veneration; they do not offer points enough capable of being grasped by the fancy, were too little mysterious. Only one phenomenon, namely fire, was calculated to give rise to so distinct a conception of something divine as to appear as a fully developed divinity. Again, the god of fire (the name is identical with the Latin *ignis*), is one of the most prominent in the whole Pantheon: his hymns are more numerous than those to any other god. Astonishment and admiration at the properties of this element, as the most wonderful and mysterious of all with which man comes into daily and familiar contact, and exultation over its reduction to the service and partial control of mankind, are abundantly expressed in the manner in which he is addressed. He is praised as an immortal among mortals, a divinity upon earth: his nobleness and condescension, that he, a god, deigns to sit here in the very dwellings of men, are extolled. The other gods have established him here as high priest and mediator for the human race: he was the first who made sacrifice and taught men to have recourse above; he is messenger between heaven and earth; he on the one hand bears aloft the prayers and offerings, and secures their gaining in return the blessings demanded, and on the other brings the gods themselves to the altar of their worshipper, and puts them in possession there of the gifts presented to them. When the sun is down, and the daylight gone, Agni is the only divinity left on earth to protect mortals till the following dawn: his beams then shine abroad, and dispel the demons of darkness, the Rakshas, whose peculiar enemy and destroyer he is. These attributes and offices form the staple theme of his songs, amplified and varied without limit, and coupled with general ascriptions of praise, and prayers for blessings to be directly bestowed by him, or granted through his intercession. Among his frequent appellations are *vaiçvânara,* "the to all men belonging," *havyavâha,* "bearer of the offering," *jâtavedas* and *viçvavedas,* "all-possessing," *pâvaka,* "purifier," *rakshohan,* "dêmon-slayer." He is styled son of the lightning or of the sun, as sometimes kindled by them; but, as in all primitive nations, the ordinary mode of his production is by the friction of two dry billets of wood, and this birth of his, as a wonder and a mystery unparalleled, is painted in the hymns in dark and highly symbolical language: the ten fingers of the kindler are ten virgins who bring him to birth; the two bits of wood are his mothers; once born he grows up rapidly in their lap, as they lie there prostrate upon the earth; he turns upon them, but not for milk: he devours them; the arms of the kindler fear him, and lift themselves above him in wonder. Agni's proper offering is clarified butter, ghee, *ghrita;* when this is sprinkled into the flame, it mounts higher and glows more fiercely: he has devoured the gift, and thus testifies his satisfaction and pleasure.

To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vâyu (from the root *vâ,* "to blow"). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at day-break, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the Marut or Rudras: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They ride on spotted stags, wear shining armor, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them. They belong in Indra's train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of

Rudra, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father, he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes, he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few. He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the "slayer of men," *kshayadvîra;* his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the Rik, at least in the Atharva and Brâhmaṇas, he is styled "lord of the animals," as the unhoused beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time he is, to propitiate him, addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra's chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connection between the Vedic religion and the later Çiva-worship. Çiva is a god unknown to the Vedas: his name is a word of not infrequent occurrence in the hymns, indeed, but means simply "propitious;" not even in the Atharva is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Çiva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development: perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Çiva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way down into Hindostan proper; introduced among and readily accepted by a people which, as the Atharva shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion.

The chief god of this division, however, and indeed the most conspicuous in the whole list of Vedic divinities, is Indra. The etymology of his name is still disputed; his natural significance is not a matter of doubt: he is the god of the clear blue sky. That his worship under this name is earlier than the separation of the Arians into their two branches, is proved by his occurrence among the Devs mentioned in the Avesta; it is difficult, however, to believe that the great development and prominence of the myth of which he is the representative, and his consequent high rank, are not properly Indian. The kernel of the Indian myth, namely, is as follows. The clouds are conceived of as a covering in which a hostile demon, *Vritra,* "the enveloper," extends himself over the face of the sky, hiding the sun, threatening to blot out the light, and withholding from the earth the heavenly waters. Indra engages in fierce combat with him, and pierces him with his thunderbolt; the waters are released, and fall in abundant showers upon the earth, and the sun and the clear sky are again restored to view. Or again, the demons have stolen the reservoirs of water, represented under the figure of herds of kine, and hidden them away in the hollows of the mountains; Indra finds them, splits the caverns with his bolt, and they are set again at liberty. This is the centre about which the greatness of Indra has grown up. In it there may be something derived from the earliest antiquity of the Indo-European family, as the occurrence of strikingly similar traits in the earliest Greek and Roman myths gives reason to believe. But that it should ever have advanced to such a degree of importance, elevating the deity to whom it is attached to the very first rank, is hardly conceivable save in a dry and arid country like the Penjab, where the rains are the conditions of all prosperity, and their interruption brings with it immediate and general suffering. In the more northern land of the Zoroastric people, as appears particularly from the earliest books of the Vendidad, cold, and not drought, is the enemy most feared: the winter is there the work of the demons that comes in to blast Ahura Mazdâ's fair creation, and as a refuge against the evils of which Yima builds his abode of the blest. Had the original nature-religion there been left to follow its natural development, it could never have been an Indra that should lift himself to the first place in it. Be this as it may, Indra stands at the head of the Vedic divinities. By this is not meant, however, that he is king among them, endowed with any authority over the rest: no such reduction to system of this religion had taken place as should establish a relation of this kind among its gods: each is as independent in his own domain as the natural phenomena of which they are the personifications; nor again, that the nature of his attributes and of his concerns with the affairs of human life is such as to surround him with the highest interest, to invest him with the most commanding dignity of character: in this regard, as will be seen, Varuṇa stands decidedly above him; but only, that he is the most conspicuous of them all, the one who, as most nearly concerned in the procuring of the ordinary blessings of physical life, is the most frequent and favorite theme of praise and invocation. He drives a chariot drawn by two yellow horses; the thunderbolt is his weapon; the storm-winds, the Marut, are his usual companions. It is needless to attempt an enumeration of the endlessly varied features which the hymns to his praise present: a few among his most frequent epithets are *maghavan,* "possessor of might," *marutvat,* "leader of the Marut," *çakra,* "powerful," *çatakratu,* "of hundred-fold strength," *vṛitrahan,* "Vṛitra-slayer," *somapâ,* "soma-drinker." His own proper offering is the soma: he comes in his chariot to quaff the draughts of it presented to him by his worshippers, and then, in the fury it produces, drives off at once to transfix Vṛitra, and break open the fastnesses of the mountains.

The gods of the third domain, of heaven, are for the most part those who represent the various phenomena of light. The very prominent part which this element has played in giving form to the earliest religions of all nations is well known; that of the Indian forms no exception: he even manifests a peculiar sensitiveness to the blessings of the light, and a peculiar abhorrence of darkness. The former is to him life, motion, happiness, truth; the latter death, helplessness, evil, the time and abode of demons. Accordingly, the phenomena of the night, moon and stars, he almost ignores: the one makes no figure at all in his religion, the others are but rarely even alluded to. The worship of the Indian commenced at day-break: Ushas, the dawn, is the earliest subject of his morning songs. The promise of the day is hailed with overflowing and inspiring joy; the feeling of relief as the burden of darkness is lifted off the world, and the freedom and cheerfulness of the day commence again, prompts to truly poetic strains, and the songs to Ushas are among the finest in the Veda. She is addressed as a virgin in glittering robes, who chases away the darkness, or to whom her sister night willingly yields her domain; who prepares a path for the sun; is the signal of the sacrifice; rouses all beings from slumber; gives sight to the darkened, power of motion to the prostrate and helpless. In the midst of such gladsome greetings, however, the poet is reminded by the thought of the many dawns that have thus shone upon the earth, and the many that are to follow them, of those who having witnessed the former ones are now passed away, and of those again who shall welcome them when he is no more; and so he is led to mournful reflections on the wasting away of life as one day after another is subtracted from the time allotted to each mortal.

Here will be best noticed two enigmatical divinities, the Açvin, since they are brought into a special connection with the earliest morning, and if their explanation is to be found in natural phenomena it must be sought here. The oldest Indian theology is greatly at a loss how to explain their essence, nor have modern attempts met with much better success. They are never addressed separately, nor by distinct names: they are simply Açvinau, "the two horsemen." They are conspicuous figures in the Vedic Pantheon; their hymns are numerous and often very long. The later mythology makes them the physicians of the gods; here they are general benefactors of men, and helpers in circumstances of difficulty and distress. They are peculiarly rich in myths: some of their hymns are little more than recitals of the many particular favors they have shown to individuals named: they have given a husband or a wife; brought back a lost child; restored the blind to sight; relieved one of his worthless old body, furnishing him a new one instead of it; supplied another with a servicable metal leg, to replace one lost in battle; rescued one who was in danger of drowning; drawn another out of a deep pit; and the like. They ride together upon a golden chariot, all the parts of which are in threes. Their great antiquity is attested by the mention made of them in two passages of the Avesta; and it seems far from impossible that they may be originally identical with the Dioscuri of the Greeks.

To the other gods of this division belongs more or less distinctly the common name of Âditya. Of the Âdityas, as is well known, the later mythology counts twelve, all sun-gods, and representing that luminary in phases of the twelve months: they are sons of Aditi, and over against them are made to stand the Daityas, sons of Diti. All this the Vedas show to be a fabrication of the modern mythologizing. In the ancient religion exist no such beings as the Daityas, the number of the Âdityas is no where fixed, and so many as twelve it would be impossible to bring together; nor do they stand as a class in any connection with the sun: they are much rather founded upon conceptions of the beneficent influences of the element of light in general; yet ideas of a different origin and significancy are here grouped together, and the names of many of them, and their characteristics, lift them more from the domain of a pure nature-religion into that of one based upon moral relations. It seems as if here were an attempt on the part of the Indian religion to take a new development in a moral direction, which a change in the character and circumstances of the people had caused to fail in the midst, and fall back again into forgetfulness, while yet half finished and indistinct. Their name, *Âditya*, comes from the noun *aditi*, which signifies literally "unharmableness, indestructibility;" and it denotes them as "they of an eternal, unapproachable nature." The elevation of Aditi herself to the rank of a distinct personage may be a reflex from the derivative, which was capable of being interpreted as a patronymic, instead of as an appellative, and made to mean "sons of Aditi." Already in the early hymns, however, appears the germ of what she became in after times: she is not infrequently invoked in a general prayer to the gods, and is now and then addressed as a king's daughter, she of fair children, and the like; but this personification never went far enough to entitle her fairly to a place in the list of Vedic divinities. To the Âdityas is ascribed unapproachability by any thing that can harm or disturb; in them can be distinguished neither right hand nor left, form nor limit; they are elevated above all imperfections; do not sleep nor wink; their character is all truth; they hate and punish guilt; to preserve mortals from sin is their highest office; they have a peculiar title to the epithet *asura*, "immaterial, spiritual" (for this is the proper and original meaning of this term: it does not come from the root *svar*, "to shine," with *a* privitive, although on the strength of this etymology the later Indians have manufactured a word *sura* as correlative to it; it is a derivative adjective from the noun *asu*, "life, existence," which itself is from the root *as*: if it came to denote "demonic, demon" (and this, along with the other, is its frequent signification in the Veda also), it seems to be only such a transfer as *demon* itself exhibits, or as appears in our use of *spirits* chiefly to denote those of an evil and malign influence).

Three of the gods who may in the most liberal reckoning be counted among the Âdityas, namely, Savitar, Vishnu, Pûshan, cannot by virtue of their characters offer so clear a title to the rank. Though the name is often applied to them, it is more as a honorific epithet: in hymns addressed directly to the Âdityas, ascribing to them the attributes stated above, they do not occur. They stand in a nearer relation to the sun, as impersonations of that luminary in different characters. The sun himself, indeed, as should be remarked before proceeding farther, assumes not infrequently, under his ordinary name of Sûrya, the character of a divinity, and is addressed as such; is himself styled an Âditya, is said to drive a chariot drawn by seven golden steeds, to fright away the night, to make the constellations fly and hide themselves like thieves, and the like. This, however, is not carried so far as to give him any prominence or peculiar importance; as already remarked, it is not in the character of the Vedic religion to attach its highest veneration to phenomena so distinct and comprehensible as such: the sun is considered rather as a single manifestation of the element of light; is quite as often personified as the ornamented bird of heaven, or as a great steed, whom Mitra and Varuna made for the good of mortals; who causes all men to rejoice, as like a hero he mounts up on the firmament. Savitar, the first of the three above mentioned, is the sun or the light considered as a producing, enlivening power (the word means simply "generator"). He is not the sun itself: that is said to be his constant companion, in whose rays he takes delight. He both gladdens the earth with light and envelops it again in darkness; rouses and sends to rest all mortals; gives to men their life, to the gods their immortality; he stretches out his golden arms over all creation, as if to bless it; his almost constant epithet is *deva,* "shining, heavenly." Vishnu is the only one of the great gods of the Hindû triad who makes his appearance under the same name in the Veda. Here, however, there is absolutely nothing which points to any such development as he was afterwards to receive. The history of the religion of Vishnu is not clearer than of that of Çiva. It seems however to have been, like the latter, of a popular local origin, and perhaps to have fused together many local divinities into one person. Both Çiva and Vishnu were supreme and independent gods, each to his own followers: it was only the priest-caste, as they saw their position endangered by the powerful uprising of the new religions, and were compelled, in order to maintain themselves, to take a stand at the head of the movement, and give it a direction, who forced them into a theoretical connection with one another, adding to complete the system a god Brahmâ, who was the mere creature of learned reflection, and never had any hold at all on the popular mind. Vishnu in the Veda is the sun in his three stations of rise, zenith, and setting; this the Vedic poets conceive of as a striding through heaven at three steps: this is Vishnu's great deed which in all his hymns is sung to his praise; it constitutes the only peculiar trait belonging to him. Of these steps it is said that two of them are near to the habitations of men; the third none can attain, not even the bird in its flight: he made them for the benefit of mortals, that all might live safe and happy under them; the middle station, the zenith, is called Vishnu's place. The third of these divinities, Pûshan (the name means "nourisher, prosperer"), is especially distinguished by the myths and attributes with which he is richly furnished: he is protector of the flocks, and bears the shepherd's crook as his weapon; his chariot is drawn by goats, and a goat is sacrificed to him; another common offering to him is soup, whence, as a kind of joke upon him, he is said to have bad teeth, as if able to eat nothing but broth; he exercises a special care over roads, and is the best guide to be invoked on a journey.

The gods who are in the fullest sense Âdityas are Daksha, Ança, Bhaga, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa. The words, all save the last, have a moral meaning. Daksha is "insight, skill, cleverness;" Ança is "attainment, portion;" Bhaga has a very similar meaning, "share, fortune, enjoyment:" this is the word which in the language of the Persian inscriptions, and in that of the Slavic nations, has come to mean "god" in general; Aryaman is less clear: by the etymology it should mean something like "honorable;" it seems to be used for "patron, protector;" Mitra is "friend." These five make but a faint and subordinate figure in the Veda: Daksha and Ança are even very rarely mentioned; Bhaga appears more frequently, but only in general invocations of the Âdityas, or of all the gods, with no distinctive features; Aryaman's name stands very often connected with those of Mitra and Varuṇa, but he has no prominent independent subsistence, nor is he particularly characterized; and finally Mitra himself is, save in one single hymn, invoked only in the closest connection with Varuṇa. Varuṇa is the central figure in the group, the one in whom the attributes of the whole class are united and exalted into higher majesty, who stands forth the noblest figure in the Vedic religion. His name is identical with the Greek Οὐρανός; coming from the root *vṛi*, "to envelop," it signifies the all-embracing heaven, the outermost boundary of creation, which contains within itself the whole universe with its phenomena. Such a fundamental idea was peculiarly qualified to receive the development which has here been given to it. Varuṇa, namely, is the orderer and ruler of the universe; he established the eternal laws which govern the movements of the world, and which neither immortal nor mortal may break; he regulated the seasons; appointed sun, moon, and stars their courses; gave to each creature that which is its peculiar characteristic. In a no less degree is he a moral governor: to the Âdityas and to him in particular attach themselves very remarkable, almost Christian, ideas respecting moral right and wrong, transgression and its punishment; here the truly devout and pious spirit of the ancient Indian manifests itself most plainly. While in hymns to the other divinities long life, wealth, power, are the objects commonly prayed for, of the Âdityas is craved purity, forgiveness of sin, freedom from its farther commission; to them are offered humble confessions of guilt and repentance; it is a sore grief to the poets to know that man daily transgresses Varuṇa's commands; they acknowledge that without his aid they are not masters of a single moment; they fly to him for refuge from evil, expressing at the same time all confidence that their prayers will be heard and granted. From his station in the heaven Varuṇa sees and hears every thing: nothing can remain hidden from him; he is surrounded, too, by a train of ministers, "spies," *spaças*, who, restless, unerring, watch heaven and earth to note iniquity, or go about bearing in their hands Varuṇa's bonds, sickness and death, with which to bind the guilty. These spies are a very ancient feature in the Arian religion: they appear again in the Avesta, being there assigned to Mithra. The coincidences indeed throughout this whole domain between Indian and Persian religions are in the highest degree striking and interesting. Ahura Mazdâ, Ormuzd, himself is, as is hardly to be doubted, a development of Varuṇa; the Âdityas are correlatives of the Amshaspands; there even exists in the Persian the same close connection between Ahura Mazdâ and Mithra, as in the Indian between Mitra and Varuṇa: and this is so much the more striking as since the Zoroastric reformation of the Persian religion there was properly no longer a place there for Mithra, and he is not even numbered among the Amshaspands.

This most interesting side of the ancient Indian religion exhibits itself in the Vedic hymns as already fading into oblivion: the process of degradation of Varuṇa, its principal representation, which has later stripped him of all his majestic attributes, and converted him into a mere god of the ocean, is commenced; Indra, on the one hand, is rising to a position of greater prominence and honor above him, and on the other hand various single allusions show that a special connection between him and the waters was already establishing itself; on what principle the latter was founded does not admit at present of being satisfactorily shown.

Our view of the Vedic religion would be essentially defective, did we fail to take notice of what was the state of belief prevailing in it respecting that important point, immortality and a future life. That the later ideas of transmigration and the like had no existence in it, it is hardly necessary to say. In place of them appears a simple faith that the life in this world is not the last of man, that after death he goes to an abode of happiness above. Yama, here as later, is the chief personage with whom this abode stands connected. He is not the terrible being, however, into which a shuddering fear of death afterwards converted him: his character is a beneficent and attractive one; he is simply chief and ruler of the dead; he grants to departed souls a resting-place where they enjoy in his company happiness without alloy. His origin and primitive significance give him this position. For his name does not come, according to the usual interpretation, from the root *yam,* "to subdue, repress:" it is radically akin to the Latin *gem-ini,* etc., and means "twin." In him and his sister Yamî are conceived the first human pair, parents of the whole following race; he is therefore, as is expressly stated in the hymns, the first who made his way to the skies, pointing out the road thither to all succeeding generations, and preparing a place for their reception; by the most natural transition, then, he becomes their king. It is in entire consistency with this, that in the Persian story, where he appears as Yima (later Jem-shid), he is made ruler of the golden age, and founder of the Paradise.*

Such are the main features of the Vedic religion: the considerable number of less prominent and important deities, personifications, apotheoses perhaps even, which also figure in it, it will not be worth while here to catalogue. Their nature and value is not in all cases clear, and their absence will not affect the general correctness of this picture.

We will close, then, here our consideration of the Vedas, expressing once more the hope that this presentation of the subject, however imperfect, may suffice to show their high importance to all students of antiquity, of civilization, of religions; as well as their absolute indispensability to those who would understand that portion of the history of our race which has been transacted within the limits of India.

Tübingen, May 1, 1852.

---

*See Roth, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft,* vol. iv. for 1850: where this interpretation of the myths is first given, and they, in both their Indian and Persian form, are expressly handled.

ARTICLE VI.

ON THE

MORALITY OF THE VEDA.

BY

PROF. RUDOLPH ROTH,

OF TÜBINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE AUTHOR'S MANUSCRIPT

BY

WILLIAM D. WHITNEY.

(Read October 14, 1852.)

ON THE

MORALITY OF THE VEDA.

Rev. J. M. Mitchell, of Bombay, has made a work of mine (*Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda,* published at Stuttgart, in 1845), the subject of a special notice, wherein he commends the little volume to the attention of the Asiatic Society in Bombay. This notice is published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, No. xi. July, 1847, but has not until recently come to my knowledge.

The author is grateful to Mr. Mitchell for the favorable judgment pronounced upon his work, and feels himself peculiarly rewarded for his labors in this department by the circumstance that their results have met with attention and recognition in India itself. Investigations with respect to Indian antiquity, which reach back to the very limit of the history of the human race, possess nevertheless, even for the present, a direct value. For the development of the Indian people has gone on undisturbed from those early ages until now: it has never been forced from its natural course by foreign influences; the bands have never been wholly severed which connect the latest generations with their remote ancestors; even now, those literary monuments which, originating among this people, conduct us farther back into the past than any other existing works whatever (with the exception, perhaps, of a very small portion of the Hebrew Scriptures), are still regarded as the inspired foundation of the national belief, and are in the hands of those whose business it is to uphold and direct that belief, the priests. Whatever contributes to the understanding of these beginnings, must also aid the comprehension of the present. And when men who combine with the culture of the West an intimate acquaintance with the present condition of India, deem worthy of their particular attention results which we have won from those ancient documents through the means only of general historical and philological research, the practical value of these results is thereby acknowledged.

But the more highly I value the testimony to the inner truth of purely historical investigations, derived from the fact that they aid in the comprehension of now existing forms of spiritual life in India, so much the more unwillingly would I allow to attach itself to them the reproach of "one-sidedness" which Mr. Mitchell suffers to appear in his remarks.

It is this point which the following exposition is intended to illustrate.

The passages in Mr. Mitchell's notice which I particularly have in mind are the following:

"It will be seen that he [Dr. Roth] contemplates these ancient hymns in a purely literary point of view. It is however interesting and useful to examine them in another light; and when we do so, we are compelled to form a far less favourable estimate of their character. It is true, that the general absence of anthropomorphism from the Vedic notion of divine beings, necessarily excludes many of the worst outrages against morality that shock us in the Puránas, in which the worship of deified heroes and gods assimilated to men, plays so important a part. Still, even in this respect the Vedas are faulty; and in the character of the sacred Rishis—particularly as these are represented in the commentaries on the Vedas—there is much that is morally repulsive. A dialogue is given in which Yama endeavors to seduce his twin-sister Yamuná. The Rishi Vasishta is assailed by the house-dog when about to steal grain. See Colebrooke, As. Res., vol. viii. pp. 401, 402. The warlike and revengeful character of the Rishis will be afterwards noticed. Gross indelicacy (such as in Rosen's Rig-Veda, pp. 214, 215) is too common to attract much notice. More portentous is the passage from the Vrihad Aranyaka, quoted by Colebrooke ut supra, p. 440.

"Enthusiastic antiquarians like our author sometimes dislike such remarks as these. But, even were we permitted to waive the claims of religion and morality, a purely literary estimate of the Vedic hymns would be chargeable with that one-sidedness which the Germans generally pride themselves on shunning." p. 406.

In a similar strain is the conclusion of the notice:

"Along with thorough-going German research, our author seems to possess an almost *Jonesian* ardour and imaginativeness. He is thus able to impart no small degree of fascination to his views. In his hands the old Vedic hymns, which lie withered and sapless in our collections, like the constituents of a *hortus siccus,* seem to burst afresh into life, and resume whatever of grace or fragrance they originally possessed; so that, when we consider them in a merely literary point of view, we are free to confess that among these faded leaves there lie, potentially, charms we could little have suspected. Many, however, will, we trust, approach the Vedas with yet other feelings; and recognizing in them the most authentic and complete memorial of the human mind's early aberrations from primeval truth, will contemplate them in a far higher than merely esthetical point of view, and be enabled to deduce from those monuments, 'covered with the hoar of innumerable ages,' lessons which the human race in all succeeding times, and throughout all lands, will do well to ponder and lay seriously to heart." p. 410.

It is not difficult for me to transfer myself to the point of view from which Mr. Mitchell has been led to such considerations as these. They are suggested to him by my general estimate of the Indian antiquity, which shows itself plainly enough every where in the work in question, as of a period of freshness and vigor. The discovery of such a nobler period, whose existence not long since was not even suspected (in Colebrooke appears no hint of it), must be an occasion of rejoicing to every one who has recognized even in their errors the high spiritual endowments of the Indian people. The lively exhibition of such an estimate might readily strike disagreeably one who, living among the late posterity of such an ancestry, has to struggle against their weaknesses and vices. He is naturally and unavoidably led to connect the past with the present, to seek in the former the seeds of the errors which flourish luxuriantly in the latter, and to regard him as partial and prejudiced who makes no mention of those errors, or at any rate leaves them in the background. Meanwhile, the author of the notice will readily concede that, in accordance with the purpose had in view in my work, a complete representation of the life of that primitive time was not at all called for: that only brief traits could be given, and that in these it was the difference of that period from the middle and the modern ages that had claim to be made most prominent. If then the brighter side of the picture was exhibited, it lay in the nature of the undertaking that it should be so.

I will not, however, refuse to respond to the challenge which seems to lie in Mr. Mitchell's words. Not that I mean thereby to acknowledge that a purely historical consideration of antiquity is a partial one, and a waiving of the claims of religion and morality. History has rather under all circumstances an indestructible right of its own, which may be set aside in deference to none other whatever. Just as no astronomer thinks of questioning the mathematical laws which regulate the motions of the heavenly bodies, because to many a biblical commentator, and even to the Catholic Church itself, they may seem irreconcilable with the passage in the tenth chapter of Joshua; so will historically established facts maintain their truth and value, even though they seem to be at variance with a narrowed Christian apprehension of history. As in the former case the apparent contradiction is removed by a better comprehension of the words of Scripture, so here too a correctly understood Christianity will be abundantly strong enough to allow historical truth to maintain itself without and within its limits, and even to make it subservient to its own purposes.

But before I proceed to an exposition of my own view of the moral value of the Indian antiquity, I must briefly reduce to their proper value the instances of moral error which Mr. Mitchell adduces.

The authority upon which they rest is Colebrooke's Essay on the Vedas or Sacred Writings of the Hindûs. There we read: "A very singular passage occurs in another place [of the Rig-Veda] containing a dialogue between Yama and his twin-sister Yamuná, whom he endeavors to seduce; but his offers are rejected by her with virtuous expostulation." If it be considered that, according to the present conception of the Hindûs, Yama is ruler and judge of departed souls in the other world, from whose hands they receive the reward of their actions upon earth, it will be found highly offensive, that the tradition should make him guilty of an attempt at so gross a crime, and particularly one of so sensual a character. And when once this view is taken, it will seem doubly scandalous that the presentation of such an occurrence should have been allowed place in a collection of hymns regarded as sacred and inspired.

This judgment, however, will undergo very essential modification when the true state of the case is understood. Colebrooke has here (a thing of rare occurrence in his thorough and careful researches) committed a serious error, and misapprehended not only the text of the hymn itself, but also the commentary upon it. It is not Yama who makes the attempt at seduction, but Yamî (not Yamuná, as Colebrooke writes it); and her attempt is not to seduce him, but to persuade him to a marriage with her. And the offence which morality takes at the proceeding, assumes almost a comical appearance, when it becomes known who Yama and Yamî properly are. They are, as their names denote, twin brother and sister, and are the first human pair, the originators of the race! As the Hebrew conception closely connected the parents of mankind by making the woman formed from a portion of the body of the man, so by the Indian tradition they are placed in the relationship of twins: this thought is laid by the hymn in question in the mouth of Yamî herself, when she is made to say: "even in the womb the Creator made us for man and wife." A later time, to which these already fading myths were no longer objects of simple direct belief, took offence at the idea of such a union between brother and sister, even though it were only in the tradition of the origin of the human race. And from this moral scruple sprang this hymn, wherein the poet makes Yamî spend all her eloquence upon her brother to induce him to become her husband, but he firmly refuses to commit such a breach of propriety. She pleads with him that the Immortals themselves desire to see posterity from the solitary mortal whom they have created; that their union was ordained by the Creator; that it is not brotherly kindness in him to reject her. But he retorts that men call him guilty who approaches his sister; that the spies of the gods, never resting, go about to take note of all that is done upon earth; that a time may indeed come when brother and sister shall do what their relationship forbids, but that he will not fulfill her wish.

The poet himself, far from giving his sanction to an act of sensuality, has not suffered even the ancient tradition of the parents of our race to escape his criticising morality. To satisfy the latter he has even rendered himself guilty of tastelessness and absurdity, since he will not allow that union to take place from which the whole human family is to spring. He has not troubled himself as to how the propagation of mankind was to be brought about, so as only the established law of marriage be sacredly maintained.

If a parallel be sought for this case in the province to which Mr. Mitchell would refer the student of antiquity, it may readily be found in the Mosaic history. The account in Genesis passes over in silence the circumstance that the children of Adam and Eve must have lived together in connections which we should now term incestuous. It bestows not a thought thereupon, but simply holds fast to the fact that the race is descended from a single pair. The Indian poet, author of our hymn, scrupled and speculated over the difficulty, and found an awkward solution of it, or, rather, hacked through the knot. It were as little reasonable to reckon this to his credit as to find fault with the Genesis for disregarding the point entirely. From this example, however, may be seen whither we should be led, were we to take the substance of ancient traditions for moral doctrine, and judge of them accordingly.

The case is not far otherwise with the second example quoted, yet here Colebrooke's own words might furnish means for arriving at a better understanding of it. He says: "The legend belonging to the second of these hymns [of the seventh book] is singular: Vasisht'ha, coming at night to the house of Varun'a (with the intention of sleeping there, say some, but as others affirm, with the design of stealing grain to appease his hunger after a fast of three days), was assailed by the house-dog. He uttered this prayer, or incantation, to lay asleep the dog, who was barking at and attempting to bite him." Here then Vasishṭha, famed as a model of priestly wisdom and ability, is caught thieving; not indeed by the subject of the theft himself: his dog the saint knew how to bann; but at least by us of an after generation. And who was the sufferer? None other than Varuṇa himself, the highest divinity of the ancient Indian faith, who dwells in everlasting light, surrounded by exalted spirits and the hosts of the blest. What can have been the grain that was to be found in his house? The answer to that question we leave to the commentators who have invented the awkward story. It is a part of the business of the learned expositors of these ancient hymns, to specify for such of them as contain any thing beside the customary prayers and praises, some particular occasion to which each shall have owed its origin, to produce some story which shall serve as introduction to the hymn itself. Such stories have been manufactured in great numbers (as also the biblical literature of the Old and New Testaments has called out an abundance of such productions), and so many of them as bear relation to the Rig-Veda have been gathered into a separate book, the Brihaddevatâ. From this work is quoted the story of Vasishtha's irruption by night into Varuna's house, whether for the purpose of seeking a lodging, or of satisfying his hunger: after a fast, as the story adds by way of palliation. In the mass of hymns ascribed by tradition to Vasishtha, were found sundry verses for warding off the attack of a dog, and others (which, however, hardly had any original connection with the former), for calling down sleep upon all the members of a household. An attempt must be made to account for the occurrence of these verses in a collection of sacred hymns, and accordingly a story was trumped together, whose effect has been, it appears, to fasten a spot upon the reputation of a sage who lived more than three thousand years ago, among the streams of the Penjab.

After these instances, it will probably be deemed unnecessary that farther time be spent upon particulars.

If I exert myself to defend the productions of Indian antiquity against attacks of this character, which are manifestly unjust, I nevertheless shall not at all allow myself to be drawn into becoming their panegyrist. And least of all should I promote an insight into the condition of those early times, were I to assemble after the same fashion an array of instances which should show them to have been possessed of all manner of excellencies and virtues. Such single selected traits may here and there be of service, as striking illustrations of general observations, but can furnish no sure criterion of the moral value of a period or of a literature; even though, as in the cases cited, they relate to prominent individuals. For as a period of noble qualities and a literature of solid worth may exhibit many blemishes;

and yet maintain their fundamental character unobscured, so also the most unworthy age may be prolific of individual instances of moral excellence, which show off only the more brightly against the dark background.

If then we endeavor to gain, from the general impression made upon the reader by the productions of the earliest Indian period, a view of their moral and religious value, it will not indeed be without shadows, yet the light will prevail.

The shadows are the same as rest over all antiquity, and especially over periods so primitive as the one in question. Selfishness and, as its consequence, violence, are characteristics of the life both of individuals and of the community. Nations that are making the first advances in civilization win their position by struggles, by strife with their neighbors, by conflict with Nature. Whoever stands in their way is their enemy, their enemy for the simple reason that he is not of them, and lays claim to possessions, such as houses, cultivated land, pasturage, which it would be agreeable to them to call their own. The hymns of the Veda are full of prayers to the gods for the wealth of others, of imprecations of misfortune upon those of other race; and later we find them trying to rid themselves of their adversaries by incantations. They covet earthly riches, and for its sake they serve the gods, paying them homage and offerings, in order to obtain from them in return still richer gifts, whether in the way of the blessings of fertility, or of booty to be won in battle. "If I, O Indra," says one of the bards, "were master of such wealth as thou, I would be generous to him who praised me, but would bestow nothing upon the wicked: day by day would I give in abundance to him who paid me honor, be he who he might. We have no dearer relative than thou, were it a father even." (vii. 32, 18, 19.) But this selfish disregard of the rights of others, when the means of comfortable subsistence and animal enjoyments are in question, knows how to cover itself with a mantle of religion. For these strangers are despisers of the true faith; they on their part wish selfishly to keep all to themselves, and give the gods nothing; they are enemies of religion and of the gods; and ought to be as hateful to the latter as to their worshippers.

If the Greek styled all foreigners barbarians, and by this appellation expressed a certain degree of contempt for them, looking upon himself as alone in possession of true dignity and culture, it was his own manifold excellence, his own desert, upon which his pride was based. Not so with the Indian; although he too, as well as the Iranian, had from the earliest times made the same distinction between Arian and non-Arian as the Greek between Hellene and Barbarian. The Arian prided himself, not upon his superiority in respect to social culture, language, and the like—or this at least was not the main element in his self-complacency, for these were advantages which had by no means as yet arrived at full development and appreciation—but rather upon his religion: he boasted that he belonged to a nation who worshipped the true gods, and was by them guided and protected. The national pride of the Greeks was but distantly connected with their religion; with the Arian the two were inseparably united.

He, then, who undertakes to estimate comparatively the morality and religion of antiquity, will be compelled to concede, that the spirit of selfish aggrandizement common to all cultivated nations of the olden time, rests with the Arians at least upon a religious basis; and farther, that they present no other form of an appreciation, an over-appreciation, of themselves than is to be found also among the people of the Old Testament.

If we turn our attention to domestic life, the government of the household, and relations between the sexes, we find occasion neither for special praise nor for special blame. The house is held sacred. The paternal authority is regarded as absolute. Polygamy is not unknown, but evidently of rare occurrence. The wife accompanies her husband to the altar, and so joins him in representing the household there; a later period excludes woman from all participation in sacred things. In sexual matters the ancient Indians do not indeed deserve the praise of continency which the great Roman historian bestows with admiration upon the Germans, but neither do they exhibit that enervating sensuality to which later, in a more southern clime, the nation became enslaved, and which still rests as a curse upon India. The conceptions and the language of antiquity on subjects which later generations have learned to cover up, are blunt and unceremonious; but there is no lustfulness in them: what is natural is simply looked at in a natural way, and the domain of modesty is not so far extended as at present. One vice, however, which the Indians share with their brethren who emigrated westward, the Germans, calls here for special mention: the passion, namely, for play, for dicing. References to it are numerous, as well in the oldest hymns as in the later Epic poetry. Recognition of the viciousness of the practice is not however wanting, and the name of gamester is a term of reproach. And, as if by way of warning example, a hymn has been admitted into the most important of the collections, the Rig-Veda, containing the complaint of a gambler, who bewails his unhappy passion, depicts its consequences, and confesses that in spite of the best resolutions he has not been able to resist the fatal temptation.

But we shall be best enabled to assign to the ancient Indians that place in the scale of moral culture to which they are entitled, by considering what were their fundamental ideas touching the laws of moral obligation, and the relation of man to the gods. In matters of social life it is not easy to pass sentence upon so remote an antiquity, since we know not the precise rule by which they are to be judged. When, however, the recognition of eternal truths is in point, differences of time and place, of civilization and culture, disappear, and the same laws are in force for the past as for the present.

And here the diverse conceptions of individual divinities are a matter of only secondary importance: under what external forms they are imagined, and how the powers and domains of Nature are shared among them—all this does not affect the grand central point of the relations between the human and the divine. Accordingly, it is seen in all polytheistic religions, that, so soon as thought reaches these innermost provinces of belief, most of the gods, who have hitherto maintained a rank nearly equal, are shaken, and are supplanted, either by a single highest god whose subordinates they become, or by an imperfect conception of a unity of the divine principle. The ancient Indian religion exhibits here a remarkable simplicity and depth. The laws of the moral are as eternal and unchangeable as those of the natural world. The same divine power has established the one and the other. This power is represented by a circle of divinities who may be most pertinently entitled the Gods of Heavenly Light. Human imagination was able to find no visible thing with which they could be compared, saving the light. They are and are named the Spiritual. One of the old poets strives to give words to his conception of them by saying: "in them is to be discerned neither right nor left, neither before nor behind; they neither wink nor sleep; they penetrate all things: they see through both evil and good; every thing, even the most distant, is near to them; they abhor and punish guilt; sustain and support all that has life."

Of this circle of seven, the sacred number, one, Varuṇa, is highest in rank, representing them all, as it were, comprehending them all in his nature; and accordingly standing unquestionably at the head of all the gods: his name in Greek, in the form Οὐρανός, denotes the heaven itself. He therefore, in particular, is described as having fixed the laws by which the universe exists and moves, laws as immoveable as if founded on a rock. As he marked out the paths of the heavenly bodies, and gave to every creature its characteristic powers, so he bestowed upon man reason and will, and settled the bounds of the moral world, which may not be transgressed without detection and punishment.

In all religions it may be looked upon as a sign of a moral tendency, if stress be laid upon the omniscience of the divine power. If the will and intention of man are to be made account of, and actions estimated not merely according to their results, the divinity must necessarily possess the attribute of omniscience, in order that he may direct the moral world, and judge according to desert. And this attribute is given to Varuṇa in full measure, and in all distinctness. He is cognizant of all that takes place, between heaven and earth, and beyond their boundaries: the winks of men's eyes are all numbered by him; when two converse in secret together, he is the third who knows all they say (Atharva iv. 16); he marks the path of the wind, the flight of the bird; past and future are present to his knowledge. In order to picture this omniscience to the conception, the ancient poets surround him with a train of spirits, who at his command, never resting, never erring, watch the deeds of mortals.

A religion which thus makes its chief divinity look into the secret recesses of the human heart—how could it fail to recognize the nature and the guilt of sin? Sin is a consequence of human weakness as well as of human wickedness, yet, as sin, it is no less punishable in the one case than in the other; and forgiveness is likewise besought of Varuṇa for sins that have been committed in unconsciousness. And more than once we find in these ancient prayers repentant confessions of fault, combined with supplications for its pardon, expressed in the language of simple faith. The guilt of sin is felt as a galling chain, and release from its captivity besought; here as elsewhere, human power can accomplish nothing without divine aid: for of himself man is not master even of the opening and closing of his eyes.

The punishments which await the transgressor are—beside the loss of earthly fortune—sickness and death, and, finally, exclusion from eternal happiness: these are the fetters with which the wicked are bound; powers against which all struggles are vain, which they cannot escape, though they fly to the outermost limits of creation. It is indeed no clearly stated tenet of this religion, that death is the wages of sin in the sense that mortals die simply in consequence of their guilt, and, were it not for the latter, would live forever; yet the idea is often very nearly approached. Immortality is the free gift of divine grace to man.

And here, in order to complete our view of the ancient Indian ideas of a moral government, we must take into account their belief respecting a future state.

According to the most ancient custom, the lifeless body is either given to the fire to consume, or committed to the motherly keeping of Earth, who is invoked to receive him graciously, to wrap him up as a mother wraps her child in her garment, to lie lightly upon him. Her bosom, however, is not the last resting place of the departed: he is himself addressed: "Go forth, go forth, on the ancient paths which our fathers in old times have trod; the two rulers in blissful content, Yama, and god Varuṇa, shalt thou behold." The latter of these two heavenly ones whose sight is promised to the deceased, we already know; the other, Yama, is the proper chief of departed spirits. In him we find the fine combination of ideas, that the first man, the originator of the race here on earth, is also the beginner and head of humanity renewed in another world. He is therefore termed the Assembler of men. The first born of them that slept is become the prince of all the new awakened; as is expressly said in a certain hymn: "Yama hath first found us a place, a home which is not to be taken from us: whither our fathers of old departed, thither goeth also the way of their posterity."

The body which the deceased is to wear in his other existence, cannot be the same one which the flames have consumed, or the earth covered up: it may not even be one like it, for he is to dwell henceforth in the company of divine spirits, and must be clothed like these to be able to claim a right among them. And the ancient Indian religion, in entire harmony with its conception of the highest gods, and in the feeling of an affinity between the human and the divine spirit, here plainly declares that the deceased, laying off all imperfections, is endowed by the divine hand with a shining spiritual body. Its nature is denoted by the same word used to express the essence of the highest divinities above spoken of; a word that unites in itself the ideas of lifefull and spiritual.

The place where these glorified ones are to live, is heaven. In order to show that not merely an outer court of the divine dwellings is set apart for them, the highest heaven, the midst or innermost part of heaven, is expressly spoken of as their seat. This is their place of rest; and its divine splendor is not disfigured by any specification of particular beauties or enjoyments, such as those with which other religions have been wont to adorn the mansions of the blest. There they live immortal, with Yama their chief, and the Fathers who have preceded them thither. There they are happy: the language used to describe their condition is the same with which is denoted the most exalted felicity. A hymn paints this condition in the following words;

> Where glory never-fading is—where is the world of heavenly light,
> The world of immortality—the everlasting—set me there!
> Where Yama reigns, Vivasvat's son—where is the inmost sphere of heaven,
> Where those abounding waters flow—O make me but immortal there!
> Where there is freedom unrestrained—there in the triple vault of heaven,
> Where worlds of brightest glory are—O make me but immortal there!
> Where pleasures and enjoyments are—where raptures and abiding bliss,
> Where all desires are satisfied—O make me but immortal there!

To the question which the theologian, or rather the mystic, ever longs to solve, and longs in vain, since it lies beyond the reach of his conceptions; the question respecting which our own sacred writings maintain silence: what, namely, shall be the employment of the blest, in what sphere their activity shall expend itself—to this question ancient Hindû wisdom sought no answer. The certainty of happiness was enough for it.

An employment, indeed, it has found for them, but it is one which, so to speak, lies this side of their felicity. As the gods come to men's sacrifices to receive their prayers, praise, and offerings, so also come with them the departed—the Fathers, as they are customarily called—in the form of invisible spirits, who float about those who still remain behind on earth, and bless and protect them; for in their glorified condition they have received divine powers.

One important defect seems to exhibit itself here: that distinct conceptions are wanting as to the relation in which the morally depraved stand to this condition of happiness, and to the other world in general. Not that I regard it as a fault that no state of eternal misery is set off against this felicity, or deem a series of gradations of happiness a valuable addition to a system of doctrine: such attempts at individualization are rather, wherever they occur, pious fancies; still, it remains a defect, that no definite information is given as to what future awaits those who die in their iniquity, who have not believed in the gods, but rather arrayed themselves in hostility against them and their worshippers.

A doctrine which on other points is so clear, could not possibly make the despisers of the gods partakers of their happiness. They would either have to be, by some miraculous agency, changed from bad to good, or that happiness would cease to be such. And the heavenly world is constantly entitled the world of the well-doing, of the pious. The reprobate, then, are assumed to be excluded from it. But what future is assigned to them?

Two possibilities here present themselves: the one, that after the death of the body the evil still live on for an indefinite time their evil life, in contrast to that of the blest in heaven; the other, that their individuality is extinguished by death.

I did for a time regard the former of these two suppositions as the only admissible one, believing that the departed souls of the wicked were converted into spirits of darkness, after the same manner as in the conceptions of the

Shamans. This would assume that they joined the hosts of demons, who under the name of Rakshas and the like terrify men in the dark, and seek to disturb the service of the gods and the performance of good works, and against whose attacks the pious invoke the aid of the gods of light. Thus they would in another form still continue their former mode of action. I was led to regard this solution of the question as the only possible one, chiefly by the consideration that the supposition of a continued existence of the good, and total extinction of the evil, would imply a difference in the principle of life which animated each, while yet both possess the same human nature.

Yet, at present, this reason seems to me rather correct in point of philosophy than accordant with the spirit of remote antiquity. In ancient times, the identity of human nature in all individuals of the race was not thought of: so much as that appears even in the distinction already mentioned as drawn by every cultivated nation between itself and the barbarians. The recognition of this identity makes its earliest appearance in Hebrew prophecy, shows itself later in Buddhism, and becomes complete in Christianity. We ought not therefore to be surprised, if we do not find this exalted thought among the ancient Indians, twelve or fifteen centuries before Christ.

Passages in the sacred writings, moreover, speak in favor of the second supposition, of the annihilation of the wicked at death. We read there that Varuṇa, the supreme judge of the actions of men here and of their fate hereafter, thrusts those who displease him down into the depth. As their body into the grave, so they themselves sink into a dark abyss; and with that, doubtless, their being is at an end. Herewith accords, too, the already mentioned doctrine that immortality is a free gift from heaven. Whoever fails to receive it, ends his existence when his body dies. Of a hell this religion knows nothing, although the later Indians have imagined for themselves hell and its horrors, after the same manner as other nations.

These conceptions form the basis of the ancient Indian religion. The whole varied world of traditions and myths which has come down to us, is, in comparison with these, something merely superficial, an animation of Nature and her powers, images from the ceremonies of worship, and the like, the work of a lively fancy. It was not in this picture-world that the religious feeling found its full satisfaction. It is a serious error to believe that the mythology of a Nature-religion exhausts its whole religious contents. The images and traditions are indeed what strike the mind most strongly, form the theme of poets and historians, are pictured by art, and symbolized in the ceremonies of the altar and the temple; yet along with them, and behind them, still deeper thoughts stir the heart of the individual and of the nation. To discern and represent these is seldom attempted, and is no easy task. But it is one that repays the effort, for here, at all periods and among all nations, is brought to light what is purely human, and what we are better able to estimate than the pictorial language of myths, which is conditioned by such various circumstances of time and place.

Such a centre of general religious thought and feeling is presented in the ancient Indian doctrine of the relation of the pious to the gods, of which the chief features are above presented. The same conception forms also the ground-work of the Iranian religion, the record of which has come down to us in the Zendavesta, and may—in a less developed form, indeed—have been common to all the tribes of the great Indo-European family, until partially obliterated by distant emigration, intercourse with other nations, and changes in manners and habits of life.

No one will hesitate to allow to these conceptions a positive moral value, and to esteem a literature in which such ideas are expressed. But the Indian nation has not abode by them. It has, indeed, carefully treasured up, and at all times regarded as sacred, the productions of its earliest period; but it has attached the main importance to a worthless supplement, and lost from sight and from knowledge the truly valuable portion. Only once in the whole long course of its later history has it enjoyed a period worthy of being compared with that primitive one: during the first ages, namely, of Buddhism. Those, then, who are called to labor in the wide field of Indian missions may confidently hold up before the people its own antiquity as a model: not in order that it progress no farther than that; but that it may see how its ancestors, in their simplicity, were nearer the purity of truth than their descendants, in their self-satisfied arrogance; and how the former cherished none of those follies and errors in which they themselves are apparently hoping to find their salvation for now and hereafter.

The student of antiquity, farther, experiences a peculiar satisfaction in the investigation of this era, for the very reason that the moral value of the subject of his studies is not a matter of indifference to him. The charm of primitiveness which surrounds these ancient hymns in a yet higher degree than the immortal poems of Homer, is united with a nobility of diction, a pure and fresh earnestness of thought, which are no longer to be met with in the later literary productions of India. He finds the high spiritual endowments which belong of right to the Indo-European family of nations, and which have placed it foremost in the world's history, still fresh and vigorous in the most eastern branch of that family, and not yet disfigured by the manifold excrescences of peculiar views and customs, which have so deformed the later Indian people, that, were it not for their language, the European would scarcely recognize them for his own kindred.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTES

ON

RUINS IN THE BŬḲA'A

AND IN THE

BELÂD BA'ALBEK.

BY

REV. HENRY A. DEFOREST, M.D.

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN SYRIA.

(Read October 13, 1852.)

NOTES.

ABOUT nine hours from Beirût, and just below Khân el-Mureijât, on the Damascus road, we turned to the left, and in a few minutes were at Judeitheh, a small village inhabited by Moslems and various sects of nominal Christians, and situated in a narrow vale at the base of the eastern slope of Jebel Kuneiseh. Here we noticed the quadrangular foundation of an old temple where Juno was once worshipped, part of it *in situ*, though most of the stones were more or less displaced. Near this, by a *dibs*-press, we were shown a cuboidal limestone base of a statue, or vase, about four feet on a side, on two opposite sides of which, in pretty good preservation, is the following inscription (as restored by Pres. Woolsey):

IVNONI . REGINAE.
PRO . SALVTE . IMP . CAES . T.
AELI . HADRIANI . ANTONI
NI . AVG . PII . P . P . LIBERO
RVM . QVE . EIVS . BALBICA
NVS . ET . CEMFILVS . FRATRES.
EX . TESTAMENTO . PETILI
AE . LVCIAE . MATRIS . EOR.

A ruin of a similar character exists, as we were told, at a village in the next valley; but there is no inscription. From Judeitheh we passed along the base of the eastern slope of Lebanon, travelling North-East, and reached Fŭrzûl in four hours and twenty minutes. This too is a small village stowed in its little vale, and is inhabited by people of the Papal Greek sect, giving name to a diocese, although the bishop resides at the more important village of Zahleh. We found the people in a periodical quarrel with their spiritual lord, about the village-mill, and they offered to join any sect who would secure to them the victory over their adversary. A little way up the valley they showed us some caves, which they called Mughâret el-Ḥabîs, or Cave of the Recluse, and some fifteen minutes above the village is an old quarry, with some partially cut stones, which the ancient workmen had not time to finish and take away; one of them was twelve feet long, by six feet wide, and six feet thick. On the face of a rock has been cut, at no very distant date, the figure of a man with a glory about his head, and riding on a donkey, and a man standing before the donkey, with a bunch of dates, or grapes, in his hand; between them is a palm tree, and the whole is pretty well cut. Near this are other ancient quarries. Returning to Fŭrzûl, we rode over the low spur of mountain which separates it from Nîḥah, and in thirty minutes dismounted at the fountain which runs by the ruined temples, and waters the valley, of Nîḥah. The temple West of the fountain was a work of extraordinary solidity, one of its stones measuring in length 15⅝ feet, 6½ feet in width and 3¾ feet in height. This temple faced the fountain, and was 92½ feet long, outside the walls, with a porch 25 feet deep: in all 117½ feet long, by 56 feet wide. The thickness of the walls is 4½ feet. The grand door-way is 16 feet wide, and there is a small door-way on each side of it. The stones over the door-way had a rich tracery of vines and grapes, and two finely carved projecting scrolls. There are remains of half-columns along the interior of the walls, five on each side, before the altar, and three on each side, within the altar, all of limestone from the neighborhood, and plain, except those within the altar, which are fluted. Broken Corinthian capitals are scattered amongst the rubbish. Under the altar are two vaulted rooms, communicating with each other. Opposite this temple, on the other side of the streamlet which flows from the fountain, is a second ruin of a building, originally less massive than the first, and now entirely prostrate. Both temples had about the same dimensions. Sarcophagi are scattered about, but we found no inscriptions. Massive stones have been thrown over the little stream, bridging it. A little farther up the valley, on the same side with the first temple, is a sarcophagus with two turbanned heads, one male and the other female, cut on its exposed side. We continued a few minutes farther up the gentle valley, and then climbed a very steep and rocky path, crossed a little plain, and reached Ḳŭla'at Nîḥah in forty-five minutes from the ruins below. This is a temple situated on a craggy hill-side, overlooking the narrow plain at its feet, and commanding a fine view of the Bŭḳa'a, and of the mountains which enclose it. The length of the temple, from the door to the altar, is 40 feet, the altar measures 24 feet, and the wall 5 feet: making in all 69 feet. Add 23½ feet for the porch, and the total length is 92½ feet. The width is 46 feet. The grand door-way is 13½ feet wide. Most of the wall, unlike the ruin near the fountain below, was in double courses, the outer and inner courses being firmly bound together by metallic bars let into the edges of the stones. As was usual in erecting these old temples, the stones were laid rough, and smoothed afterwards; but this process, here, had not been carried beyond the first course above the foundation. There were six columns on each side, within the temple, those in the corners being double. None were fluted, and all had plain Corinthian capitals. The temple faces due East. Beneath the altar are arched vaults. Burckhardt is in error in several particulars in his description of this temple, and I think he did not notice those below. The walls have fallen about the altar more than at the front of the temple, where, above the three courses in the foundation, there are seven courses of about 35 to 40 feet in height. The height of the foundation is 12 feet. About the altar, there are but three courses above the foundation. The hill on which the ruin stands, is more than a thousand feet in elevation above the Bŭḳa'a. Before the ruin are the remains of small buildings, and a small round arch. East of it are ruins of various buildings, some of them of massive workmanship, and some sarcophagi. West of it some five minutes, and across a little valley, is a ruin about 30 feet square, divided by an East and West wall into two unequal apartments. It is built of heavy and roughly cut stone. The vale between this and the temple has sarcophagi and ruined houses in it—houses for the living and the dead, both empty now. A rough path along the mountain-side leads from Ḳŭla'at Nîḥah to Ḳŭsŭrnabeh, in thirty minutes. This is a small village at the top of another of those little vallies at the base of the eastern slope of Jebel Sŭnnîn. The Moslem inhabitants have erected their houses about and against the solid foundations of an ancient temple. A single course of massive stones remains above the foundation, and there are pedestals for columns in the porch. Other than these, we found no columns, nor capitals, nor indeed many loose stones of any sort. The ruin is about 90 feet long and 45 feet wide, and commands an extensive and beautiful prospect of level plain and lofty mountain. The very top of Jebel Sŭnnîn, near whose eastern base we were, has its ruin, and ambitious devotees had their high place nine thousand feet above the level of the Mediterranean. It is a small ruin, measuring 35 feet, for its entire length, including the porch, and 20 feet in width. I stood upon this foundation at sunrise, and gazed with great delight at the immense shadow of the tall cone, beneath my feet, which was thrown across the sea towards Cyprus, and at its gradual contraction as the sun rose higher.

In a half-hour from Kŭsŭrnabeh, we reached the road which skirts the edge of the plain, and in about three hours passed a hill jutting into the plain, on whose summit is the ruin noticed by Mr. Thomson in his tour from Aleppo to Beirût, under the name of Burj Esh-Sha'arah.* The temple stands in a court 217 feet long by 120 feet wide. It measures, itself, 50 feet by 25 feet, and some 25 feet of its wall is standing. A Christian church was built by the side of the temple, and a portion of it is yet entire. Turning to the left, beyond this hill, we came to the road from Ba'albek to Yemmôneh, and at the distance of one hour and three-quarters from the plain, there is a single hewn stone, in a field five minutes to the left of the road, with this inscription:

VTNIA
CORNELIA etc. (illegible.)

And five minutes farther on is a similar stone, on the right side of the road, with the edge a little sunk in the earth, on the face of which is this inscription:

II—RI
AE LIO
AIN O
TRAOG
PARTF

and below it a palm-leaf cut in the stone. The road to this point is of gentle descent, but here it enters a narrow, low valley, near the mouth of which is a broken column which once told the distances of places in this vicinity; but its inscription is now much defaced, and I could read but little of it. An hour and forty minutes more brought us to a ruin on the right of the road, overlooking the narrow valley and sweet lake of Yemmôneh. This ruin is entirely fallen; the building was, originally, some 25 feet by 20 feet, with a plain cornice, and without columns. A stone now inverted has this very much defaced inscription:*

---

* See *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. v. pp. 22, 244, where, however, this exact name does not occur.—Comm. of Publ.

Twenty-three minutes more brought us to the village of Yemmôneh, inhabited by Moslems and Maronites, and stowed snugly at the foot of some of the loftiest heights of Lebanon. The beautiful lake Leman, or Birket Yemmôneh, we found a mile long, early in June, and it had been twice as long in the spring; but it dries in the autumn, from the failure of the principal fountain which supplies it. Facing the fountain, the waters of which, supplied by the snows in the deep gorges above, fall in a pretty little cascade, is the ruin of a temple 56 feet long by 36 feet wide, on an elevated platform 265 feet by 205 feet. The columns of the temple were 3⅓ feet in diameter, and their capitals plain. In the Maronite church I found a stone with three or four Roman letters on it, and a small fragment was brought to me with MONTES on its face. Just there, at the base of Lebanon's loftiest ridges, it was not difficult to complete the first letter. The Maronite priests conducted me for an hour up the steep acclivities back of the lake, and on the elevated level at the top, to show me some of the inscriptions which are said to be numerous there. The four which I saw were merely the initials of the emperor Hadrian's name cut roughly and deeply on the face of naturally smooth rocks, coupled with some epithet, as:

IMP. ARB. (?)
HAD. AVG., DFS. (?)
and IMP. HAD. AVG. VIC.

The priest assured me that he knew forty of these inscriptions, and others on the other sides of the elevated plain have assured me of the same thing.

From Yemmôneh to 'Ainaiteh is a distance of one hour and a half; and here our road crossed that from Ba'albek to the Cedars. The lofty summit above the Cedars, called by travellers Mekmel, and by the natives, Fum el-Mîzâb, or Water-spout, is better worth visiting than the Cedars themselves. It is about ten thousand feet above the sea, and about five thousand feet above 'Ainaiteh, at the base of the eastern slope. A very laborious ascent takes the traveller to the top of the ridge, where the road to the Cedars begins to descend towards the sea. Just before reaching the summit, a path leads to the right, following which an easy ride will take one quite to the top of Fum el-Mîzâb. I found a sort of lupine thriving within two hundred feet of the top, and some varieties of thorny plants. Snow lies, the entire year, in deep cavities which are favorably situated for its accumulation. Descending towards a large bank of it, I started up a bear from a nook beneath me. He roused himself after a sluggish sort, and crawled slowly down the mountain. While looking at him, I heard the fall of a heavy body from beneath the crag on which I stood, among the loose stones below, and presently I saw a second bear limping sorely after his mate. I was well pleased to report to my companions the direction these ugly fellows were taking; for, if they had come up the mountain, the only choice of weapons we had was between loose stones and the speed of our horses. These two bears are, probably, lineal descendants of those whose likenesses are cut so finely on the great hunting-monument at Hermel, which is described in Mr. Thomson's journal,* and was erected, as I surmise, by that Antiochus who won his names Sidetes by his devotion to the sports of the chase. The thermometer at 2 P. M. showed 46°, while at Beirût, at the same hour, it stood at 82°; and the barometer of one of our company stood at $19\frac{27}{100}$ inches. While inspecting the column of mercury, we wondered that the air, with all the velocity of a fresh south-wester, could have so great momentum. The prospect towards the East was fine, and the atmosphere remarkably pure, while on the side of the sea the mountain was almost buried in clouds. The wind which rushed with such violence up the hot plains, between the two mountain-ranges, was warmer than the sea-breeze when it had climbed the hills, and so dry as to parch our lips and nostrils, when riding in it, while the moist breath of the sea-breeze was condensed on the heights, as it rolled up from hill to hill. The large basin in which the Cedars stand, was filled with clouds as white as snow, and the reflection of the sun's rays which fell on their upper surface, from a cloudless sky, quite dazzled us. As the mass of vapor increased, immense columns of brilliant whiteness occasionally shot up many hundreds of feet, outtopping but not touching the highest mountain-summits; but a sudden puff of the warm, dry wind from the other side, bent and broke them, and almost instantly dissolved them. Small thin clouds seemed to stand motionless for hours, near some lofty peak, or before some gap in the ridge, unchanged in form, or size, but really continually dissolved and as continually renewed. On either side of us, the view was magnificent; on the East, nothing was dim, except from distance, while on the West the sea was shrouded, and the whole mountain-side veiled with clouds of a brilliant, dazzling whiteness. After descending gently for an hour and ten minutes, we turned to the left, and in another hour, on a far steeper pathway, found ourselves five thousand feet below the summit which we had left, and paused to rest by the cool waters, and the grateful shade, at the deserted site of 'Ainaiteh. The fountain had a temperature of 44°, while that of the air was 60°.

---

* Mislaid.—COMM. OF PUBL.

---

* *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. vi. p. 695.—COMM. OF PUBL.

Leaving 'Ainaiteh, we ascended the low ridge which bounds its plain eastwardly, and then descended a gentle slope, winding along a valley-side, among low trees. We reached the Maronite village of Deir el-Ahmar in two hours and twenty minutes. The small ruin called a Deir, or Convent, has Corinthian capitals surmounting pilasters, and some large stones in its foundation. About an hour North of this village, the waters begin to flow North, and there are many and interesting ruins along their course, from Lebweh and Mughâret er-Râhib, the fountains of the Orontes, to the site of old Seleucia, where that river empties into the Mediterranean. Let us cross the plain to Nakleh, a small Moslem village a little above the plain, on the western slope of Anti-Lebanon. It is situated on the brink of the ravine, in which a small stream flows to the plain below, and is one hour and a quarter North-East from Ba'albek. In the middle of the village is a ruin much like that of Ḳŭsŭrnabeh, with heavy foundations, about 12 feet high, and above them some 10 feet of solid wall still standing. A few large old stones appear in the houses, and there are many more in the valley. Leaving this solid relic of a religion which has perished, we rode for one hour and a quarter along the western slope of the eastern mountain, near its base, and then stopped to see again the wonders of Ba'albek. The Kufic inscription which Burkhardt describes as being on a stair-way under the lesser temple, we found on three stones in a stair-way in the North-West corner of the foundation of the greater temple. From Ba'albek we continued down on the eastern mountain, just where it rises from the plain. The view to our right was beautiful, forwards down the rich plain of Bŭḳa'a, and backwards over the fine fields of the City of the Sun. In an hour we reached old wells and tombs and broken columns, near the village of Ṭaiyibeh, and crossing a narrow gorge we passed Ṭaiyibeh in one hour and a quarter from Ba'albek. Thirty-five minutes more brought us to Bureitân. A number of tombs were seen in the rocks just North of this village, and an old minaret stands in the middle of it. Near this minaret, and over a tomb cut in the rock, I found an inscription in small letters, much filled with moss, and worn by time. What I decyphered is as follows:* Four or five lines more were so obliterated that I could make nothing of them. Leaving Bureitân, we crossed a shallow valley in twenty-five minutes, with the ruins of many buildings, now all fallen, and old oil-presses, and empty tombs on its South-West side. In thirty minutes more, we passed 'Ain El-Kuneiseh, to the right of our path, a new settlement of half a dozen houses on a low hill at the base of which is a well. Ten minutes more brought us to Tŭbshâr, a modern ruin on the site of an old one; and in thirteen minutes more, we passed under Er-Rumâdy, which lay five minutes to our left, among rocks much quarried by men of older times. Twenty minutes more brought us to Sĭr'în, or Sirr el-'Ain, a small Moslem village on a rough ledge of rock, around and in which are a great many old sites of houses, with many tombs, and oil-presses which have been dry for many years, the Emîrs of Ba'albek, in a past generation, having cut off entirely the large olive-groves which once covered these low hills and the fine plain before them. We were fifteen minutes in crossing the valley beyond Sĭr'în, both sides of which are cut by extensive quarries, and yet we found but few old stones in the neighborhood. Numerous tombs are scattered among these quarries, over one of which by the road-side South of the valley, I found the following inscription:*

---

* Nothing can be made of this.—Note by Pres. Woolsey.

TH . . AC
ΕΤΟΥϹΘЄΥΑΜΓ
Є

Over a second, EH, and over a third, the following

MAXIM. C.
etc. (illegible:)

with a palm-branch alongside of it. A friend found over several others IMPER., the same letters being on all, and five or ten minutes farther on he noticed a large tablet, with a long but much defaced inscription, which he made no attempt to copy. Beyond these tombs, our road lay a little more in the mountain, in a shallow vale at the base of Anti-Lebanon, separated from the plain by low hills. In forty minutes, we again saw tombs by our road-side, and the village of Kuneh was ten minutes to our left. We descended a steep hill five minutes to a small brisk stream which turns a native flour-mill, and then joins the Lîtâny in the plain below. Crossing this rivulet, we reached the village of Maiseh in ten minutes from it. Opposite this village, on the right side of the road, is a ruined mosk, said to be on the site of a church of St. John, and at the North-West angle of it is a large stone with this inscription:

First line undecypherable. Then follows:

M. LONGINVS.
FALCIDIANVS.
ATVRNO (?) ARDIS (?) F (ilio).

At a little distance from the mosk, I saw a large stone finely cut, which once adorned the cornice, or door-way, of a noble building, and large old stones were strewed about. Near this village was found the stone with the Greek inscription, which I sent to the American Oriental Society. A half hour beyond Maiseh, and in the same valley which ascends gently from the stream which we had crossed, is the village of Ra'îth, in which I found small Corinthian capitals and fragments of columns, while its mound has many old stones and other evidences of ancient occupancy. Deir el-Ghŭzâl is ten minutes from Ra'îth, and is near the top of the ridge which separates its valley from the Bŭḳa'a. Just back of this village, are the solid foundations of an ancient building, called by the people a Deir; and the back of a slab was was shown to me, built into a house, on the reverse of which, as the owner testified, is carved the figure of a monk riding on a gazelle. The good-natured peasant apologized for not showing me the sculpture, saying that, were he to pull out the stone, the house would fall; but he promised to send it to me, entire, whenever he should rebuild his habitation. The village was named from the supposed convent, and the convent distinguished by the supposed gazelle. In the steep valley which descends from the ruin to the Bŭḳa'a, there are many old stones, on one of which I found the unsatisfactory inscription:* In the village, a stone has ——— on it, and in a house I was shown ———.

---

* In this fragment, ἔτους, "in the year," is legible.—Note by Pres. Woolsey.

From Deir el-Ghŭzâl we began to descend a gentle slope towards the South, shut out from the Bŭḳa'a by the same low hills, through occasional openings in which we could see the plain and the lofty heights beyond. Seven minutes brought us to one of these gaps, at the bottom of which, on the verge of the plain, is Hashmûsh, with the ruins of an ancient edifice near it. A quarter of an hour more brought us to Kûsâya, and eight minutes beyond we passed the head of another short, steep and narrow valley, leading to the Bŭḳa'a. Twenty minutes beyond, is 'Ain, where we saw a small Corinthian capital, and other stones hewn in ancient times. Fifteen minutes more brought us to Kefr Zebad, North of which is a conical summit called Jebel esh-Sha'îr, on which, as we were told, are the foundations of a once considerable building, with large stones, but no columns. Kefr Zebad is at the base of the southern slope of this high place, and is itself an old site. In one hour we rode to Neba'a Shemsîn, near which are ruins called Salhîyeh. They are a little West of the road, and show merely the foundation

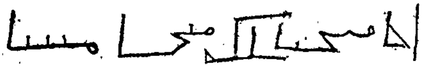
---

[*] Nothing can be made of this, or of the two following.—Note by Pres. Woolsey.

of a large quadrangle, with not very large loose stones scattered about it. In ten minutes more, we were at the large fountain of 'Anjer, or 'Ain Jŭrr, one of the principal sources of the Lîtâny. It is an intermitting, or a remitting, fountain, the waters of which we saw rise in the basin and fall again from one to two feet every half hour. At some other seasons, its rise and subsidence are much more marked, but the intervals are longer. There are many evidences of ancient building about this fountain; and West of it, on a hill called Tell 'Ain el-Beiḍhah, we were told there is a ruin called a Kŭsr, or Palace, with sculptured stones, but no columns, nor inscriptions. In twenty minutes from the fountain, we reached the large quadrangular fountain of 'Anjer, with the remnants of its strong wall and jutting towers. An hour farther North is Es-Sâwîreh, a small village inhabited chiefly by Moslems, and elevated a little above the narrow plain which divides its rocky ridge from the low range of hills on which the temple of Mejdel stands. At Es-Sâwîreh we noticed some old stones in a heap, which the people called Dâr es-Seiyâgh, and across the little valley South of the village are large old stones on what is called Tell er-Râhib, Hill of the Monk. From Es-Sâwîreh we rode southward over a steep mountain-spur, and entered Wâdy Ḥŭmmârah, and in fifty minutes reached a ruin called Kŭsr Wâdy Ḥŭmmârah. This is a small ruin, and from the lowness of the building, and the crookedness and narrowness of the valley, it cannot be seen until one is just upon it. The levelled top of a projecting rock afforded a foundation, upon which was erected a square structure, measuring, within the columns, 35 feet by 35 feet. The door, 8 feet and 5 inches wide, is on the southern side; and the stone over the door-way has the inscription, formerly sent to you, which is printed, with President Woolsey's restorations, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.* There are seventeen small columns standing, measuring 9½ feet from the base to the top of the plain capital, and 7 feet in circumference. A large Malta-cross adorns a stone near by; and a small cross is scored on each of the columns. There is a cistern in the centre of the edifice, and another near it. The porch is enclosed with a heavy wall, and near it is an oblong foundation, about 50 feet long and 25 feet wide. Leaving this ruin, we rode down the Wâdy to the village of Hŭmmârah in thirty-five minutes. Just above it, on a hill, is an old foundation called Kŭsr, or Kuneiset, Hŭmmârah, and just out of the village is a tomb excavated for four bodies. Twenty-five minutes South of Hŭmmârah, and opposite Sultân Ya'kôb, the valley of 'Aithy opens on the plain of Mejdel and Hŭmmârah. Turning to the left, we reached the village of 'Aithy in ten minutes more. It is situated just where the Wâdy which bears its name, is joined by Wâdy Kullet ez-Zeit, and furnishes most of the pottery for the Damascus market. There are many clay-pits in the village, and in the valley above it. Hearing of a ruin and an inscription on the hill just North of 'Aithy, I climbed its very steep sides, while the rest of the party rode on in a direction across the plain. In twenty-five minutes, I reached a modern goat-pen built on the foundation of an ancient edifice, about 35 feet long and 25 feet wide. There is a cistern in the rock, a few rough small columns lie about the premises, and near by stands a more modern structure, about 12 feet high and 25 feet long, by 10 feet wide. In the South-East corner of this last is the inscription which had induced me to climb the hill. It is rudely cut, broken at both ends, and much defaced. I give you as near a fac-simile as I can:

---

* See *Bibl. Sacra*, vol. vi. p. 390.—Comm. of Publ.

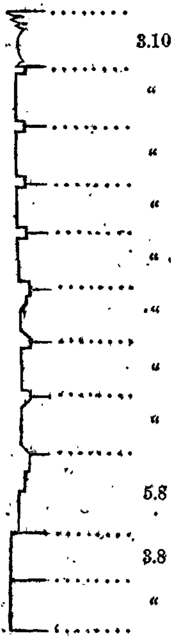


Others beside the goats, and their keeper and myself have thought it worth while to visit the place, and lamps and broken pottery used for lamps show that credulous devotees still seek the favor of the unknown power whose seat is there, and to gain something of whatever blessing may yet adhere to the locality. A half hour from 'Aithy took us across the plain of Hŭmmârah and Mejdel to a gap in the hills which bound it on the West, called 'Akabet Kâmid. On the rock at the right of the road, at the 'Akabeh, is a square niche which once had a slab with an inscription, and is yet called El-Lauh el-Mektûb. Passing through the gap, we rode northwards, at the base of the western side of the hills. The rock under Sultân Ya'kôb is much quarried and cut into tombs. In one hour and a half from the 'Akabeh, we reached Zekweh, where we found a small ruin, of Grecian architecture. It measures 37 feet in length, within, and 19¼ feet in width. The porch is 5 feet deep, the walls are 2 feet thick. The capitals of the columns are Corinthian, and the columns are plain. Two of them are standing in the porch. The cornice is plain and heavy, and at the end opposite the door the walls are nearly entire, the first stones of the sloping roof being *in situ*. Sarcophagi and large stones from ancient buildings are scattered around, and the side of the hill has tombs cut in the rock. One of them has an almost obliterated inscription over its narrow door.*

From Zekweh we continued along the base of the hills, until we were opposite Mejdel; then, crossing through a gap, we climbed to the temple of Mejdel, reaching it in three-quarters of an hour from Zekweh. The temple of Mejdel is situated on the top of one of a descending series of hills which lie parallel to Anti-Lebanon, and may be said to belong to that range, although separated from it by a plain about a mile wide. The ruin is much weather-worn, particularly on the South side and West end, where the walls are but half standing; but at the East end and North side the wall is nearly entire, except that the stones of the upper course have been dislocated more or less by earthquakes. The porch has fallen. It had a single row of plain columns, 4⅛ feet in diameter, with plain capitals, and their fragments have been laid in rows in front of the body of the temple, forming an extended platform, probably to add to the defences of the place after the idol-temple had become a Moslem fort. The interior of the ruin has the remains of five half-columns on each side, the one at the altar being double. Those on the South side are dilapidated, and the capitals of all have nearly crumbled away. These columns are fluted, and the capitals were slightly ornamented. Between each two columns are two niches, one above the other. The temple measures within, from the door to the altar, 47 feet, and the depth of the altar is 12½ feet. The width within the walls is 32½ feet, and the thickness of the walls, 4¼ feet. The foundation projects 6 inches beyond the body of the building, and consists of two, and, in some places, three courses of stone, each $3\frac{4}{12}$ feet high. Above these, a course of three large stones reaches the entire length of the building, each stone being $21\frac{2}{12}$ feet long and $5\frac{8}{12}$ feet high. Above this, are eight courses, of which the lower three we measured to be $3\frac{10}{12}$ feet high, each, and the upper five seemed to be of the same size: giving a total height of nine courses of stones, or $36\frac{5}{12}$ feet above the foundation. The grand door-way is $14\frac{5}{12}$ feet wide, and a smaller door-way on each side measures $4\frac{7}{12}$ feet in width. The door-posts of the grand door-way are of a single stone, each, measuring $24\frac{2}{12}$ feet in height and 6 feet in width, by $4\frac{3}{12}$ feet in thickness. On the exterior, the stones of the walls are singularly cut and bevelled as in the rude sketch below.

---

* Pres. Woolsey says it is illegible.—Comm. of Publ.



The temple of Mejdel is the best preserved ruin about this remarkable plain, except the lesser temple of Ba'albek. Its situation is extremely fine, and the view from it is magnificent, especially if seen, as we saw it, in the light of a June sunset, and with the verdure of early summer covering the plains.

The fine Bŭķa'a, here some six miles broad, is bounded on the West by the tall ridge of Lebanon, the highest summits of which, at this season, are striped with snow, lying in the deep ravines which seam its top, while its base is enlivened with green vales which furrow its lower portions. On the East, a similar plain, but narrower, being but a mile wide, is bounded by the parallel range of Anti-Lebanon, another huge mountain of grey limestone. From the base of the hill on which we stood, the rich plain extends far to the North-East, sloping gradually up to the water-shed where the streams begin to flow North, a distance of from twenty-five to thirty miles. South-West, the plain lay before us for some ten miles, and about us were several conical hills, of various height, and often covered with villages, or crowned with domes.

While surveying this scene of mingled grandeur and beauty, it was not difficult for the imagination to rebuild the temples which we had seen in ruins, and to restore the magnificent edifices which once adorned the lofty summits and lower ridges which shut in the fair valley of the Bŭḳa'a. With their works came back the architects, and the various nations who have ruled and made ruin here, from the sturdy Phoenicians who laid the massive foundations, to the Greeks who reared the glorious superstructures, and the Arabs and Turks who joined forces with the earthquake and the elements in prostrating all. With the nations came back their religions and their wars, Ba'al and Juno, and the Templar's cross vanishing before the crescent, which itself wanes at length; the temples of idolatry became towers of defence, and then habitations of lizards and jackals. The idle traditions of the people have associated other names with this lovely plain. If we may believe them, the grave of Noah, "upon whom be peace," is found at Kerak; and he upon whom Elijah's mantle fell, lies entombed near Fŭrzûl; and not far from Sĭr'în is the grave of Seth; while a few hours farther East is the largest and the oldest cemetery in this world of graves, containing the tomb of Abel placed above what the people believe to be the collected bones of all who perished in the flood! *Homo diluvii testis* would not be difficult to find, to one sufficiently credulous, in the numerous masses of singular petrifactions which form the hills about ancient Abila. Lord Nugent, unwilling that natives should have a monopoly of such blunders, has found the grave of Saladdin in a mosque at Ba'albek!

Descending the western slope of the hill on which the temple of Mejdel stands, we found at its base part of the door-posts of an ancient building still standing, and large stones scattered around them. A ride of an hour brought us to the river Leontes, by the village of Es-Stŭbl, and an hour and a half more to Ḳŭbb Elyâs, a large village at the base of Lebanon. A little South of this village, we were shown what is called El-Kŭla'ah el-Muzeiyeneh, or the Ornamented Castle. It is the smoothed face of a precipice, on which was left a broad projecting rib which marks out on the rock a square of about 40 feet on a side. The rib, at the top, is notched, as if to receive rafters, and four shallow niches have been cut in the face of the precipice, within the square. The surface of the rock beneath it has been levelled, and there are tombs in the surrounding rocks. Probably, this was the rear-wall of some ancient structure erected against the precipice. A climb of ten minutes brought us to the castle above, Ḳŭbb Elyâs, built by the Druze Emîr Fŭkhr ed-Dîn Ma'an. It is of great strength, of considerable size, and in good preservation. Leaving this castle with increased respect for the energy of that celebrated Emîr, we climbed a steep, rough road for forty minutes, to Shŭḳîf eth-Thaur, the Cliff of the Bull, so called from the well-cut figure of a bull which is on the North side of a large detached rock at the foot of a rugged precipice. The bull is five feet high, and his body eight feet long. He presents a spirited figure, though much weather-worn, and puzzles the traveller to guess how and why he came there, whether he was carved where he stands, by the road-side, or was cut on the height above, and in some moment of anger leaped from the precipice, bringing with him so large a portion of massive rock. His head is towards a fountain of the coldest Lebanon-water, where we slaked our thirst, and then renewed our toilsome ascent. In about forty minutes from Shŭḳîf eth-Thaur, we reached the top, and our path joined the ordinary road from Beirût to Damascus, the former city being distant about seven hours and a half.

ARTICLE VIII.

ON THE RELATIONS

OF THE

MARÁTHÁ TO THE SANSKRIT.

BY

REV. HENRY BALLANTINE,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN INDIA.

(Read October 22, 1851.)

ON THE RELATIONS

OF THE

MARÁTHÁ TO THE SANSKRIT.

THE modern languages of India may be divided into three classes, consisting of the aboriginal languages, and the southern and northern families of Hindoo languages.

1. The aboriginal languages of India are spoken by the various hill-tribes, who are generally found in the most hilly and inaccessible parts of the country. The Bheels, the Wáralees, the Kátodees, the Ramoshees, in the mountainous regions of Western India, the Gonds of Central India or Gondwána, the Khands of the hill-country back of Orissa, and other similar tribes on the Nílgerry Hills, and in the hilly districts of Bengal,—all these are generally regarded as the aborigines of India, and the languages spoken by many of them appear to be only different dialects of what was originally the same language. Vocabularies of the languages of different hill-tribes have been published in the Calcutta magazines in past years; and from these vocabularies it has been ascertained that many of these languages present numerous points of resemblance to one another, and also that they bear no resemblance to the Sanskrit, as it is only in very rare instances that a Sanskrit term has crept into their vocabularies. One reason of this is, that these aboriginal tribes in their mountain homes, were never brought under the influence of the Brahmanic religion, and never bowed their necks to the yoke of the Brahman priesthood. They have worshipped only their own hill-deities, and in their own way, sometimes, like the Khands, sacrificing human victims, or, like other tribes, sacrificing goats and fowls, to propitiate their deities. They have therefore never used and never needed the various religious terms employed by

the Hindoos. This has preserved their languages from intermixture with a foreign element, so that we are permitted to see these languages, now, just as they doubtless have existed for ages.

The number of these aborigines still remaining in India proper, is supposed, by a recent writer residing in that country, to be eight or ten millions. Many of the aborigines of India, instead of retiring to the mountains like their brethren, on the conquest of the country by the Hindoo races, remained on the soil, and became "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their conquerors, being regarded as outcasts by the regular Hindoos, and required to live outside the walls of the towns and villages. Such are the Mahárs of the Maráthá country, and the Párias and Shánars of Southern India. These have come more under the influence of Brahmanism than their brethren who found refuge in the mountains. They however still retain their own priests, who perform the rite of marriage and some other religious ceremonies; and it is probable that some of the aboriginal gods, also, are retained and worshipped among them, though they do at the same time acknowledge and worship the gods of the Hindoos. These people have generally lost all idea of their own origin; and in consequence of their connection with the conquering race and their reception of Hindooism, they have also lost their own language, speaking the language of the people among whom they dwell.*

2. The southern family of Hindoo languages embraces the Tamul, the Teloogoo, the Canarese, the Malayalim, all resembling each other, and all remarkably different from the northern family of languages, of which we are yet to speak. The tribes speaking these languages inhabit the southern part of the peninsula; the Tamul people having also spread

---

* It is supposed by some that the Maráthá country derives its name from the Mahárs, one of the principal aboriginal tribes now residing within its bounds. The ancient name of the country was Mahárásḥṭră, which the Brahmans derive thus: *Mahá*, great, *ráshṭră*, nation; while others, with apparently more reason, suppose the name to be *Măhár-ráshṭră*, the Măhár nation, just as Guzerat, or *Gūzăr-ráshṭră*, means the Gūzăr nation. If this last derivation be correct, then the poor outcast Mahárs, who are now found in every village and town in that country performing the duties of village-servants and village-messengers, may claim to be the aborigines of that country to which and to the language of which they have given their own name.

over into the northern part of Ceylon. The grammatical structure of these languages and their grammatical forms, are entirely different from those of the northern family. The character which is used in writing these southern languages is also peculiar, being more like the round character used in writing the Burmese and Siamese, and very unlike the square character used in writing the Sanskrit and its so-called derivative languages. In consequence of the prevalence of the Hindoo religion among these tribes, and their consequent subordination to the Brahman priests and to the Hindoo philosophy and mythology, many Sanskrit terms have crept into their different languages; but these terms appear entirely as a foreign element supplying the deficiencies of the vernaculars, especially their deficiencies in words for moral and religious and metaphysical ideas. These terms are frequently very much changed from their original Sanskrit form, when adopted in these languages; sometimes so much so, as to be recognized with difficulty in their new dress. Indeed, the original alphabet of these languages was not adapted to express many of the sounds and combinations of sounds in the Sanskrit words which they wished to adopt. It may be added, that these southern languages are generally regarded as much more difficult of acquisition to a European than those of the northern family.

3. The northern family of Hindoo languages consists of the Hindee, Maráthá, Guzeráthee, Marwadee, Scindian, Punjábee, Ooriya, and Bengálee, which are all generally considered as derivatives from the Sanskrit. The Hindoostánee may also be regarded as one of this northern family, being nothing more than the Hindee with a large admixture of Persian and Arabic words, which indeed supply the place of corresponding Sanskrit terms, the grammatical construction being entirely that of the Hindee. The Hindoostánee was used by the Mohammedan conquerors of India, who brought into it the terms to which they had been accustomed in their own vernacular, the Persian; and the Arabic character was therefore required for writing it. With the exception of the Hindoostánee, which may be considered as a kind of mongrel language, all the languages of the northern family are written in the same character as the Sanskrit, or in one very nearly approaching it, and evidently derived from it. The Maráthá and Hindee use the Sanskrit charac-

ter without change, while the Bengálee, Guzeráthee, etc., have a character little removed from it. It is said by some writers that nine-tenths of the Hindee language is Sanskrit. This is doubtless an exaggeration. Of the Maráthá language, as many as half the words, it is believed, are either Sanskrit terms, adopted from that language without change, or else brought into the Maráthá in a different form, or terms derived by a very simple process of derivation from Sanskrit roots. But, beside these, there are large classes of verbs and nouns which never came from the Sanskrit, and bear no resemblance to any words found in that language. These form what we may call the *original* element in the Maráthá language. It is to distinguish this original element from the Sanskrit admixture, and then to draw some inferences as to the affinities of the language, that the facts presented below have been brought together. It may be added, that the remarks made in regard to the Maráthá language, with which the writer has been most familiar, apply with equal force to the other languages of the northern family of India. They resemble each other very much, being evidently the diálects of kindred tribes.

We lay down, then, this proposition, which we hope to be able to prove satisfactorily, that, while the Maráthá language has borrowed extensively from the Sanskrit, it is not properly speaking a derivative of that language. It is acknowledged, that large numbers of terms used in the Maráthá come either directly or indirectly from the Sanskrit, and that many of these terms have driven out the corresponding terms of the original language; but this is easily accounted for by the circumstances of the people speaking the Maráthá. Having long been under the priestly tyranny of the Brahmans, whose original language was the Sanskrit, and who, in speaking and writing the native languages, would introduce as many terms of their own vernacular as they could hope to make intelligible, the language of the Maráthá people, originally an uncultivated tongue, gradually changed its character. Especially when we consider the religious character of the Brahmans, and the religious character of all their books, and take into consideration the complete subordination of the native mind to the priestly race, we can see reason for a gradual change in the language of the people.

1. Let us glance, first, at the derivative element in the Maráthá language, that which comes either directly or indirectly from the Sanskrit.

Many of the names of the most common things are of Sanskrit origin, for example:

Fire,	*ág,*	from Sanskrit	*ăgni.* (The most common term, however, is *vistū,* a pure Maráthá word.)
Water,	*páṇí,*	from Sanskrit	*páníyă,* from the root *pá,* to drink.
Earth,	*máṭí,*	from Sans.	*mṛitiká.*
"	*bhūmi,*	Sans.	*bhūmi.*
Man,	*máṇūs,*	from Sans.	*mănushyă.*
Woman,	*strí,*	Sans.	*strí.* (This, however, is not so common as the pure Maráthá word *báí.*)
Child,	*mūl,*	Sans.	*mūlă.* (This is not so much used as the Maráthá term *lēnkurū·.*)
Hand,	*hát,*	from Sans.	*hăstă.*
Foot,	*páyă,*	from Sans.	*pádă.*
Tongue,	*jíbh,*	from Sans.	*jiwhá.*
Ear,	*kán,*	from Sans.	*kărṇă.*
Tooth,	*dánt,*	Sans.	*dant.*
Hair,	*kē·s,*	Sans.	*kēça.*
Thumb,	*ăngăṭhá,*	from Sans.	*ăngushṭhă.*
Blood,	*răgăt,*	from Sans.	*răktă.*
Cow,	*gáí,*	from Sans.	*gau.*
Calf,	*wásărū·,*	from Sans.	*wătsă.*
Horn,	*shing,*	from Sans.	*çṛingă.*
Skin *or* hide,	*chămăḍí,*	from Sans.	*chărmăn.*
Milk,	*dūdh,*	from Sans.	*dugdhă.*
House,	*ghăr,*	from Sans.	*gṛihă.*
Road,	*wáṭ,*	Sans.	*wáṭă.*
Field,	*shēt,*	from Sans.	*kshētră.*
Grain,	*dáṇá,*	from Sans.	*dhányă.*
Wheat,	*găhū·,*	from Sans.	*gōdhūmă.*
Flower,	*phūl,*	Sans.	*phulă.*
Fruit,	*phăl,*	Sans.	*phălă.*
River,	*nădí,*	Sans.	*nădí.*
Village,	*gá·wă,*	from Sans.	*grámă.*
Country,	*dēshă,*	Sans.	*dēça.*
King,	*rájá,*	Sans.	*rájăn.*
Kingdom,	*rájyă,*	Sans.	*rájyă.*
Gold,	*sōnē·,*	from Sans.	*suwărṇă.*

Silver,	*rúpē·,*	from Sans.	*rūpyă.*
Copper,	*támbē·,*	from Sans.	*támră.*
Iron,	*lōkhănḍ,*	from Sans.	*lōhă.*

All moral, religious, metaphysical, scientific and technical terms, are borrowed from the Sanskrit directly, as might be expected, and mostly without change. So: *mănă,* mind; *buddhi,* understanding; *zánă,* knowledge; *pápă,* sin; *dōshă,* guilt; *dushṭă,* wicked; *dēwă,* God; *ákáshă,* heaven; *uddháră,* salvation; *náshă,* destruction. This list might be increased indefinitely. Any scientific work written in Maráthá, draws without limit from the Sanskrit, or coins new words from Sanskrit roots, to supply the deficiencies of the Maráthá. The great fault of native Maráthá writers is their too free use of Sanskrit terms, and their ambition to shine in what they regard as a high style. Very few books have been written by natives which do not exhibit this tendency in a very great degree; they use Sanskrit terms even when pure Maráthá terms were at hand, better adapted to their purpose.

The Maráthá pronouns are mostly derivatives from the Sanskrit. The personal pronoun is as follows:

Nom. case, *mí,* I; *tū·,* thou; *tō,* he.

Instrumental case, *myá ; twá ; tyánē.* Compare Sanskrit *măyá ; twăyá ; tēnă.*

Nom. plural, *ámhí,* we; *tumhí,* ye; *tē,* they.

The Hindee has, *mai·,* I; *tū,* thou; *wuh,* he, she, it.

Nom. plural, *hăm,* we; *tum,* ye; *vē,* they.

Most of these forms seem to be easily derived from the Sanskrit, except the first and second persons plural in both Maráthá and Hindee, and the third person singular and plural of the Hindee. These forms seem to be very different from the Sanskrit.

The relative pronoun is *zō,* masc., *jí,* fem., and *jē·,* neut., who, which; and the interrogative pronouns are *kōṇ,* who? and *káyă,* what? Both are evidently derived from the Sanskrit.

The numerals are also all derived from the Sanskrit.

Numerous verbs in Maráthá are derived from Sanskrit roots, as for example:

kăr-ṇē,	to do, or make,	from Sans.	*kṛi.*
zán-ṇē,	to know,	from Sans.	*jná.*
dē-ṇē,	to give,	from Sans.	*dá.*
chál-ṇē,	to walk, go,	from Sans.	*chăl.*

băs-ṇē,	to sit,	from Sans.	*wăs.*
uṭh-ṇē,	to rise,	from Sans.	*ut-thá.*
dhăr-ṇē,	to hold,	from Sans.	*dhṛi.*
pi-ṇē,	to drink,	from Sans.	*pá.*
măr-ṇē,	to die,	from Sans.	*mṛi.*
gá-ṇē,	to sing,	from Sans.	*gai.*
bhăr-ṇē,	to fill,	from Sans.	*bhṛi.*
ghē-ṇē,	to take,	from Sans.	*grăh.*
páhá-ṇē,	to see,	from Sans.	*păç.*
aik-ṇē,	to hear,	from Sans.	*á-kărṇ.*
ṭhăr-ṇē,	to be fixed,	from Sans.	*sthá.*
sthāp-ṇē,	to establish,	from Sans.	*sthāp.*

These verbs are selected from those in most common use in the language, and show how much the Maráthá is indebted to the Sanskrit even for its verbs.

It is this great indebtedness to the Sanskrit, of the Maráthá and its cognate languages, which has led many to regard them as derived directly from the Sanskrit. But let us look at the other side also.

2. We will now consider the original element in the Maráthá language, and here we will endeavor to present numerous classes of words, and numerous facts in the grammar and in the construction of the language, which show how different it is from the Sanskrit. From these facts we shall see that the Maráthá still retains many of its original characteristics, notwithstanding the encroachments made upon it by the language of the Brahman priests.

(1.) There is a large class of very common terms in Maráthá which are not derived from the Sanskrit.

Father, *báp,* or *bábá,* or *bá.* Compare Hebrew אָב, and Syriac ܐܰܒܳܐ.

Mother, *áí.* The Sanskrit names for *father* and *mother* are scarcely known beyond the Brahman caste.

Wife, *báyăkō.* This is in more common use, among all classes, than the Sanskrit term *strí.*

Child, *lēnkurū;* much more common than *mūl.*

Man, *báwá;* but *máṇūs,* from the Sanskrit, is more general.

Woman, *báí;* much more common than *strí.*

Brother, *bháū.* Some derive this from Sans. *băndhu;* others from Sans. *bhrátṛi.* But both derivations are very doubtful.

Sister, *băhíṇ*. Some derive this from Sans. *bhăginí*, but it seems more like an irregular feminine from *bhâū*.
Wife's brother, *mēhuṇá*.
Pony, *tăṭṭū·*, also *băṭ*. The *tăṭṭū* is the horse in common use among the Maráthás. For a large horse, the word *ghōḍá* is used, from Sans. *ghōṭăkă*.
Colt, *shingărū·*.
Stallion, *wăḷū·*.
Sheep, *mēnḍhărū·*.
Goat, *shērăḍū·*. *Băkărū·*, from Sans. *wărkără*, is also used; but this term includes sheep, and is not used distinctively, like *shērăḍū·*.
She-goat, *shēḷí*.
Kid, *kărăḍū·*.
Lamb, *kōnkărū·*.
Flock, *khilár*.
Well, *vihír*. Compare Hebrew בְּאֵר. For *well* we have, also, *áḍ*, *báw*, and *báráw*.
Water-wheel, *răhăṭ*.
Tent, *ḍērá*, and *tămbū·*. Another kind of tent is *ráwăṭí*.
Tent-peg, *mēkh*.
Hamlet (properly, a collection of huts of shepherds), *wáḍí*. Compare Arabic *wády*.

Has not the fact that such terms as those just given are all indigenous, having no relation whatever to the Sanskrit, some significance as to the early history of the Maráthás? Does it not tend to show that these people were originally a nomadic race, living in tents and devoted to the care of sheep and goats, as many among them even now are?

Many other common terms of the language are entirely indigenous, for example:

Head,	*ḍōí*, and *ḍōkē·*.	Heel,	*ṭách*.
Eye,	*ḍōḷá*.	Throat,	*ghăsá*.
Armpit,	*băgăl*.	Thigh,	*ṭír*, and *mánḍí*.
Knee,	*guḍăghá*, and *ḍhōpăr*.	Finger,	*bōṭ*.
House,	*băngălá*.	Lodgings,	*birháḍ*.
Upper story,	*măzălá*.	Loft,	*máḷá*.
Cot,	*báz*.	Loom,	*mág*.
Place,	*zágá*.	Tank,	*ṭánkē·*.
Beam,	*tuḷăí*.	Board,	*phăḷí*.
Pane of glass,	*bhing*.	Cushion,	*gáḍí*, and *tágăḍí*.

Pair of scales,	*tázăwá,* and *tágăḍí.**	A stake,	*mēḍh,* and *khunṭá.*
An ant,	*mungí.*	Sting,	*nángi.*
A cart,	*gáḍí.*	An axle,	*guṇá.*
Ball of yarn,	*gunḍá.*	Button,	*gunḍí.*
Mud,	*gáḷ.*	A clod,	*ḍhēkūḷ,* and *ḍhē·p.*
Flint,	*gár.*	Cotton,	*ruí.*
A pebble,	*gōṭá.*	Gum,	*ḍik.*
Bullock,	*bail.*	A buffalo,	*ṭōṇăgá,* and *rēnḍá,* also *khuḷăgá,* and *rēnḍūk.*
Iron-ore,	*bíḍ.*	Wax,	*mēṇ.*
Hill,	*ḍōngăr,* and *páháḍ.*	Bee's nest,	*mōhōḷ.*
Tree,	*zháḍ.*	Stone,	*dhōnḍá,* and *dăgăḍ.*
Hay *or* grass,	*găwăt.*	Wood,	*lánkūḍ.*
A hoe,	*pháwăḍí.*	Rice (in husk),	*bhát.*
A fish-hook,	*găḷ.*	Sickle,	*viḷá.*
A drum,	*ḍhōl,* and *ṭămṭăm.*	A water-jar,	*ránzhăṇ.*
An ornament,	*ḍágiṇá.*	A whip,	*chhăḍí.*
Baldness,	*ṭăkkăḷ.*	A bump,	*ṭēngūḷ.*
An interview,	*bhēṭ.*	Respect,	*bhíḍ.*
Remembrance,	*săí.*	Negligence,	*hăyăgăyă.*
Obstruction,	*guntá.*	Disorder,	*gōndhăḷ.*
Embrace,	*vēng.*	Mistake,	*chūk.*
A secret,	*ṭūk.*	Satiety,	*ṭēr.*
Great,	*mōṭá.*	Small,	*láhán.*
True,	*khără.*	False,	*khōṭá,* and *lăbáḍ.*
Right,	*uzăwá.*	Left,	*ḍáwá.*

This list might be extended very far, but enough has been exhibited to show that the Maráthá has a large class of terms of its own, without borrowing at all from the Sanskrit.

There is a large class of verbs, also, bearing no relation whatever to the Sanskrit, viz:

To tell,	*mhăn-ṇē,* and *sáng-ṇē.*	To speak,	*bōl-ṇē.*
To meet,	*ăḍhăḷ-ṇē,* and *bhēṭ-ṇē.*	To be found,	*găwăs-ṇē.*
To put on (dress),	*nēs-ṇē,* and *lē-ṇē.*		
To put in,	*ghál-ṇē.*	To take out,	*káḍh-ṇē.*
To draw,	*ōḍh-ṇē.*	To throw away,	*ṭák-ṇē.*
To be entangled,	*gunt-ṇē.*	To sink,	*buḍ-nē.*

---

* By an oversight, this word was printed at the bottom of page 376, as a term for *cushion.*—COMM. OF PUBL.

To ascend, or climb,	*chăḍh-ṇē,* and *vēngh-ṇē.*		
To press,	*chēp-ṇē.*	To catch (a ball),	*zhēl-ṇē.*
To eat,	*khá-ṇē.*	To put, or place,	*ṭhēv-ṇē.*
To lick,	*cháṭ-ṇē.*	To rub,	*chōḷ-ṇē.*
To hang,	*ṭáng-ṇē.*	To endure,	*ṭik-ṇē.*
To pass over,	*ṭăḷ-ṇē.*	To be moved,	*ḍhăḷ-ṇē.*
To rest upon,	*ṭēk-ṇē.*	To beat,	*ṭhōk-ṇē.*
To tumble down,	*ḍhásăḷ-nē.*	To dip,	*buchakaḷ-*
To blow,	*phunk-ṇē.*	To swell,	*phug-ṇē.*
To turn round,	*phir-ṇē,* and *murăḍ-nē.*		
To diverge,	*phánk-ṇē.*	To penetrate,	*bhin-ṇē.*
To be wet,	*bhiz-ṇē.*	To congeal,	*thiz-ṇē.*
To take away,	*nē-ṇē.*	To frequent,	*ráb-ṇē.*
To push,	*renṭ-ṇē.*	To press rudely,	*răgăḍ-ṇē.*
To fight,	*lăḍh-ṇē.*	To roll out,	*láṭ-ṇē.*
To grasp,	*păkăḍ-ṇē.*	To be offended,	*chiḍh-ṇē.*

Beside these and many similar verbs in most common use in the Maráthá language, there are numerous words (verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs), which may be called imitatives, and which are entirely original. These imitatives can be coined at any one's discretion, as the genius of the language and of the people favors the use of such terms very extensively. The Sanskrit has nothing like them. I give below a few of those in most common use, as a specimen.

Noise,	*gălăbălá.*	Quarrel,	*kăṭăkăṭ.*
Thunder,	*găḍăgăḍáṭ.*	Great alarm,	*thărăthăráṭ.*
Gabble,	*băḍăbăḍ.*	Confusion,	*găḍăbăḍ.*
To whisper,	*kuzăbuz-ṇē.*	To blaze,	*bhăḍăk-ṇē.*
To glitter,	*zhăḷăk-ṇē.*	To clank,	*khăṇăkhăṇ-ṇē.*
To creep,	*wăḷăwăḷ-ṇē.*	To be nauseated,	*măḷămăḷ-ṇē.*
To tremble,	*thărăthăr-ṇē.*	To start (with fright),	*ḍăchăk-ṇē.*
To flutter in the wind,	*phăḍăphăḍ-ṇē.*		
To burn dimly,	*miṇămiṇ-ṇe.*		
To rock or shake,	*lăṭăpăṭ-ṇē,* and *ḍăḷămăḷ-ṇē.*		
Round and round,	*gărăgărá.*		
In a trice,	*păṭăkăṇ,* and *păṭăpăṭ.*		
Rubadub,	*ḍhăbăḍhăb.*	Staringly,	*ṭăkăṭăk.*

It is in accordance with the genius of the language, as exhibited in these imitative formations, to repeat a word to denote repetition of idea, thus: *rōz,* day; *rōz rōz,* every day;

—*diwăs,* day; *diwăsōdiwăs,* daily;—*wărshă,* year; *wărshōwărshă,* yearly. So the numerals are repeated for the same purpose, as: *chár,* four; *chár chár,* by fours; *pănnás pănnás,* by fifties; *shămbhăr shămbhăr,* by hundreds.

(2.) An examination of the grammatical forms of the language, will, it is believed, furnish very strong additional evidence of the original independent existence of the Maráthá language, at least that it is not a derivative of the Sanskrit. And in deciding such a question as this, more reliance evidently can be placed on the grammatical forms of a language than on the mere use of certain terms, however common and extensive that use may have become.

a. The paradigm of the Maráthá verb has very little resemblance to that of the Sanskrit.

The resemblance of the Sanskrit to the Greek has been often remarked. We have the syllabic and temporal augment in the past tenses, and the reduplication in the perfect tenses, in Sanskrit just as in Greek. The Sanskrit exhibits also the dual number in the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs, as well as the Greek. The terminations of the present indicative are nearly the same in the singular as those of the Greek verbs in μι, which are doubtless the more ancient forms of the Greek. Still more striking is the resemblance of the Sanskrit to the Greek and Latin exhibited in the substantive verb, both in the root itself and in its terminations. These facts in regard to the Sanskrit are sufficient of themselves to establish its close affinity to the Latin and Greek, even if there were no other facts in proof of kindred origin.

How is it now with the Maráthá? We see nothing of these striking resemblances here. The present indicative of the verb *dē-ṇē,* to give, from Sans. *dá,* is declined thus:

Sing.	1st per.	2d per.	3d per.	Plur.	1st per.	2d per.	3d per.
masc.	*dētō·,*	*dētōs,*	*dētō;*	m. f. n.,	*dētō·,*	*dētá·,*	*dētát.*
fem.	*dētí·,*	*dētís,*	*dētí;*				
neut.	*dētō·,*	*dētēs,*	*dētē·.*				

So of the verb *kar-ṇē,* to do, from Sans. *kṛi:*

kăritō·, kăritōs, kăritō; *kăritō·, kăritá·, kăritât.*

There is nothing that indicates that these terminations of the present tense originated from the Sanskrit. The distinction in each of the persons singular for the different genders, is different from any thing we find in the Sanskrit or its cognate languages, and reminds us of the distinction of genders (the masculine and feminine) in the second and third persons in the Hebrew. The Hindee, which has only two genders, like the Hebrew, has different terminations for these genders in the present and past tenses, just like the Maráthá. The termination of the past tense in Maráthá is *lá,* which is varied like any adjective in *á,* for all the three genders, both in the singular and plural. Nothing like this appears in the Sanskrit. The termination *ēl,* or *íl,* distinguishes the future tense of the Maráthá verb. Nothing in the Sanskrit or its cognate languages has any resemblance to this termination. It should be remarked that in the terminations of the past and future tenses, the kindred languages of the northern Hindoo family differ greatly among themselves. The Hindee, which is perhaps nearer the Maráthá than any other of the cognate languages, differs from it in these terminations, and is at the same time utterly unlike the Sanskrit.

The substantive verb, especially, exhibits the most striking dissimilarity between the Sanskrit and the Maráthá languages. In Maráthá, we have the following forms of the substantive verb:

	Sing. 1st per.	2d per.	3d per.	Plur. 1st per.	2d per.	3d per.
Pres. indic.	*áhē·,*	*áhēs,*	*áhe;*	*áhō·,*	*áhá·,*	*áhēt.*
Second form,	*hōyă,*	*hōs,*	*hōyă;*	*hwō·,*	*hwá,*	*hōt.*
Hindee form,	*hū·,*	*hai,*	*hai;*	*hai·,*	*hō,*	*hai·.*
Imperf. indic. masc.	*hōtō·,*	*hōtás,*	*hōtá;*	*hōtō·,*	*hōtá·,*	*hōtē.*

The root of this verb is evidently *ho* or *hē,* reminding us of the Hebrew הָיָה or הָוָה.* The Sanskrit root of the substantive verb *ăs,* is employed in Maráthá to fill up the deficiencies of the paradigm of the original root; being used in the formation of the present habitual tense, and of the past habitual, and also of the conditional mood, e. g.: *ăsătō,* he is habitually; *ăsē,* he was habitually; *ăsălá,* if he were; but these are evidently later introductions, required and employed only when the language had been considerably cultivated.

---

* Some would derive this root from the Sanskrit *bhū,* to be, and others from the Sanskrit *ăs;* but either of these derivations is far-fetched and unsatisfactory.

The form of the verb which is used in Maráthá poetry for both the present and past tenses, was probably the original, as it is the shortest form in which the verb is found, except the imperative second person. This old form of the present consisted merely of the addition of *ē*, or *í*, to the root of the verb for the first and third persons singular, and the addition of *s* for the second person singular. Thus the verb *dē-ṇē,* to give, has these forms:

Sing. 1st per.	2d per.	3d per.	Plur. 1st per.	2d per.	3d per.
dē-í·,	*de-ís,*	*de-í;*	*de-ū·,*	*dyá,*	*de-ít;*
kăr-ṇē, to do, runs thus:					
kărí·,	*kărís,*	*kărí;*	*kărū·,*	*kărá,*	*kărít;*
băs-ṇē, to sit:					
băsē·,	*băsăs,*	*băsē;*	*băsū·,*	*băsá,*	*băsăt.*

This appears to be the earliest form of the Maráthá verb, for both the present and past tenses; but is now used in common prose writing, and in conversation, only as a past-habitual, meaning "he was accustomed to give, to make, to sit," etc. It is however even now used, in connection with some particles, to express simple past, or even present and future time. This form, it will be seen, has no distinctions in gender, nor has the future, which is evidently formed from this tense, both in Maráthá and Hindee. The present tense of the substantive verb in both these languages is also destitute of any distinctions for genders.

The passive verb in the Maráthá is formed by joining the different tenses of the verb *to go,* to the passive participle, thus: he is seen, *tō páhilá zátō;* he was struck, *tō márilá gelá;* it will be eaten, *tē· khállē· záíl.* The Maráthá, however, avoids the use of the passive as much as possible, generally expressing the idea by a circumlocution.

b. The grammatical forms of Maráthá nouns are very different from those of Sanskrit nouns.

The resemblance of the forms of Sanskrit nouns and their different declensions, to those of the Latin and Greek, has been often remarked. Thus, Sanskrit masculines in *ăs,* feminines in *á,* and neuters in *ăm,* are very much like the nouns of the corresponding genders in *us, a, um,* in Latin, and ος, α, ον, in Greek. And a large class of adjectives and participles in Sanskrit are declined like these nouns. There are striking resemblances in the forms of both the nominative and accusative cases in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, and it is remarkable that the Sanskrit has the neuter nominative and accusative always alike, as in the Latin and Greek. The Sanskrit has also a large class of nouns corresponding in their form and inflections to nouns of the third declension in Latin, and numerous adjectives also of similar form. In respect to these points where the Sanskrit is so much like the Greek and Latin, the Maráthá and its cognate languages are entirely unlike it. The forms for the different genders in the Maráthá are *á*, *í*, *ē·*, thus:

masc.	fem.	neut.	
chángălá,	*chángălí*,	*chángălē·*,	good.

In the nouns the difference in gender is, in numerous cases, indicated in the same way, thus:

masc.	fem.	neut.	
kōnkărá,	*kōnkărí*,	*kōnkărē·*,	or *kōnkărū·*, a lamb.

So also in the participles and the past tense of verbs, thus: *gēlá, gēlí, gēlē·*, he went, she went, it went. So in the pronoun *há, hí, hē·*, he, she, it. This reminds us of the Hebrew הוּא, הִיא, he, she: the feminine form in both languages is the same. The Hindee, which has only two genders, like the Hebrew, has its masculine and feminine in *á*, *í*, like the Maráthá. The form of the masculine is sometimes found in *ō*, as in the pronoun *tō, tí, tē·*, he, she, it. So in the present tense of the verbs as exhibited above: *dētō, dētí, dētē·*, he gives, she gives, it gives. The Guzeráthee language, a cognate of the Maráthá, has the masculine form of adjectives and nouns often in *ō*. It is remarkable that the Maráthá never has *á*, as the Sanskrit has, for the feminine termination of nouns, adjectives, or participles, except when nouns have come directly from the Sanskrit. This is the more remarkable, when we consider the resemblance of the Sanskrit to the Greek and Latin. And when we remember that the termination *á*, which makes the feminine gender in those three languages, is the prevailing form of the masculine in the Maráthá and Hindee, it seems particularly worthy of notice in marking the difference of the languages.

But there is a still more striking difference between the Maráthá and the Sanskrit nouns, and this consists in the fact that Maráthá nouns have no change in their terminations, for the different cases: in other words, they are not inflected, unless the two terminations of *í·* for the locative case, and *ē·* for the instrumental, be considered inflections; but these are used only to a limited extent, and are evidently of later origin. The Sanskrit bears a great resemblance to the Latin and Greek, in the inflections made in the noun to express different relations. It has an accusative, an instrumental, a dative, an ablative, a possessive, a locative, and a vocative case, all marked by different inflections. But no change is made in the Maráthá noun, with the slight exceptions mentioned above. The only way in which relation is expressed in Maráthá, is by affixing (not prefixing) particles and prepositions to a noun, sometimes without interposing a vowel, though most generally by inserting between the noun and the particle what is called a union-vowel, and, if the noun ends in a vowel, changing it sometimes to another vowel. This union-vowel may be either *á*, *í*, *ū*, *ē*, or *ō*. To this union-vowel are appended the various particles and prepositions, or what may more properly be called postpositions, as they are invariably affixed to the noun. When thus affixed, they become one word with the noun to which they are affixed. This is different from any thing found in the Sanskrit, which always has its prepositions prefixed, as in the European languages. It is more like the Hebrew and its cognate languages, which have their pronominal suffixes, but it differs from them in the fact that pronouns are never thus affixed to Maráthá nouns, only particles and prepositions. One of these particles is *lá*, meaning "to," expressive of the relation of the dative case, like the Hebrew ל, and also appended to the verb to make one form of the infinitive.

All the languages of the northern Hindoo family agree with the Maráthá, it is believed, in the particulars just mentioned.

c. There is another striking difference between the Maráthá and the Sanskrit, in reference to the comparison of adjectives. The Sanskrit changes the termination just as the Latin and Greek, adding *tărăs* and *tămăs* to the positive, to form the comparative and superlative; thus: *lăghu, lăghutărăs, lăghutămăs,* light, lighter, lightest. There is a great resemblance here to the Greek *τεϱος*, in the comparative, and to the Latin *tissimus* or *timus* in the superlative. The Maráthá, on the contrary, has no degrees of comparison. The only way in which it can compare one thing with another, is by circumlocution, as, for instance: *this is good than that*, or *above that*, literally, *from that*. It can indeed put in the adjective meaning "more," and say: *more good than that;* but this would not be idiomatic Maráthá. And the only way it has to express the superlative, is to say, *among all good*, or *than all good*. This is very much like the Hebrew and its cognate languages.

d. There are numerous differences between the Maráthá and Sanskrit in the construction of sentences, to one of which only I will refer at present. The Maráthá is very peculiar in the use of the past tense of transitive verbs. In general, the agent is put in the instrumental case, and the verb has the form of an impersonal; thus, "he struck the horse," would be in Maráthá: *tyánē ghōḍyá-lá márilē*, literally, "by him there was a striking to the horse." And so with all the transitive verbs in the language, with a few well defined exceptions. The direct construction (except in these few cases), is not known in Maráthá. It is just so in Hindee also.

(3.) The Maráthá language is very different from the Sanskrit in the character of its words and syllables. The Sanskrit has often a harsh succession of consonants without the intervention of a vowel, like the English, Latin, and Greek. The Maráthá never has two distinct consonants come together, except when the last consonant is one of the semi-vowels *y* or *w*, and sometimes *r* and *h*. Its syllables also generally end in a vowel. The native Maráthá people can not speak the difficult Sanskrit words introduced so extensively into their language, but break them down by interposing vowels, or dropping one or more of the compound consonants. Thus, they are utterly unable to pronounce the word *năkshătră*, constellation, but break it down into the form *năkităr*. They can not pronounce *lăgnă*, marriage, but say *lăgăn*. Even the word *Bráhmăn*, they generally pronounce *Báhmăn*. The word *sthánă*, place (from the root *sthá*, to stand), they pronounce *ṭháṇ*. The Brahmans, on the contrary, pronounce the most difficult Sanskrit words with perfect facility, thus showing a marked difference between the two classes of people in reference to the organs of articulation.

These considerations lead us to the conclusion that the Maráthá and its cognate languages are not derived from the Sanskrit, but are of independent origin, although, from the long subordination of the people to the priestly Brahman race, these languages have become very much changed in their character, being gradually more assimilated to the Sanskrit in grammatical forms, as well as borrowing a greater proportion of their terms from the Sanskrit.

Without a farther examination of other languages spoken in India and in neighboring countries, it would be unwise to draw any certain conclusion in regard to the stock from which the Maráthá sprung. The facts above given appear contradictory. From the pronouns, we might infer that the Maráthá is one of the Indo-European languages, which must have separated from the original stock long before the Greek and Latin separated from the Sanskrit. On the other hand, the substantive verb, the affixes to the nouns, the mode of marking the comparison of adjectives, and numerous other facts referred to above, can not fail to suggest an affinity to the Shemitish languages.

* * *

Key to expressions of sound used in this essay, in writing words from Indian languages.

ă, like short *u* in *but*, *Columbus.*
á " *a* in *father.*
e " *ey* " *they.*
i " *i* " *pin.*
í " *i* " *machine.*
o " *o* " *note.*
u " *u* " *full.*
ú " *oo* " *food.*
y and *w* are always consonants.
A dot near the top of a vowel, on the right, indicates a slightly nasal sound.
g is always hard.
th is never sounded like *th* in *thin* or in *that*, but is *t* aspirated like *th* in *Chatham.*
A dot beneath *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, indicates that they belong to th palatal class, and not to the dental.

ARTICLE IX.

BRIEF NOTES

ON THE

TAMIL LANGUAGE.

Rev. HENRY R. HOISINGTON,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN CEYLON.

(Read May 19, 1852.)

BRIEF NOTES

ON THE

TAMIL LANGUAGE.

Its general character.

The Tamil has two dialects or branches, commonly called the *High* and the *Low* Tamil. The native appellations for the two branches of the language, are *Shen-Tamil* and *Kodun Tamil.*

Shen-Tamil, the polished, correct Tamil, has three subdivisions, viz.: 1. *Iyal-Tamil,* Natural or Proper Tamil. This is a high and difficult prose style, which is employed chiefly in *Ureis,* or concise explanations of poetic stanzas. It is more closely allied to poetry, than to the common colloquial language. 2. *Isei-Tamil,* Musical or Poetic Tamil. This is none other than Iyal-Tamil arranged according to poetic rule. 3. *Nâdaka-Tamil,* Dramatic Tamil. This, again, is Iyal-Tamil, as employed in the low style of poetry found in the common dramas.

No language can be more concise, copious, pliant, or mellifluous, than the Shen-Tamil. It is the language of scholars, in all their books.

Kodun-Tamil, harsh, unpolished Tamil, is the common colloquial dialect. It does not deserve such an appellation. When well spoken or written, it is smooth and agreeable, except to the fastidious ear of the Tamil poet. Though it is not so flexible as the Shen-Tamil, yet there is no definite idea which cannot be conveyed by it with precision, force, and beauty. It is a copious, flowing and refined language.

The two dialects are so unlike, and the High is in itself so difficult, that one who has not studied the High, however familiar with the Low, cannot understand the finished poetic style at all, not even a line in a page.

Its geographical extent.

The Tamil is spoken by about eight millions of people, in Ceylon and on the adjacent continent. It is believed to be the radix of the Telugû, the Canarese, the Malayâlim, the Tuluva, and other dialects, which constitute the speech of some twenty or thirty millions of people. So that it may well be considered as occupying Southern India. It is denominated, by the Tamilars, the "Southern speech," by way of distinction from the Sanskrit, which they call the "Northern speech."

Its history and relations.

There is reason to believe, that India was originally settled by two branches from the family of Shem. One branch came in at the North-West, across the Indus; the other, at the South-West, by sea.

The language of the latter branch of this Indo-Shemitic family was the Tamil. This may be shown in several ways.

The Muni Agastya is claimed by the Tamilars, to be the father of their purer, or High dialect. He prescribed its grammatical rules, and polished the language. This Agastya is said to have resided on the hill Pothiya, which belonged to the Pândion kingdom. It was not the Pothiya of the North, another nàme for Thibet. It is stated in the Râmâyana, that Râma, the hero of that earliest of the Hindû epics, on his first visit to the South, found Agastya in that region, at the head of a company of Rishis, or Munis. This would seem to establish the existence of the Tamil, as the language of the South of India, as early, at least, as 1200 B. C. It had then already received its distinctive poetic character which marks the High dialect. As the language of the masses, it must, therefore, have existed much earlier.

Some of the best authorities among the natives of Southern India, admit that the father of their pure Tamil dialect was from the North of India, where the Tamil was the native language, and where he learned the Sanskrit. This accords with recently developed facts respecting the relation of the Tamil to the aboriginal tribes of Northern India, which go, with augmenting force, to indicate that the *Tamil was the aboriginal language of all India.* The dominion of the Sanskrit over this earlier language, has been like the conquests of the Hindûs, whose proper language it was, over the earlier tribes, extending gradually from the North-West, and being nearly complete in the fields of its first conquests; but less so, at the South.

Again, this position is confirmed by a reference to the Bible. The five articles mentioned in 1 Kings x. 22, were all to be obtained in Ceylon and Southern India, and, it is believed, collectively in no other place. In that passage, the word rendered peacock, *tōkei*, is *a pure Tamiḷ word*, a primitive triliteral, dissyllabic term. It is not found in Sanskrit, nor in any other Indian language not allied to the Tamiḷ. Some lexicographers have considered this to be radically the same as the Sanskrit *çikhî*. But this word has been adopted into the Tamiḷ, in the form of *siki*. Every Tamiḷ scholar knows that *siki* and *tōkei* are radically distinct. The term *kapi*, rendered ape, but more properly meaning monkey, is just as it stands in Tamiḷ. This is found also in the Sanskrit. But we know that the Sanskrit was introduced into Southern India before Solomon's time; and therefore this word may be regarded as transferred from the Tamiḷ to the Hebrew, especially as it is found in such close connection with the pure Tamiḷ word above named. The same may be said of the word rendered *ivory*, in the passage referred to, literally *tooth of elephants*. The part meaning elephant (Sans. *ibha*, Tam. *ibam*), is found in Tamiḷ, as well as in Sanskrit. These considerations seem to indicate very clearly whence the Tarshishan fleet of Solomon brought those articles, and, also, to determine the language of the people from whom they were obtained.

There are other considerations which go to show that the Tamiḷ was the language of the first settlers of Southern India. The earliest names of places, things, etc. of the South, are pure Tamiḷ, having no connection with the Sanskrit. These have been, in many cases, displaced by terms from the language of the dominant religion, Brâhmanism. Such is the case with regard to Madura, Râmnad, Râma's bridge, Travancore, which were formerly called, respectively, *Âḷavây*, *Mukavei*, *Kallaṇei*, *Maleiyâḷam*. The name of Tinnevelly, a country where the *Shâṇars* abound, who are undoubtedly a portion of the aboriginal race, is pure Tamiḷ, *Tirunelvēli*. The original term for Point Calimere is Tamiḷ, *Kōḍikarei*.

These remarks intimate, what it is believed will be found to be the fact; that the *Tamil belongs to the Shemitic family of languages.* If so, it presents a new and interesting variety; and one, it is thought, well deserving the attention of the philologist and the ethnologist.

The roots, which are mostly verbal, are generally *trilitteral* and *dissyllabic.* A few words are composed of but two letters; and few have more than two syllables.

Some Tamil words are so similar to Hebrew as at once to indicate their common origin. The following are given as examples of this similarity in vocables, being about one in every ten compared. Many more doubtless exist.

Tamil.	Hebrew.
Bâri, to produce, to form.	בָּרָא, to create.
Ara, to reap, by plucking off, etc.	אָרָה, to reap, to pluck.
Ēra, to ascend, to increase.	אָרַם, to be high.
Ari, lion.	אֲרִי, lion.
Ari, light, heat.	אוֹר, light, heat.
Aran, or *Adan,* Lord.	אֲדֹנָי, Lord.
Elēkar, minor gods.	אֱלֹהִים, gods.
Batti, house.	בַּיִת, house.
Ûr, town.	עָר, or עִיר, town.
Banna, to make.	בָּנָה, to build.
Mâyvu, death.	מָוֶת, death.

The Tamilars use *athu,* that, as indicative of the supre eternal God; it is one of their most expressive appellations for the undeveloped or unorganized Deity. This suggests the remark of Lowth, that "the Hebrew word הוּא, he, is often equivalent to the true and eternal God. See De. xxxii. 39; Is. xliii. 10, 13, xlviii. 12; and, especially, Ps. cii. 27."

Its grammatical characteristics.

The Tamil verb has three tenses: present, past, and future. It undergoes changes to indicate the three persons, two numbers, and three genders. The person, number and gender are expressed by pronominal terminations in the verb. The gender is marked only in the third person singular, and in the neuter plural.

For example, the pronoun, or nominative, being understood:

Naḍakkirēn, I walk.
Naḍakkirây, or *naḍakkirîr,* thou walkest.
Naḍakkirân, he walks.
Naḍakkirâḷ, she walks.
Naḍakkindathu, it walks.
Naḍakkirōm, we walk.
Naḍakkirîr, or *naḍakkirîrkaḷ,* ye walk.
Naḍakkirârkaḷ, they walk.
Naḍakkindana, things walk.

The terminations are the same in all the tenses; except the neuter future, which ends in *um,* thus:

Naḍakkerēn, I walk.
Naḍantēn, I walked.
Naḍappēn, I will walk.
Naḍakkum, it will walk, etc.

The Tamiḷ verb has five modes, viz: indicative, imperative, infinitive, optative, and subjunctive. The last three are formed directly from the indicative, but in various ways. The more common form of the optative is made by adding, to the personal terminations of the future, the particle *âka,* which is, in fact, the infinitive of the verb *to be, to become,* thus:

Naḍappēnâka, may I walk, or let me walk.
Naḍappîraka, mayest thou walk, etc.
Naḍappîrkaḷâka, may they walk, etc.

The imperative has several forms; but the more proper form of the singular is that of the root. The plural is made by adding to the singular the plural pronominal termination, thus:

Naḍa, walk (thou).
Noḍavungkaḷ, walk (ye).

The *v,* inserted between the root and the plural termination, is a mere connective, used to prevent the hiatus which would otherwise occur by the two vowels coming together. After certain vowels, *y* performs this office, as will be seen in some of the examples given.

There is *no relative pronoun* in this language. Its place is supplied by a peculiarity in the participle, which is styled, on this account, relative participle. Every participle includes a relative, or what is equivalent to a relative pronoun, which refers to the noun immediately following as its antecedent. This relative participle must be rendered, in English, by a finite verb and pronoun. For example: *naḍakkira manushan* (where the first word is the present participle of the verb *to walk,* and the other the term for *man*), the man who walks or is walking. The Tamiḻ here is as clear and definite as the English.

Every verb has *several negative forms,* variously made. One mode of forming the negative verb, is by adding the pronominal terminations *ēn, ây, an* or *ân, aḻ* or *âḻ,* etc., to the root of the verb. Thus, from the root *naḍa,* walk:

Naḍavēn, I will not walk.
Naḍavây, thou wilt not walk.
Naḍavân, he will not walk, etc.

Another mode of forming the negative verb, is to add the particle *illei,* no, not, to the infinitive. Thus: from *naḍakka,* to walk, we have *naḍakkavillei,* does, do, or did not walk. This is used for all persons, and both numbers, without variation.

These two forms have but one tense. The former refers chiefly to future time, and the latter, to past time. But either may be used without reference to any specific time.

A negative verb is formed in the several tenses, by adding to the negative gerund of any verb, the substantive verb *irukkirathu,* to be, etc. This verb is regularly declined, the negative gerund undergoing no change. Thus, with the negative gerund *naḍavâthu,* or *naḍavâmal,* not walking:

Naḍavâthirukkirēn, I do not walk.
Naḍavâthiruntēn, I did not walk.
Naḍavâthiruppēn, I will not walk, etc. etc. etc.

These are all used in common Tamiḻ. Other forms are employed in the High dialect.

All verbs have a *causative form,* made from the future indicative. This causative is always a perfect verb, regular in its conjugation. Thus, from *naḍappēn,* I will walk, etc., we have:

Naḍappikkirēn, I cause to walk.
Naḍappikkirây, thou causest to walk.
Naḍappikkirân, he causes to walk, etc. etc. etc.

There is another causative form which some verbs admit, thus: *naḍattukirēn,* I cause (any business-matter) to walk, to advance. From *sumakkirēn,* I bear (a burden, etc.), we have *sumattukirēn,* I cause (a burden) to be borne. This, also, runs through the persons, tenses, etc. as a perfect verb.

By means of this last form, intransitive verbs become transitive, thus: *varukirēn,* I come; *varuttukirēn,* I cause to come.

Symbolic verbs are a perculiarity in Tamiḷ. Appellatives which are declined like common nouns, abound in the language. Symbolic verbs are different, having the form and regimen of both verbs and nouns. These are employed mostly in High Tamiḷ. They are usually formed from certain roots, or primitive nouns, which are used chiefly as adjectives. Yet they may be formed from any noun. I give a few examples.

From *aḍi,* meaning step, foot, root, servitude, we have *aḍiyēn,* I your servant. From *uḍei,* possession, we have *uḍeiyēn,* I the possessor. These are used in the different persons, numbers and genders.

The same word may have both a subject and an object, like any verb, and at the same time be governed, in the sentence, like a common noun. For example: *koḍiyei siriyēnei aḍittây,* thou who art a cruel man hast beaten me who am a small man. The compound subject in this sentence is expressed by the first word in the example, *koḍiyei;* and the compound object is contained in the second word of the example, *siriyēnei,* which is the proper form of the objective case. The last word, *aḍittây,* is a common verb, in the past tense.

I will mention one other peculiarity of the Tamiḷ verb, called, variously, the *gerund, verbal participle, first indefinite mode.* This is used in a compound sentence, instead of the finite form, in the case of all verbs in the sentence except the last. In the sentence: "Let us go to-morrow, reap the paddy, bring it to the threshing-floor, make a heap of it, thresh it, sell the rice, and pay the taxes," there would be six gerunds, and one verb only, the last, in the finite form. It would be exceedingly awkward and heavy to give these gerunds in the form of finite verbs. The tense, number, person, etc., of the gerunds, are always the same as the last verb, in the finite form, on which they all depend.

Articles.

The Tamiḷ has *no articles.* The place of the definite article is supplied by the demonstrative pronouns, or by certain modes of expression. For the indefinite, is often used the numeral *oṟu,* one.

Declensions.

Nouns have *eight cases,* and all nouns, with very few exceptions, have the *same case-terminations.* The order and meaning of the cases may be given thus: He, him, by or with him, to him, from him, of him, or his, at or in him, and the vocative.

Pronouns.

Personal pronouns, as well as some nouns, have *two forms of plural,* both of which are sometimes used as *honorifics,* designed to mark superiority in the person to whom they are addressed. Verbs used with such nominatives change their terminations accordingly. For example:

Nân, I; *nâm,* and *nângkaḷ,* we, or (by way of honor), I.
Nî, thou; *nîr,* and *nîngkaḷ,* ye, or, " thou.
Avan, he; } *avar,* and *avarkaḷ,* they, or { (by way of honor) he.
Avaḷ, she; } " she.

The two forms of the first person plural, *nâm* and *nângkaḷ,* differ also in extension. *Nâm* includes both speaker and hearers; as in the sentence: "we (*nâm*) are all sinners." *Nângkaḷ* excludes those spoken to, and is the proper correlative of *nîngkaḷ,* ye.

In addresses to the Deity, it is very common to use, in the place of thou, *dēvarîr,* meaning, literally, ye gods, or ye who are gods. It is the word *Dēva,* God, with a double plural, in the form of the second person plural. The termination *îr* marks the second person plural in both pronouns and verbs.

So, also, the common word for Lord, *Swâmy,* in addresses to the Deity, usually takes the form of the *pluralis excellentiae, Swâmyâr.* *Âr* is the termination of verbs in the first form of the third person plural, and, when attached to nouns, it gives them the character of symbolic verbs, which are used as honorific appellatives.

Collocation of words in a sentence.

The governing particles are more properly *postpositions*, than prepositions, as they always follow the noun which they govern.

The sixth, or possessive, case always precedes the word by which it is governed.

In the case of active transitive verbs, both the subject and object usually precede the verb; thus: *nân avanei aḍittēn*, I him beat.

The common order of the parts of speech in a sentence, is very nearly the reverse of what is common in English. Thus, the sentence: "the man who came here yesterday," would be in Tamiḷ order: "yesterday here who came the man."

Adjectives.

Adjectives precede the nouns which they qualify, and admit no variation of form to express either gender, number, or case.

They admit of no change of form to express the degrees of comparison. The comparative degree is expressed by means of the dative, or ablative case of the noun, which in English would naturally follow *than*, but which, in Tamiḷ, precedes the superior or qualified member of the sentence. Thus, "this is better than that" would be in Tamiḷ order: "to that, this is good."

The comparison is sometimes made by the help of the verb *to look*, the same order of the words being observed, thus: *athei pârkka, ithu nallathu*, to look at that, or, while we look at that, this is good.

The superlative degree is expressed by the help of the term for *all*, and the ablative case in the first member of the sentence as before. Thus, the expression: "God is most high," would be: "of, or among, all persons, God is high."

For "this is the best," we have: "of, or among, all things, this is good."

Other characteristic points in this language might be specified. But these are deemed sufficient to answer the purpose of this paper, which is, to call the attention of scholars to the Tamiḷ as a rich and important language, and to enable them to determine its place in the classification of languages.

ARTICLE X.

ON

THE GENUINENESS

OF THE

SO-CALLED NESTORIAN MONUMENT

OF SINGAN-FU.

BY

EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

(Read October 14, 1852.)

OF THE

SO-CALLED NESTORIAN MONUMENT

OF

SINGAN-FU.

IN a recent conversation with the Rev. Dr. Bridgman, I expressed my belief that the so-called Nestorian monument of Singan-fu was now generally regarded, by the learned, as a forgery. Dr. Bridgman replied that he had no doubt of its genuineness, but would be glad to know on what grounds it could be questioned, and to investigate the subject, farther, on his return to China. I was thus led to read whatever I could lay my hands upon, relating to this inscription, with a view to ascertain, more exactly, the judgments of learned men as to its genuineness, and the true state of the evidence respecting it. Some of the results of my inquiries are here presented.

So early as when Kircher published his *Prodromus Copticus,*[*] which first brought the inscription to the knowledge of the European world, there were those, as we learn from that reverend father's contemptuous treatment of their arguments, in his *China Illustrata,* who regarded the monument as only a fabrication of the Jesuits. What their arguments against it were, I have not ascertained; but Kircher, without citing them particularly, and notwithstanding his apparent contempt for them, was moved by them to prepare the work last named, in which he professes to give the inscription itself, more exactly, and a more reliable translation of it, than was possible for him in his *Prodromus.*[†]

---

[*] Published at Rome in 1636.

[†] Kircher's *China Illustrata,* Amstelodami: 1667, pp. 1, 2, 6.

After this, there was still a division of opinion respecting the genuineness of the monument; nor were those who admitted it exclusively of the Jesuit party. Renaudot, in his *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, alludes to Horne and some other Protestants, who had treated it as a fabrication, as having been refuted by those of their own religion who were more moderate and learned. The same author, however, although he himself does not question the genuineness of the monument, remarks that there is no sense in many passages of Kircher's Latin translation, that Kircher evidently did not understand the Syriac part of the inscription, and that he was particularly at fault in respect to its historical and geographical references.*

Assemanni, the distinguished author of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, assumes, in that work, the genuineness of the monument, while giving us, as the result of a collation of two manuscript copies of it, preserved at Rome, some very important emendations of the Syriac text published by Kircher.

Mosheim, in his *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*,† after stating that learned men had violently contended for and against the genuineness of the monument, and were still at variance on the subject, and while he waives a critical investigation of the disputed point, hesitates not to join himself to those who acquit the church of Rome and the Society of the Jesuits of all fraud, and hold this monument to be a remarkable and precious remnant of antiquity.

The writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the other side, whom I find particularly named, are, beside Bishop Horne, Spizelius and La Croze. What ground they took, I am unable to say, not having had access to the works in which they speak of this monument.

Coming down to the present century, we find the great champion of the monument in Abel-Rémusat, who says, in his *Mélanges Asiatiques*:‡ "As for the monument of Si-'an-fou, it will not be useless, since an opportunity offers, to make some observations suited to dissipate doubts, which would not have been so accredited, if the replying to them had not been so long neglected. . . . . . I know that the authenticity of the inscription of Si-'an-fou has been contested by certain writers, who have gone so far as even to deny its existence, and to accuse the missionaries who have spoken of it, of having fabricated this monument by a pious fraud. Even if this fabrication had been practicable in the midst of a nation distrustful and suspicious, in a country where private individuals and magistrates are equally ill-disposed toward strangers, and especially toward missionaries, where every one has his eyes open to the smallest movements, where authority watches with extreme care over all that pertains to historical traditions, and monuments of antiquity,—it would still be difficult to explain how the missionaries could have been hardy enough to cause to be printed and published in China, and in Chinese, an inscription of eighteen hundred words, which never existed; how they could have imitated the Chinese style, counterfeited the manner of the writers of the Thang dynasty, cited usages but little known, local circumstances, dates expressed in the mysterious figures of Chinese astrology, and all without for a moment contradicting themselves, and in a manner to impose upon the most adroit men of letters, interested, by the very singularity of the discovery, in discussing its authenticity. One would have, therefore, to suppose that a Chinese man of letters united with the missionaries, to impose upon his countrymen. But this is not all. The borders of the inscription are covered with Syriac names, in fair Estranghelo characters. The fabricator, then, was acquainted with the Syriac, and was able to have engraved, under his own eyes, with exactness, ninety lines of the Syriac writing which was formerly in use, and the knowledge of which is at the present day but little diffused. In the list of Syrian priests which is read on this monument, several bear names but little known at the period to which the discovery is referred, before the publication of the extracts of Assemanni, such as Ahad-Gusnasph, Atdaspha, Yeschouadad, Izdbouzid, etc. The fabricator, then, was a man who had made a profound study of the Syriac monuments, in the original. Besides, it would not suffice to account for the fabrication of the inscription in the Chinese edition, and in the copies brought by Fathers Semedo, Martini and Boym; the fabrication of the monument must also be explained; for the stone exists: it is ten feet high, by five wide; copies of it have been taken by laying transparent paper upon it after inking it, and the engraving reduced from one of these copies is in the King's Library. Moreover, it is not the missionaries who found it in the ground, but some Chinese workmen, who were digging the foundations of a private house; it was the Chinese governor who caused it to be set up, and placed upon a pedestal, in one of the temples of the vicinity, and that without suspecting that he was the dupe of a pious fraud. Consequently, he had been obliged to have this inscription composed in Chinese by a man of letters gained over by bribery, to cause to be added to it some Syriac lines by a writer skilled in tracing the Estranghelo, to cause the whole to be engraved on the stone, this stone to be buried, without any one's perceiving it, and to direct the excavations of the masons of the city, so that they might recover it. What tricks, what cares, what difficulties, what risks, even, among a people like the Chinese! And for what object? To establish in a plausible manner what was otherwise known, that in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era, some Syrians had constructed churches at Si-'an-fou, and that a certain number of Chinese had embraced the Nestorian or Jacobite heresy. An object, doubtless, little worthy of the means which they were compelled to employ; one cannot imagine that Catholicism had any thing to gain by all that, nor how the Jesuits could find themselves recompensed for their pains, in seeing their inscription placed in a temple of idols, in the remote part of the province of Chen-si."

---

* Renaudot's *Anciennes Relations*, etc. Paris: 1718, pp. 234, 236.

† Mosheim's *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, Helmstadi: 1741, pp. 9, 10.

‡ Tome ii. (Paris: 1826), pp. 35, ff.

Klaproth takes the same view as Abel-Rémusat, and expresses himself in nearly the same words, in his *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie.**

Schmidt, on the other hand, in the notes to his *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen,*† speaks of this monument as "assuredly nothing but a work of religious mystification and pious fraud, of which its contents afford the clearest indications;" without, however, giving any reasons for the opinion so confidently expressed.

The leader of the opposition, so to speak, to the genuineness of the monument, in modern times, is Neumann, who takes his ground in the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche*

---

* Paris: 1826, pp. 209, 210.

† Schmidt's *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, St. Petersburg: 1829, s. 384.

*Kritik,** as follows: "The authors of the inscription were Syrians, or at least of Syrian origin, and were in constant communication with the West,—how then comes it, that they describe Tatschin (the West) precisely as Chinese geography under the Tang does? Have the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Dutch and English, in the monuments which they have left on foreign soil, described Europe and their father-land according to truth, or according to the fabulous views of foreign nations? Have the Chinese ever called India itself Tatschin, and was not the name given to the West, at the period of the inscription, Fulin? Upon the chronological error in respect to the Syrian patriarchs (of three years), we will lay no particular stress; Rénaudot's ground is indeed untenable, for there was, especially under the Tang, much communication between eastern and western Asia. But never, never, would a Chinese emperor, in a public decree, have dared to say of a foreign doctrine: 'it must be published throughout the land,' without stirring up a revolt in the body of the nation, the Schukiao; never has a Chinese emperor caused the sacred Scriptures to be translated, and made known through the whole empire ('he specially commanded to publish it,' etc.); never has an emperor caused a church to be built in his capital, and never were there churches standing in every city. We deny all this so decidedly, because in Chinese history, where even the slightest inclination of the emperors to the Taosse and Buddhists is noticed, and blamed, not the remotest trace of it all is to be found. 'But the Chinese held the followers of Buddha and of Christ to be the same.' How can it be that this should have happened to the Chinese, so exact in matters of fact? That they who distinguish even the several Buddhist sects, should have held the Christians and their enemies to be the same? Is there not, then, in the inscription itself, mention made of the hostilities and persecutions of the children of Sche (Sâkya)? And let it be now considered what an emperor it is who found the doctrine of Olopen so excellent,—it is the emperor who passes for a reinstator of the pure doctrine of Kong-tse, who declared: 'there is no salvation out of the doctrine of the perfect wise man.' And did not the Chinese Christians, and the other Chinese, as soon as this fact was published, doubt it? This is told us by bishop Navarette in his famous *Tratados*: 'No solos los Gentiles, sino tambien los Christianos dudan, y no poco del caso;' the provincial authorities, therefore, as the same Navarette relates, caused the whole affair to be carefully investigated,—why have the Jesuits not made known the result of the investigation? But what object, it is asked, should the Jesuits have had in fabricating a Nestorian document? Are there, indeed, in this monument, important Nestorian heresies? The proof in respect to the passage where the trinity is spoken of, was annihilated already a hundred years ago by the great Sinologue Prémare.

---

* For the year 1830, Bd. i. ss. 591–93.

But that the Jesuits, in the first place, knew Syriac enough to make up the inscription, is known to every one who is only superficially acquainted with the history of the Indo-Syrian church; their famous seminary at Cranganor was especially designed for the conversion of Syrians, and flourished precisely at the time of the famous fact; in the second place, that the Jesuits have lied and deceived, and still lie and deceive, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, they allow, and this is also sufficiently known from history. What object, however, had the pious fathers in this? The Chinese should suppose that Christianity is by no means a new doctrine, but the faith of a large portion of their fathers; how can any one, afterwards, dare to speak against the doctrine of the Thiantschu, if he has read the decree of the all-honored Taythong of the Tang? Hence, in the extravagant and intentionally obscured fabrication, there is not a word about Christ's crucifixion, the foundation of redemption; this point was especially injurious to Christianity, in the opinion of the Chinese, and Ricci, so early as his time, sought to avoid it wherever he possibly could."

The same grounds for rejecting the monument as a forgery are presented by Neumann, in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*;* and some objections not before stated are here brought forward, namely: that there never were, and never could be, cities in China named Chumdam and Saraga; that the mention of the four quarters of the earth betrays either a knowledge of the discovery of America, or that the ecclesiastics who composed the inscription, accommodated their language to Chinese cosmogony; that the silence of the Syrian writers on the subject of the history of Christianity in China is irreconcilable with admitting the genuineness of the monument; that no traces of a Christian civilization have been discovered, in recent times, in that part of China where the Christian religion must have been established during a period of at least a century and a half; and that both the Chinese and the Syriac characters of the inscription are modern, not such as were in use in the eighth century.

---

* Bd. iv. (Leipzig: 1850), ss. 33, ff.

In view of the reasonings of Abel-Rémusat, on the one side, and that of Neumann in the *Jahrbücher*, on the other, Ritter, in his *Erdkunde von Asien*,* and Neander, in his *Allgemeine Geschichte d. Christlichen Religion und Kirche*,† have suspended their judgment respecting this famous monument. The former observes that the influence of a mission so early as that spoken of in this inscription, in the seventh century, may be said to show itself unmistakably in the traces of Nestorianism found in that part of China which it refers to, by misssionary travellers and others, and noticed by annalists, who were ignorant of the disputed fact of its introduction at that time. Yet he thinks it not improbable that Neumann's theory of the origin of the inscription may prove to be correct.‡

Neander, inclining the same way as Ritter, on independent historical grounds, admits that the question respecting the genuineness of the monument is not yet decided, and that more light must be thrown upon it from the labors of modern Sinologists.

---

* Th. ii. Buch 2, Bd. i. (Berlin: 1832), ss. 286, 287.

† Bd. iii. (Hamburg: 1834), ss. 178, 179.

‡ In connection with this opinion of Ritter, the following statement may not be without interest:

"A letter from Mr. Goddard of Ningpo, published in the Missionary Magazine, seems to indicate the existence of some remains of the early Nestorian missions in China:—A few days since, a respectable looking stranger came into our chapel, and listened with much apparent attention to the discussion. After service, he stopped to converse. He said that he and his ancestors had worshipped only one God, the Creator. He knew of Moses and Jesus and Mary, said he was not a Romanist nor Mohammedan, neither had he seen our books, but that the doctrine was handed down from his ancestors. He did not know where they obtained it, nor for how many generations they had followed it. He is from one of the western provinces of China, and said that in his native place there are some thirty families of the same religion. They have books, but do not propagate them."—*New-York Observer*, for September 2, 1852, p. 283.

Such have been the varying opinions entertained in respect to the genuineness of this monument, so far as I have been able to inform myself, from the age of its reported discovery down to the present time. I will now attempt to exhibit the true state of the evidence in respect to the point in dispute, referring back to the opinions which have been presented, as there may be occasion, in doing so. I shall first consider the story of the discovery of the monument; next, the inscription, with reference to the characters in which it was sculptured; and last, the contents of the inscription.

In the year 1625, then, as is stated, some laborers, while digging the foundation for a house, in the province of Chen-si, the district of San-yuen, and the village of Cheu-che, near the city of Singan-fu, fell upon a stone tablet, buried in the earth, five palms broad, about one palm thick, and nine and a half or ten palms long, the upper end finished in a pyramidal shape, measuring two palms in length by one in breadth, within which appeared sculptured a cross, with arms terminating in lilies, and resting upon small clouds. The face of this tablet was found to be covered with an evidently ancient inscription in Chinese, together with marginal inscriptions in a character unknown to the Chinese, and which was not recognized by the first European who saw the monument. The person who first drew much attention to this remarkable discovery appears to have been a mandarin named Leo, a convert to Christianity, as his name implies, and who is said to have published an exact description of the monument, on account of the great advantage to the Christian faith which he hoped would thence accrue. Meanwhile, within a short time after the discovery, on the invitation of another Christian mandarin, named, by his name of baptism, Philip, the Portuguese Jesuit Semedo visited the district of San-yuen, baptized twenty persons, and with that mandarin went to see the monument. To use his own words, he "saw it, read it, and returned to read and to admire it at his leisure; and considering its antiquity, wondered how it could be so entire, and how the letters could be so clear and well defined." The governor of the locality, being informed of the discovery, struck with the strangeness of the circumstance, and partly moved by a superstitious feeling, caused to be written an elegant composition in praise of the monument, caused a copy of it to be engraved on another similar tablet of marble, and this, together with the original, to be deposited for safe keeping, under a covering, within the enclosure of a Taosse temple, one mile from the walls of the city of Singan-fu. Father Semedo, not having recognized the Syriac characters of the inscription, went to Cranganor, the residence of the archbishop of Cochin, in order to consult with father Antonio Fernandez, in regard to them, who informed him that they were Syriac, and such as had been in use. Subsequently, copies of the inscription, either in whole or in part, reached Rome, which have formed the basis of all criticisms upon it, and interpretations of it, from Kircher's day to this.

Reviewing, now, the account which has been given, with a careful attention to all the statements of fathers Semedo, Martini, Boym, and Kircher himself, of the discovery of the monument, it is to be observed:

1. That attention was first drawn to the discovery by a native convert of the Jesuits, not by disinterested Chinese, as would seem from Abel-Rémusat's remarks already quoted; and that it was this same Chinese convert of the Jesuits, and not the European missionaries, as the same writer supposes an objector to maintain, who caused the inscription to be printed and published in China. Of course, what Abel-Rémusat argues in favor of its genuineness on those grounds, is without foundation.

2. That the fact of the depositing of the stone, by the Chinese governor, within the enclosure of a Taosse temple, as stated, harmonizes with that identification of the Taosse and Christians, attributed to the Chinese, by which the defenders of the monument meet objection to it on the ground that the Chinese annalists make no mention of any one of their emperors having favored Christianity; and if the fact is admitted, Neumann's reasoning on that ground is unsatisfactory.

3. That the incidental mention of Semedo's obtaining at Cranganor an explanation of the unrecognized Syriac characters of the inscription, shows that the Jesuits of China could, probably, have had the Syriac part of it made up in India. Consequently, Abel-Rémusat's argument in its favor on the ground of the great improbability that any Chinese

fabricator of the inscription was acquainted with the Syriac, and was conversant with Syriac books, is not valid.

4. That there is no intrinsic improbability in the account of the discovery; but, inasmuch as it is not known that any one has pretended to have seen the original monument, during the last two centuries, and as the state of preservation of the inscription, and the condition of the tablet, might prove an important source of inference as to its being genuine, it is essential to a full belief in the story, that the monument be seen by some disinterested person, at the present day; and be found to be in such a condition as agrees with its claims to so great an antiquity, with the statement of Semedo already quoted, that, when he saw it, he was astonished at its being so entire, and that the letters could be so clear, and well defined, and with the probability of its having been preserved from any material injury, since that time.

The inscription is next to be considered with reference to the characters in which it was sculptured. But here it becomes important to recall the circumstances under which the only copy of it, pretending to be a fac-simile, which has been published, was produced. Kircher, in his *Prodromus Copticus,* gave some specimens of the Syriac part of the inscription which had been transmitted to him by father Semedo; but the first complete copy was received later. This copy, however, the same which was at length deposited in the Museum of the Collegio Romano, at Rome, and which Assemanni, a century after Kircher, examined, a fac-simile, apparently, is not that which was followed in the engraving given in the *China Illustrata,* but another copy, also said to be a fac-simile, belonging to Kircher, which a native Chinese, named Matthew, of Singan-fu, in 1664, put into the form of the tablet which is engraved in that work. Now it cannot be said that this engraving, so far as the Syriac part is concerned, presents altogether faultless Estranghelo writing: there are some cases of letters badly made, and others where one has been, evidently, mistaken for another. Yet, upon the whole, the characters are unquestionably Estranghelo, Neumann's declaration to the contrary notwithstanding; and the exceptional cases referred to are sufficiently accounted for by the fact of a Chinese hand having prepared the sheet to be engraved from. Of the Chinese characters I am unable to speak. I discover, therefore, here, no ground to doubt the genuineness of the monument, though the evidence in favor of it, from this source, might be greatly strengthened by a sight of the original, or even of the fac-simile preserved in the Collegio Romano. There has been presented to this Society by the Rev. William A. Macy, a copy of the Chinese part of the inscription, based upon unknown authority, which gives two small specimens of the Syriac part also; but whether these are to be regarded as copies from a fac-simile, or not, I am not informed.

It now only remains to consider the contents of the inscription. In order to do this intelligently, the state of the text, as we possess it, must first be inquired into. My remarks on this point must be confined to the Syriac part, for, not being at all acquainted with the Chinese, I am unable to judge of differences of reading in that language, and shall, therefore, rely, for the contents of that part of the inscription which is in Chinese, wholly upon a translation published in the *Chinese Repository*, which was written, as I suppose, by Dr. Bridgman.* This translation is preferred, because it makes the most intelligible sense. As respects the Syriac part, it is evident that Kircher had before him a copy different from that of which he published an engraving in his *China Illustrata,* and one in some respects, in his view, to be preferred; for in his *Prodromus Copticus* he give names, as from the Syriac part of the inscription, which do not appear at all in that engraving, and are indeed silently left out in his complete translation accompanying it; and the order of the Syriac names, as presented in full in the *China Illustrata*, is not the same as in the engraving. Assemanni does not hesitate to affirm that Kircher invented those names which appeared in his *Prodromus*, but were omitted in his *China*, and that for the particular purpose of making out that the heralds of Christianity in China were not all of the Syrian church, but in part of the Alexandrian.† However this may have been, such a diversity of text, having come down to us, deserved to be noticed. In Kircher's Syriac text of the inscription, it is farther to be observed, there are two important places where no satisfactory sense can be made out. Assemanni, however, has given a reading which removes all difficulty. If, then, we inquire into the origin of his text, it is found that he based it upon the fac-simile in the Collegio Romano, and another copy, whether a fac-simile or not is unknown, in the Vatican, which no writer but himself, so far as I know, has mentioned.* There is, therefore, considerable uncertainty as to the text of the Syriac part of the inscription; yet, until either the original stone is consulted, or the fac-similes at Rome are examined, which is very desirable, I have no hesitation in saying that Assemanni's commends itself the most. It may be added, that, in an important place, one of the specimens of the Syriac presented to this Society by Mr. Macy, agrees with the reading of Assemanni, while it differs from that of Kircher.

---

* *Chinese Repository*, Canton: 1845, vol. xiv. pp. 201, ff.

† See *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Tomi iii. Pars ii. (Romae: 1728), p. dxlvii.

The most important contents of the Syriac part of the inscription are the record of the name of the Patriarch in whose time the monument is said to have been erected, and the passage which gives the date, according to the era of the Greeks, and tells who set it up. The latter is thus rendered by Assemanni: "In the year of the Greeks one thousand and ninety and two, Mar Jazedbuzid, presbyter and provincial bishop of the royal city of Kumdân, son of blessed memory of Milles, presbyter from Balkh, a city of Tokharistân, erected this tablet, in which are described the dispensation of our Saviour, and the preaching of our fathers to the king of the Chinese," followed by the names of certain ecclesiastics. The former is rendered by Assemanni as follows: "In the days of the Father of fathers, Mar Ananjesus, Catholic Patriarch." Now the year of the Greeks mentioned corresponds to 781 of our era; but Nestorian history informs us that the Patriarch Mar Ananjesus, the second of that name, who alone can be thought of, died in 778. This discrepancy is explained by Rénaudot, on the supposition that the tidings of the Patriarch's death may not yet have reached the Christians in China, when the monument was erected; and Assemanni acquiesces in this, and refers to the similar case of a letter, extant in the Vatican, which was addressed by certain Nestorian bishops sent to Malabar, to their Patriarch in Assyria, in the year 1815 of the Greeks, when he had been dead already two years. At all events, the discrepancy seems to me to testify rather in favor of, than against, the genuineness of the monument; for would not a fabricator have avoided throwing such a stumbling-block in the way of the reception of his forgery?

---

* Of the engraving said by Abel-Rémusat to be in the King's Library at Paris, reduced from a fac-simile, I know nothing farther.

But what is to be said of the name Kumdân? It will be remembered that Neumann rests one of his objections to the genuineness of the inscription on this name, which he mis-reads Chumdam, saying that there never could have been a city in China so called. Is it necessary, however, or even best, to suppose that the episcopate of the person who raised the monument should be designated, in this Syriac record, by its native Chinese name? If not, there is no difficulty here; for it is ascertained, as I learn from Reinaud,* that the Arabs of the middle ages called the same place which now bears the name of Singan-fu, and which was formerly called Tchang-ngan, Kumdân; and it is natural to suppose that it was known to the Nestorians of China, through communication with their Patriarchate on the Euphrates, in the eighth century, by the same name.

In considering the contents of the Chinese part of the inscription, I shall first notice the doctrinal views and religious usages which it attributes to the Nestorians, and then its statements respecting the establishment and progress of Christianity in China.

As regards the doctrinal views and religious usages here attributed to the Nestorians, in general, it must be acknowledged, in accordance with the intimation of Neumann, in his remarks above quoted from the *Jahrbücher für w. Kritik*, that none are so characteristically Nestorian as to constitute an argument in favor of the genuineness of the monument, on the ground that no sufficient object can be assigned for the Jesuits having fabricated a record of doctrines and usages contrary to Roman Catholic orthodoxy.

The doctrine of the incarnation, in the expression of which one might look, if anywhere, for Nestorian peculiarity, is set forth in terms which, for aught I can see, might as well have proceeded from a partizan of the much disputed appellation Θεοτόκος, applied to the Virgin Mary. The words are as follows: "Thereupon our Trinity set apart the illustrious and adorable Messiah; who, laying aside his true dignity, came into the world as man. Angels proclaimed the joyful tidings. A virgin gave birth to the holy child in Judea." Indeed, it may be questioned whether a Nestorian would have applied to the second person of the Trinity the name of Messiah or Christ, which Nestorians appropriated to the expression of the divine and human united in the person of Jesus.

---

* *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le ixe siècle de l'ère chrétienne. Publ. par M. Reinaud.* Paris: 1845, Tome i. p. 65; Tome ii. note 183.

Another particular point claiming notice, is the creation of the world in four parts, spoken of in the following passage: "He [Jehovah] determining, in the form of a cross, to establish the four quarters of the earth, moved the primeval Spirit, and produced all things visible and invisible." This is remarkable as coming from Nestorians of the eighth century, and may be capable of explanation only by a supposed accommodation to the popular cosmogony of the Chinese, as Neumann has suggested.*

A division of the Canon of the Old and New Testament referred to, apparently, in the following passages, namely: "He [the Messiah] fulfilled the ancient laws, given by the twenty-four holy ones," and: "His [the Messiah's] mighty work thus finished, at mid-day he ascended to his true estate. Twenty-seven books remained," needs to be explained; for the Nestorian version of the Scriptures embraces all the books of the Old Testament in our Canon, and omits some books of our Canon of the New Testament, and there is no decisive authority for admitting a division of the two, respectively, into twenty-four and twenty-seven books among the Nestorians, except the assertion of Assemanni, following Rénaudot, that such a division was in accordance with the common sentiment of the Eastern Church.†

---

* Rev. Dr. Murdock, however, proposes to understand the passage as referring, simply, to the four points of the compass, for the whole world, as in a passage in Ebed Jesu's Makâmât, written about A. D. 1300, he says; "Worship all ye four (i. e. the whole world) the Supreme."

† But I am informed by Dr. Murdock, that the Nestorians of the present day receive the whole of our New Testament Canon, and that ancient manuscripts of the New Testament, divided into lessons for use in the Nestorian churches, embrace books which are excluded from the Peshito codices, in general, while these codices, themselves, scarcely ever represent fully the Nestorian Canon. It seems, therefore, quite likely that the Nestorians of the eighth century may have come to recognize as belonging to the New Testament all that is acknowledged among us as canonical.

The following passage: "They [the disciples of the Messiah] shave the crown of the head, to indicate the absence of passion," alluding to the tonsure, might be regarded as suspicious; for it would appear, from a quotation by Assemanni, that the Nestorian priests of Malabar suffered the hair on the crown of their heads to grow, and Assemanni, on the authority of Barhebraeus and others, ascribes to the Nestorians, generally, the error, as he calls it, of neglecting the tonsure. Yet he himself quotes from an original author who speaks of the tonsure as having been enjoined upon the Nestorians, by Abraham Cascarensis, a famous propagator of monastic discipline in the community, about the year 502.* Consequently, it may have been in use among the Nestorians of China, in the eighth century.

Prayers for the dead are referred to in the following passage: "Seven times a day they [the disciples of the Messiah] offer praises to the great advantage of both the living and the dead." But the Nestorian doctrine, as to departed souls, admits no state intermediate between that of the saints awaiting the blessedness which is to be theirs at the general resurrection, and that of the wicked awaiting the misery which is then to be their portion; and it affirms, moreover, that both the saints and the wicked, having departed this life, remain in a state of unconsciousness, until the general resurrection. What place is there, alongside of this doctrine, for prayers for the dead? The answer is that, notwithstanding the apparent inconsistency, Nestorian writers, and one so early as the middle of the tenth century, do advocate such prayers, and that the Nestorian liturgy recognizes them.†

I have thus noticed all the passages of the inscription, in which doctrines or religious usages are spoken of, which seem to me significant, either way, as respects its genuineness.

The evidence from the historical statements of the inscription I am not so well able to estimate, having but very limited means of ascertaining what is said in Chinese annals of the different emperors who are here represented as having been favorable to Christianity. Some things which have occurred to me, however, in looking at this part of the subject, may be worthy of mention. In the first place, Neumann exaggerates the degree of favor which, according to the testimony of the inscription, the emperor Táitsung showed to the newly introduced religion. It would, indeed, appear that he caused parts, at least, of the Scriptures to be translated, for it is said: "The Scriptures were translated in the library of the palace;" but it does not appear that they were circulated through the empire by his order, and one may as well suppose that the translation was simply for the emperor's satisfaction as to the real tenets of the new teachers; especially as, immediately after the clause just quoted from the inscription, it is added: "The emperor, in his private apartments, made inquiry regarding the religion; and fully satisfied that it was correct and true, he gave special commands for its promulgation." May not, then, the emperor Táitsung have allowed, and even directed, the promulgation of Christianity in his empire, with the necessary accompaniment of the building of churches, viewing it as rich in valuable instruction and discipline, of universal application, in the spirit of an eclectic? Such, at all events, is the representation of the inscription, which makes the emperor's decree in favor of Christianity open as follows: "Religion is without an invariable name. Saints are without any permanent body. In whatever region they are, they give instruction, and privately succor the living multitudes." It seems to me quite possible to reconcile this even with the fact that the same emperor Táitsung held Confucius in special veneration, and caused a new edition of the sacred classics to be prepared and published.

---

* See *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Tomi iii. Pars. i. (Romae: 1725), p. 155; and Id. T. iii. P. ii. p, ccclxxxix.

† Id. Tomi iii. Pars ii. p. cccxlii. ff.

The same strain of remark is applicable to much of what is said in the inscription of the patronage bestowed upon Christianity by the succeeding emperors of the Táng dynasty. Indeed, it is remarkable that the language of the inscription in reference to these emperors is, for the most part, or, at least, appears, as translated, so general that one would not suspect them to have been favorers of Christianity at all. For an example, I quote the record respecting Kienchung, in whose reign the monument is said to have been erected: "Our emperor Kienchung, holy, divine, civil and martial, arranged his form of government so as to abase the wicked and exalt the good. He unfolded the dual system so as to give great lustre to the imperial decrees. In the work of renovation he made known the mysteries of reason [tau?] In his adorations he felt no shame of heart. In all his duties he was great and good. He was pure, and unbiassed, and forgiving. He extended abroad his kindness, and rescued all from calamities. Living multitudes enjoyed his favors. 'We strive to cultivate the great virtues, and to advance step by step;'" and again, in another connection: "Kienchung was eminent in all things, and cultivated bright virtues. His martial dignity spread over all seas, and his mild serenity over all lands. His light came to human darkness; and in his mirror the color of things was reflected. Throughout the universe, light of life was diffused. All nations took example (from the emperor)."

But there are some passages which seem to imply distinguished favor shown to Christianity by Chinese emperors. For example, of Hiuentsung it is said: "Tienpáu, in the commencement of his reign, commanded his general Káulihsz' to take the portraits of the five sacred ones [his predecessors on the throne], and place them in the church, and also to present one hundred pieces of silk, to give éclat to the same;" and again: "In the third year of Tienpáu's reign, there was a priest, Kihloh from Judea [more properly the West], who observing the star sought renovation; and, seeking the sun, came to the honored one. His majesty commanded the priests Lohán, Púlun, and others, seven in all, with the eminently virtuous Kihloh, to perform divine service in the church of Rising Felicity. Then the celestial writing appeared on the walls of the church, and the imperial inscriptions upon the tablets. The precious ornaments shone brightly. The refulgent clouds were dazzling. The intelligent edicts filled the wide expanse, and their glory rose above the light of the sun. The bounteous gifts are comparable to the lofty mountains of the South; the rich benevolences, deeper than the eastern seas. The righteous [or those who possess táu], do only what is right, and that which is fit to be named. The holy ones can do all things, and that which they do is fit to be commemorated." Such representations I must leave it to others to explain.* Perhaps some of these favorers of Christianity, among the emperors of the Táng dynasty, confounded it with the doctrine of the Taosse. It must be observed, that the persecution of the Christians in the reign of Káutsung proceeded from the Buddhists, and not from the followers of Lao. Neumann himself finds evidence in the inscription of an attempt to confound Christianity with the doctrine of Lao.

---

* Dr. Murdock refers me to the *Lettres Édifiantes* for parallels to these representations, in the accounts which the Jesuits give of the favor shown to

In conclusion, I must notice what Neumann speaks of as a geographical absurdity in the inscription, namely, that the author of it describes the region from which he came in the language of the native Chinese geographers of ancient times: "according to the maps and records of the western nations, and the histories of the Hán and Wei dynasties." My very little acquaintance with Chinese literature renders me unable to meet this objection satisfactorily; but I would suggest that the author might have chosen to describe his home in the received language of Chinese geography, in order to be more readily understood, and credited; and that perhaps the knowledge which the Chinese had more recently acquired of the Byzantine empire, had not yet modified the expression of their conception of the West, handed down to them in their ancient annals. That the name given by the Chinese to the West, at the period of the inscription, was not that which the inscription would seem to imply, Tatsin, but another, Fulin, which Neumann suggests in the *Jahrbücher für w. Kritik,* he seems to have given up in his later article in the *Zeitschrift für d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes.*

---

them and their religion by the Chinese emperors, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See, for example, *Lettres Édif. et Cur.*, published by Aimé-Martin, Tome iii. (Paris: 1843), p. 71: "Our Portuguese fathers, who first founded this mission, had here a great number of beautiful churches, already nearly twenty years since, when our French fathers arrived. There were reckoned . . . . in the single province of Nankin more than a hundred churches, and more than a hundred thousand Christians. But the good fortune which the Jesuits of France had in making themselves agreeable to the emperor, and rendering him favorable to religion, placed both in a condition to make many new establishments." . . . . . "Although we have already three churches at Pekin, they are not enough, and we have resolved to build a fourth in the eastern part of this great city." Ibid. p. 167, we read that, in the year 1705, the emperor gave ten thousand ounces of silver to aid in building a church at Pekin, and that he wrote with his own hand three Chinese inscriptions for the church. One of these inscriptions, placed in the façade, was: *To the True Principle of all things.*

I have thus endeavored to set forth, as well as I could, the true state of the evidence, from all sources, in respect to the genuineness of this celebrated monument. The story of its discovery may be allowed to pass without suspicion, and yet the monument should be seen and examined, at the present day, to give it a claim to full belief. The Syriac characters of the inscription are truly Estranghelo, but of the antiquity of the Chinese I am unable to speak. The text, at least of the Syriac part, is not sufficiently established. The contents of the inscription, although some things have been made too much of, in the way of argument, either for or against its genuineness, do not bear a uniform testimony, either way, on the subject.

On a review of the whole ground, I cannot but express the hope that the several unsettled points may, by farther investigation, be cleared up, so that the highly interesting historical facts stated in the inscription may be established, or else that this forgery which has so long maintained itself, may be thoroughly exposed.*

---

* At a meeting of the American Oriental Society, held in October last, on motion of the Corr. Secretary, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Anderson, it was resolved: "In view of the interesting historical facts stated in the so-called Nestorian monument of Singan-fu, and the uncertainty, at the same time, which there seems to be, as to its genuineness, and in view of its not having been seen by any European, so far as appears, since the middle of the seventeenth century,—that the American missionaries in China be requested to take some measures, as they may have opportunity, in order that the monument be re-visited, its present condition described, and a new fac-simile of the whole inscription taken, by some competent person, and made accessible to the learned." A copy of the foregoing resolution was subsequently addressed to each of the American mission-stations in China, with a special letter on the subject to Dr. Bridgman. It is hoped that this effort will not be fruitless.

ARTICLE XI.

AN ESSAY
ON THE
PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY
OF THE
ŻULU AND KINDRED DIALECTS
IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA.

BY

REV. LEWIS GROUT,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

(Read October 14, 1852.)

ON THE

PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

OF THE

ZULU AND KINDRED DIALECTS.

THE American Mission at Natal issued a circular address, more than a year since, to the missionaries and friends of education in Africa, urging the importance of an attempt to secure a uniform orthography for all the cognate African languages, and proposed a plan by which it might be effected.

In accordance with that plan, the Committee of said Mission on orthography, will now attempt to furnish such an account of the phonology and orthography of the Zulu and its contiguous dialects, as shall enable the general and ultimate committee, to whom the whole subject may be referred, to judge of the character and necessities of these dialects, and provide for them in connection with other African dialects for which they may be desired, and may have the goodness to recommend a general and uniform orthographical system.

But before proceeding to the phonology of the language, it may not be improper to allude briefly to the origin and present state of the measure here proposed, and to notice one or two facts and considerations which such a review may present.

The American Mission had felt for some time, that the orthography used for the Zulu language was not fully adequate to its wants. Accordingly, in May, 1849, a Committee of three was appointed to consult, in respect to it, with other Societies in this Colony, and report to the Mission such suggestions and alterations as might seem to them important.

In September, the Committee reported and recommended, among other things, four new characters or signs. The report was adopted, and the Committee were instructed to procure the proposed new characters.

About this time, however, or a little after, several articles appeared in different places and periodicals, going to show a close relation between many of the languages of Southern Africa. And it also soon appeared, that several of the Missionary Societies in different parts of Africa, in reducing cognate dialects to writing, were introducing new and peculiar characters or symbols, for the representation of certain sounds which had no existence in languages already known and written, and that some others, who had as yet made no such change by the introduction of new characters, were feeling the necessity for something of the kind. Among the Societies which have already made use of several new characters in writing some of the African tongues, may be named the Norwegian at Natal, the English Church Missionary Society among the Sooahelee or Sowauli on the East coast, and the American Board at the Gaboon River on the West coast.

And in a recently published Kafir Grammar by the Wesleyans in Kafirland, it is said that "the combinations *tsh, hl, kl,* and *dhl,* would have been better represented by single characters." "A separate character, also, either for the guttural sounds, or the foreign sound (of *r*), would certainly be an improvement, and to the natives especially a matter of convenience."*

In view of some of these facts, the subject of a general uniformity in orthography was discussed at a meeting of the American Mission at Natal in December, 1849, and a Committee appointed to prepare and issue a circular address to the friends of missions and of learning in Africa, as above stated.

Not long after the issue of the circular (March, 1850), a little book of half a dozen pages, prepared by Henry Venn, Church Missionary House (Eng.), October, 1848, and containing "Rules for reducing unwritten languages to alphabetical writing in Roman characters," was named, and afterwards forwarded to some of our number, by the kindness of Rev. J. J. Freeman, Corr. Secr. of Lond. Miss. Society. Rules so carefully prepared and highly sanctioned as these seem to have been, cannot fail to interest and aid all who may have to reduce unwritten languages to order, or be called to furnish a suitable alphabet for them.

---

* See J. W. Appleyard's *Kafir Language*, King William's Town: 1850, pp. 80, 84.

As all who might like to see the tract may not have access to it, we will give a synopsis of it in this place.

The first paragraph treats of the "want of a standard system of orthography."

The second states that several Societies whose missionaries are engaged in translations into vernacular African languages, have proposed a common system for all works printed under their sanction; adding, in the next place, that his system coincides mainly with those which have been adopted by translators into African languages; and that it has not been attempted to form a perfect phonetic system. Then follow rules for the vowels *a, e, i, o,* and *u,* which are to be sounded as in Italian, or as heard in the English words *bath, bat; prey, bet; ravine, bit; home, boat; foot, full.* Besides these, there are three intermediate simple sounds, which in some African languages require distinct letters, and which may be represented by *ạ*, an obscure sound between *a* and *u*, as heard in English *but, sun; ẹ,* a sound between the sounds of *bat* and *bait,* well known in Germany as the sound of the letter *ä;* and *ọ*, a sound between *a* and *o*, as heard in English *law, water, not.*

The sixth paragraph gives the order of these vowels, according to their formation, to be this: *i, e, ẹ, a, ạ, ọ, o, u.*

The substance of the next three paragraphs is, that the same sign represents slight modifications of each sound, and must be subject to slight variations from accent and connection; that where the vowel sounds are indistinct, the true sound may be learned from etymology, accent, or analogy.

Remarks upon the diphthongs occupy the four following paragraphs, the substance of which is, that diphthongal sounds are formed by the combination of the foregoing vowel sounds; that the sound of English *i,* as in *ride, mile,* should be represented by *ai,* and the sound of the English *ow* in *how,* by *au;* and that, when two vowels standing together are to be sounded distinctly and separately, the usual mark of diæresis should be employed, as *aï, aü.*

The next two paragraphs suggest the importance of expressing slighter modifications of vowel sounds by diacritical marks or accents in vocabularies, but not in books for general reading.

In respect to consonants, it is said in paragraphs sixteenth and seventeenth: "Give the usual sounds to *b, d, f, h, k, l, m,* *n, p, r, t, v, w, y;* let *g* be always hard as in *gate; j* always soft as *g* in *gentle; s* always as in *house; z* always as in *amaze;* and let *h* always have its distinct sound, as in *hot-house, grasshopper.* The usual sounds of *c, q,* and *x,* may be represented by *k, kw,* and *ks.* If it be found necessary to provide for the sounds *ch, sh, th,* in which *h* has not its distinct sound, for the first sound *c* may be used, as it has been rejected from the alphabet in its usual sound; for *sh* write *ṣ;* for *th* as in *their,* write *ṭ;* and for *th* as in *thine,* write *ḍ.*" In the eighteenth and nineteenth paragraphs, which are the last, it is said: "It is advisable for the present to represent *compound consonantal sounds* by a combination of consonants, rather than by any diacritical marks, or by new letters. The nasal sound of *n* may be expressed by *ng.* A sound is very common in many languages, represented by *gb, kp,* etc. Such combinations appear clumsy, but we are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the varieties of African sounds, or with the construction of African words, to warrant the adoption of new letters into the alphabet. The retention of these and of other inconvenient combinations, will not stand in the way of the future adoption of any improved system of orthography."

From what has now been said and quoted, we are prepared to state, what we have also learned by experience, that *the work of giving to African languages a suitable orthography is attended with no little difficulty.*

The missionary learns to read and write his own language by taking thousands of lessons in spelling, or by giving years of toil to the study of a dictionary. Perhaps he became acquainted with all the accidental, artificial, and incongruous combinations of characters in the words of his mother tongue, without receiving a single lesson on orthography as a science, or giving the subject a single thought. He learned to spell as his fathers spelled, always assured that that was right. Having "finished his studies," he enters the missionary field. The people for whom he and his fellows are to labor, have neither books, nor characters for writing them. He puts himself to learning the language of an unlettered nation, and finds that he must catch and symbolize the hurried, indistinct, and to him strange sounds of a barbarous tongue. Without either time or means for devising a philosophical system of orthography, his most natural course is to attempt to write the new language in the strangely redundant and capricious orthography of his own tongue, making such prior changes and subsequent improvements as his judgment and experience suggest. Hence it cannot be thought strange that nearly or quite every Mission, especially those of different nations, should have a system of its own, and in several respects differing from all the others, with which neither itself nor any other Society or Mission is fully satisfied.

These are some of the difficulties which arise from a defect in the missionaries' early education, and the absence of an acknowledged and complete standard and of the means of forming one, when he first enters a missionary field among an unlettered people.

But among some of the African languages, particularly the Zulu and its cognate dialects, there are peculiar difficulties in the way of devising or reconstructing a suitable orthography. They contain several sounds, especially clicks and gutturals, which are not found elsewhere.

The inflections of these languages are also in many respects different from those of other languages. By what characters shall these clicks, gutturals, and other peculiar sounds be represented? What is the proper law for the union and division of words? How shall we write proper names which receive increments on the incipient syllable instead of varying the termination? How shall proper names be transferred from other languages into the Zulu?—what changes may be properly made in them to accommodate their form or sound to the genius of the Zulu? These and other questions have long exercised the judgment and taste of translators and book-makers in African tongues, and have had a great diversity of answers given them, both in theory, and in practice.

Another fact which may be stated in this connection is, that *the systems of orthography which have been adopted, are regarded as improvable.* That they should be so regarded, might be at once inferred from the manner in which they were necessarily formed. Nor are the imperfections of the first systems any ground of reproach to those who devised and adopted them. No one questions that they did well—the best that their circumstances allowed.

That these systems may be improved is a sentiment advanced in the tract from which we have already copied so largely. The author of it, in proposing some general rules, says: "It has not been attempted to form a perfect phonetic system, but one which practical experience suggests as the most expedient under all the circumstances of the case." And again, in his closing paragraph, he says: "Such combinations appear clumsy, but we are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the varieties of African sounds" to warrant the adoption of new letters. But "the retention of these and other inconvenient combinations, will not stand in the way of the future adoption of any improved system of orthography."

And again, the several almost contemporaneous efforts and proposals, in different quarters of Africa and elsewhere, to improve the present orthographical systems, or to devise or reconstruct one more general and perfect system, is a striking proof that there is room for improvement, and that the time has come for an earnest and united attempt to make it.

Not long after the American Zulu Mission resolved to introduce several new characters into the orthography of the Zulu language, as above stated, we received a copy of the Gospel by Luke, translated into the Sooahelee, or rather the Kinika language, by Rev. Dr. Krapf, which language is evidently a cognate of the Zulu family; and in the orthography of the book we observe the use of several new characters, or old characters so far modified by diacritical marks, as to make it proper to ascribe to them new powers, and to use them for the representation of new and peculiar sounds.

About the same time, or a little before, the Rev. Mr. Schreuder, of the Norwegian Missionary Society, prepared an elementary book in the Zulu, in which he has introduced three new characters to represent clicks, and some six or eight old characters are so far modified, as to have new powers or values ascribed to them, and to be equivalent to new letters. The remarks upon this subject in a Kafir grammar, recently published in Kafirland, have been already noticed. And while we are writing, we receive information that the Mission of the American Board at the Gaboon, on the West coast, have introduced four new characters in the orthography of the language of the people among whom they are laboring.

More might be added upon the point before us, but enough has been said to show that the present systems of African orthography are regarded as capable of being improved, and moreover that important attempts to this end are already under way.

Enough also has been said to suggest, if not to show, that in devising or re-constructing an orthographical system, we are very liable to err, and to make the system defective, redundant, or capricious, by employing too few or too many characters, or by assigning several different values to the same character, or by representing the same value by several different characters. The recent tendency to introduce new characters would seem to indicate that there has been an error, though doubtless upon the safer side, in at first attempting to write with an insufficient or an inappropriate number of signs.

It is unquestionably true that new symbols should be introduced with great caution. And when the work of improving, or of innovating, as sometimes it might better be called, has been once begun, there is danger, in this, as in other cases, that it may be carried too far.

The remarks of Mr. Pickering in his Essay on Orthography, are as true of African, as they were of the Indian languages: "As in the use of our own language, it is much easier for every tasteless writer to invent new words according to his own caprice, in order to serve his immediate purposes, than patiently and carefully to select from our present abundant stock those appropriate terms, which have the sanction of the best usage; so, in constructing an alphabet for the Indian [or African] languages, it will be found a much shorter method, to devise new and grotesque characters, than to apply with skill and discrimination those letters which are already in use either in our own or the kindred alphabets." But while we admit this, we must also hold, that every fundamental sound in a language should have its own appropriate representative. On this side of the question also it has been well said: "As it is impossible to overrate the importance of a truly philosophical system of orthography, one that shall faithfully represent every sound in the tongues to which it is applied, so almost no inducement should be sufficiently strong to tempt those who aim at such a phonetic alphabet, to mar its beauty and perfection by appropriating signs already in use, even in a modified form, to designate new sounds, or by retaining old characters or combinations, if inconsistent with the great principle on which the alphabet is founded."

A complete orthographical system must be neither defective, nor redundant. It should be absolutely invariable in its application; and so comprehensive and inflexible in its plan as to furnish a suitable representative for every sound in the language for which it is used. While we would be slow to multiply new symbols, especially such as have not been used in some manner, either in our own or other alphabets, we would by no means leave a single fundamental sound without its own specific and appropriate sign. It is an expensive economy that would give two values to the same sign, to avoid the multiplication of signs.

If the laudable desire for an alphabet of few letters leads us to refuse a distinctive symbol to every generic sound, we shall complicate instead of simplifying the system, retard instead of aiding the progress of the learner, and perplex the reader or writer instead of assisting him. Let each character have one and invariably the same value. And if a new sound is presented, for the certain and accurate representation of which the scheme of characters has made no provision, let another character be added to the scheme. But let not an old character be forced to suit a new station, a place for which it was never intended and never fitted. Let not the uniformity and integrity of the whole system be impaired by once admitting the possibility of altering or deviating from the symbolical signification already assigned to each character in the scheme.

In other words, our system of orthography should give a true expression of the sounds of words, and of all the sounds; and every single uncompounded fundamental sound, which cannot be easily and accurately represented by a combination of letters, should have a single simple character of its own. No sound should ever be expressed by more than one (either single or compound) character; and no character should ever be made or allowed to express more than one sound.

So much we regard as practicable and indispensable. And if, in addition to this, we could have all sounds within a certain degree of likeness represented by characters within a certain degree of likeness, and all sounds beyond a certain degree of likeness represented by different and distinct characters, and that uniformly, our alphabetical system would be full and perfect.

But it is not so much our purpose, now, to discuss either in general the theory of a perfect alphabet, or in particular the danger, the difficulty, or the necessity of introducing new letters into the alphabets of African languages, as it is to call attention to the fact that a beginning to introduce such letters into these alphabets has already been made, and hence to show that it is now too late to prevent such measures, even if we would. It seems, therefore, to be our wisest course to strive to give the measure a proper direction, and, if possible, to keep it within such limits as all can approve and observe, by stating our several wants and expressing our opinions as Societies or individuals, and referring the whole subject to a general committee, in whose knowledge, judgment and taste we have the fullest confidence. For if every man, however poorly qualified, shall think himself adequate to the task of inventing new characters, or of introducing other important changes into the African systems of orthography, or if every Society shall give itself to such invention and changes, without consulting with others, or referring the matter to a general committee, we shall soon see a much greater instead of a less diversity in the modes of writing African languages—shall meet with more of Babel in their orthography, than was ever found in the tongues themselves.

But we shall be recommended *to systems and rules already prepared*, and urged to adopt and abide by them; it will be said, "there is Mr. Pickering's excellent system of orthography, why do you not make that your standard, and secure uniformity by a general compliance with its principles and adoption of its alphabet?"

To this it may be replied, first, that the American Mission at Natal has made his system the basis of their orthography, and are satisfied with it so far as it goes, or is applicable to our circumstances, especially that part of it which relates to the vowels. But we think something better may be devised in regard to consonants. His system, as will appear hereafter, does not meet our wants. And the same is true of the "Rules" of which we have already given a synopsis.

Those systems were prepared without reference to a large class of African languages, and have made no provision for them. The sequel will show that for several fundamental sounds in the Zulu and its cognates, and on several other difficult but important points, in respect to which there is a diversity of opinion and practice among missionaries in Southern Africa, neither Mr. Pickering's Essay, nor the "Rules," nor any other system with which we are acquainted, has made any alphabetical provision, or propounded any general principles for correct and uniform guidance. Some of these sounds are the clicks and gutturals; and some of the other difficult points are such as have been alluded to, as growing out of the radical difference between the Zulu, or rather the whole class of Chuana tongues, and any other known language. Neither of these systems professes to be either fitted for universal application, or even the best that could be devised for the particular language for which it was prepared. Mr. Pickering's system had its origin in his feeling the need of a uniform orthographical system, more particularly for the North American Indian languages, for philosophical rather than educational purposes; and without particularly studying the condition, or consulting the convenience of the unlettered savage of any nation, much less of all the uncivilized world, he resolved to do the best he could with the materials which he had at hand, and he set himself resolutely and praiseworthily to the task of reconstructing a system, which should comprehend particularly all the sounds of the Indian languages of North America, and be at the same time not only practicable and intelligible to the skillful and learned of all nations, but also as flexible and comprehensible as it could be without the introduction of symbols not already in use. And none will deny that he attained his object, and did a great work and a good work for science and humanity. The "Rules" also profess to be but a temporary and imperfect arrangement, until a better "acquaintance with the varieties of African sounds and the construction of African words shall warrant the adoption of new letters into the alphabet." Indeed, these rules look directly to something better, when they close by saying: "The retention of these clumsy and inconvenient combinations, will not stand in the way of the future adoption of any improved system of orthography."

This brings us to consider more fully *the propriety of introducing new characters into the African alphabet.* And we may say more distinctly now, what the tenor of our remarks has already indicated, that we are of opinion that several new characters are needed. To a correct and full expression of all the sounds in the Zulu dialect, a few such characters are indispensable, and it will be remembered here, that the Mission once decided to obtain them. And the fact already noticed, that new characters have been introduced by other Societies, is a plain declaration that they also deem the measure expedient.

The "Rules" moreover recommend the same course, when they speak of using *ş* for *sh,* *ţ* for *th,* etc., for these radical modifications of an old character, so as to make it stand for a distinct fundamental sound, do in reality make of it a new character.

The sounds for which the American Mission at Natal resolved to procure new characters, had been represented (imperfectly) by *hl* hard, *hl* soft, *ty,* and *j,* most of which are the same as those of which the Wesleyan Kafir Grammar soon after remarked, though without any knowledge of our opinion or action, that they would have been better represented by simple characters. They are also included among the number for which Mr. Schreuder invented new characters in the alphabet of his recent elementary Zulu book.

To what extent modifications, or variations, of fundamental sounds should be indicated, and what is the best manner of doing it, are points which we may leave in a great measure to the decision of others.

In respect to the vowel sounds, we have as yet marked only the five fundamental, *a, e, i, o, u,* without attempting in any way to indicate any of the intermediate sounds, or any of the modifications usually called long, short, or full, stopped, etc.; nor have we as yet suffered any very serious inconvenience from such neglect; though in remodeling our system, we think it important to have provision made for making these modifications in our dictionaries, and elsewhere if we choose.

There are also slight modifications of some of the consonantal sounds, and especially of clicks, which we have attempted to indicate by an additional consonant, as by *n, g, ng,* etc., before certain other letters, which modifications we think might be better indicated, in some cases at least, by diacritical or other marks attached to the letter symbolizing the principal sound. But this part of the subject will be more particularly discussed in another place, in which connection we may notice such modifications as we would have signified after the manner here referred to.

That unseemly, and even erroneous, compounds are used for simple sounds in the orthography of the English and other languages, long since reduced to writing, whose orthography has been so much a matter of chance, in its origin and progress of development, and for so long a time stereotyped with all its anomalies, defects, and redundancies, seems not a sufficient reason for introducing and perpetuating the same in the orthography of languages newly reduced to order and writing, especially if the orthography of the new language must of necessity differ, in some respects, from that of any old system which may be borrowed and made a basis. If the new language contains fundamental sounds which do not exist in the old, from whence we borrow our orthography—and the Zulu and its cognates do contain such sounds—then we must use either new characters, or old characters in a new sense, to represent them; and in either case we alter the system to suit our purpose, which alterations are often as great as are required in the substitution of simple for compound characters.

The use of neat and significant simple characters instead of inappropriate, clumsy, if not ambiguous, compounds, is attended with a great practical advantage. It makes the labor of teaching and learning to read more simple and easy, and consequently saves the time and strength of the teacher and pupil, and secures to the people a better education; for it must be remembered that the symbols used in compound characters are generally, to some extent at least, turned out of their proper place—their primary value is changed—an interpretation is put upon them in their combined state, somewhat different from what they have when used separately and alone. But the simple-minded native, unaccustomed to the more refined, intellectual operations, is not prepared for such an analysis or synthesis of sounds and letters, as would enable him to gather the value of such compounds from any knowledge which he might have of their component parts. He must learn the character by rote as a compound, or rather as a simple, and yet without knowing that it is a compound used for a simple, or that the parts are not to have the same full independent values in these as in other cases. Hence the symbols become ambiguous, having in some cases a truly modified, if not really a two-fold value, and that without any sign of the modification; and all, while we profess to give each character one and only one uniform sound. Such ambiguities, unsteadiness and inconsistency in orthography, are serious hindrances, among any people, to learning to read, but especially so to those whose dark, undisciplined minds are yet to receive almost the first ray of light, and the first rudiment of discipline. Many examples in illustration of these remarks might be given from our books and our experience in teaching, but it is unnecessary.

The uncouth and ambiguous combinations, and other absurdities, which have found a place in the orthography of the English, and some other languages, and the great evils which result from them, may perhaps be tolerated for years to come, but for reasons which can never be urged for our introducing and perpetuating them in the languages of Africa. These evils, and the complaints which are made with increasing earnestness against them, and the great labor and difficulty of getting rid of them, should afford us a sufficient warning never to incur the same, or to give our sanction to them, in devising an orthographical system for an unwritten language.

With these remarks upon the past and present state of South African orthography, and upon the necessity for a general attempt to improve it, we proceed to the more particular subject of phonology.

But before considering the phonology of the Zulu language and its cognates, we will give the alphabets which have been used by our Society and by other Societies in this field; and then endeavor to present a full scheme and representation, or description, of all the sounds of the language, and name such as we think might be well symbolized by new or modified characters.

The orthography of the Zulu language, so far as respects the characters heretofore used by our Mission, has been briefly noticed in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. I. pp. 385, 386, in the account there given of the

Zulu language. The passage is as follows: "The Zulu alphabet, according to the notation of the American missionaries, contains the same letters as the English; but many of the letters are called by different names, and represent different sounds.

"The vowels have each one uniform sound, as follows: *A* has the sound of broad *a* in *father*, or *car; E* has the sound of long *a* in *fate*, or of *ey* in *prey; I* has the sound of *ee* in *meet*, or of the French *i* in *pique; O* has the sound of long *o* in *note, toll; U* has the sound of *oo* in *boot, pool.*

"The *g* is always hard. The *r* denotes a deep guttural aspirate similar to the Hebrew ח. The other consonants have nearly or quite their usual sounds in English.

"The Zulu, like the Kafir, has three clicks, represented in our books by the letters *c, q,* and *x,* the last being precisely the click made in the side of the mouth by which a man urges forward his horse." The same volume contains similar remarks upon the same subject in the article entitled "The Zulu and Other Dialects of Southern Africa."

The alphabet employed by the Norwegian Society is as follows: First, *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, s, t, u, w,* and *z;* all of which have respectively the same value as they have in our alphabet of the Zulu. In addition to these, their alphabet contains the following letters: j = Eng. *y;* ‘ɉ=*dhj* or Eng. *j;* ‘ꝁ=*kj*, i. e. *k* aspirated, or Greek *χ*; ’ꝁ—; ’ł=*dhl* or lateral softly aspirated *l;* ‘ł=*thl* or strongly aspirated *l;* ‘*r*=*rh*, guttural; ṡ=guttural aspirated *s*, harder and stronger than ordinary *s;* ‘v= Eng. *v;* ϟ= dental click, or our *c;* ≸ = lateral click, or our *x;* and ‘≸ = gutturo-palatal click, or our *q*. See Zulu Grammar, by H. P. S. Schreuder.*

The Berlin Missionary Society in this Colony, use the same characters as the American Mission. Their combinations of consonants, and of consonants and clicks, and their method of dividing and connecting words differ in some respects from ours. The best published account and specimen of their orthography may be found in the Rev. C. W. Posselt's Zulu Companion, Pietermaritsburg: 1850.

---

* Grammatik for Zulu-Sproget af H. P. S. Schreuder, [Missionary in South Africa,] Christiania: 1850.

PHONOLOGY OF THE ZULU LANGUAGE.

1. *Vowels, or Vocalic Sounds.*

The vowel sounds of the Zulu language may be divided into three classes: long, short, and obscure or medial.

The difference between the long and short vowels lies not so much in the quality of the sound, (for in both cases it is radically the same,) as in the strength or weakness, which also corresponds to the length or shortness as to time, with which they are enunciated. In other words, the terms *long* and *short,* as applied to vowels in Zulu, refer to, or depend upon, accent, i. e., that degree of loudness and distinctness of tone which is consequent upon strength of muscular action, rather than that difference in quality, or marked variety of sound, which depends upon the length of the vocal cavity, or the tube, which confines the vibrations, and upon the modification of which (tube) depend the tones of the voice, and the generic character of the vowel sounds. Such is, at least, the general character of the difference between the long and short Zulu vowels, and it holds emphatically in respect to the two vowels *a* and *o.*

Hence, the difference between *a* long and *a* short in Zulu is the difference between these two letters, or rather the sounds as heard in English, in the one case, in *father,* where it is long, and in the other case, in *genera, dogma,* where it is short. Thus, in *udade* (sister), *a* is long; in *umpula* (river), it is short.

The difference between *o* long and *o* short is as the difference between *a* long and *a* short; but there is wanting a good word in English by which to represent the short *o.* The long *o* in Zulu is the sound of *o* in English *bone, note;* the short *o* is of a weaker and quicker enunciation, but of nearly the same quality, slightly inclining to the sound of *o* in *none, done.* Thus in *ukubona* (to see), and *inkosi* (chief), *o* is long; but in *into* (thing), and *ubuso* (face), it is short. The short *e* and *i,* however, do not seem to hold to the generic characters, or respective qualities, of the long vowels *e* and *i* so tenaciously, as the short *a* holds to the generic quality of the long *a,* and short *o* to that of long *o.*

The difference between long *e* and short *e,* and between long *i* and short *i,* is chiefly, however, that of accent, as in case of *a* and *o*, though there seems also to be a slight difference in that quality of the sound which depends upon the lengthening of the vocal tube. Thus, *e* long is sounded as *ey* in *they, prey,* and *obey,* Zulu *wena* (thou); *e* short as *e* in *then, bed,* Zulu *kuhle* (nice), *itye* (stone). *I* long is sounded as *i* in *ravine,* Zulu *mina* (I), *tina* (we); *i* short as *i* in *pit,* Zulu *ubani* (who).

As another illustration of this letter *i*, and also of the general principle of difference between the long and short Zulu vowels, take the word *seeing*. In this word the *ee* are sounded as *i* long in Zulu, while the *i* in *seeing* is sounded as *i* short in Zulu; and the two sounds, that of *ee* and of *i* in *seeing*, are respectively as that of *i* and of *i* in *emini* (midday) and in *ababili* (two persons), the penultimate *i* being long =*ee*, and the final *i* being short =*i*, in the word *seeing*. This general difference in the length of vowels in Zulu may be further illustrated by taking certain English words, and observing the difference in the force and length of certain vowels, according as they do, or do not receive the accent; e. g., the sound of *a* in m*a*n and in wom*a*n, Jap*a*n and Jap*a*nese, *A*sia and *A*siatic; and the sound of *e* in *E*gypt and *E*gyptian.

As a general rule sufficiently correct for all practical purposes, we may say that the vowels of the *accented* syllables are long, while those of the *unaccented* are short.

But the long vowels are not all of the same uniform length, neither are the short vowels all of the same uniform shortness.

Between the ordinarily long and short, or rather between those of the medium length and those of the medium shortness, there is another grade, a vowel sound of intermediate length, which is found for the most part under the secondary accent of long words, as the long vowels are found under the primary accent; as in the word *ukutulula* (to pour out), where the primary accent falls as usual on the penult, while the secondary accent falls on the initial of the word. Hence the *u* after *k* and *t* is short; the *u* in the penult is long; and the initial *u* is longer than that after *k* and *t,* but shorter than that after *l* in the penult, or is of intermediate length.

And then, again, the difference in length between the long and short is scarcely greater than that between the short and shortest, or greater than that also between the long and longest.

Thus in the word *wokulondoloza* (for preserving), we have the vowel *o* four times: in the penult it is long; in the first syllable *wo,* it is intermediate; in the syllable *lo* before *nd* it is short, but not so short as in the syllable *ndo,* which is pronounced more lightly than any of the rest. This word has three accents, the primary on the penult, the secondary on *wo,* and the tertiary on *lo* before *nd.* Again, take the word *itole* (a calf), and *umqoto* (an upright man), and we have an instance of *o* long in the penult of the first, *itole,* and of *o* somewhat longer than usual in the penult of the second, *umqoto.* Hence, in these two words, *wokulondoloza* and *umqoto,* we have the following series of the vowel *o,* viz: shorter, short, intermediate, long, and longer. So also we have the same series of the vowel *u:* in the word *usungulu* (needle), it occurs four times, being long in the penult, short in the syllable *su,* shorter in the final syllable, and between long and short in the first syllable; it is long also in *susa* (remove), but longer in *bula* (mention). Hence, in the words *usungulu* and *bula* we have the same five varieties of length in the vowel *u,* as we had in the vowel *o.*

And the same might be shown of the other vowels. But these minor differences need not be marked. As in naming the colors of the rainbow we do not pretend to specify all the minute varieties and gradations of shade, but deem it sufficient to select and designate the principal; so in the series of vocalic and consonantal sounds we must content ourselves with denoting those which are generic and fundamental, and leave the less important, subordinate shades to arrange themselves under their respective principals.

The long and short vowels, as such, have not as yet been marked in our orthography of the Zulu, though it may be important to have this done in vocabularies, and perhaps in some other books. But as to how these differences should be designated, whether by figures, or by some kind of diacritical mark above or below either the long or the short vowel characters, we are not so well prepared to speak as those to whom we refer the subject, or those more conversant, than we are, with the different methods in use, and with their respective advantages and disadvantages, and with the facility of obtaining the different kinds of type which might be required. Any system of notation which is simple, sufficient and in good taste, and on which all men are agreed, will satisfy us.

The obscure vowel sounds are found chiefly at the end of words, where they are often passed over so lightly as to become almost, and in some cases quite, imperceptible in ordinary speech. In such cases the true vowel sound is generally ascertained only by a particular effort, or by taking the word in combination or inflection, where the sound is brought out more fully, or is known by analogy. Examples of this class are found in the final vowels of such words as *ubumhlope* (whiteness), *isiribe* (a noose), *umgani* (friend), *Udingani* (proper name of a person), *inkosi* (chief), *ihashi* (a horse), *indao* (place), *icino* (extremity), *irubo* (song), *inceku* (servant), etc.; and hence these words are often written *isiribi, ihashe, indaw* or *indawo, inceko,* etc.

Some of these differences may be dialectic or tribal, and hence real, though the vowel is perhaps equally obscure in each case.

But if we inflect the words, and put the nouns in the locative case, the formation of which follows certain fixed laws, as, that nouns in *e* final make the locative in *eni,* those in *i* final, in *ini,* those in *o* final, in *weni,* and those in *u* final, in *wini,* the accent is carried forward, and made to fall on what was obscure in the simple form of the word, which change of accent generally determines at once what is the true sound, and what letter should be employed to represent it.

But the obscure intermediate vowel sounds are not found exclusively at the end of words; they occur occasionally elsewhere.

An obscure sound intermediate between *e* and *i* is sometimes heard, as in *pumesa* or *pumisa* (put out); and a sound intermediate between *e* and *u,* as in the same word, *pemisa* or *pumisa;* and also between *i* and *u,* as in the same word again, *pimisa* or *pumisa;* between *o* and *u,* as in *Umhloti* or *Umhluti* (name of a river), *umunomuzana* or *umunumuzana* (a man of wealth and influence).

The vowels *u* and *i* are sometimes used somewhat furtively, or as a kind of sheva, sometimes appearing and sometimes not, and sometimes having a kind of supposed utterance; as, *umusa* or *umsa* (mercy); *ukukazimla* or *ukukazimula* (to glisten); *ubumnyama* or *ubuminyama* (darkness); *inkabi* or *inikabi* (an ox).

There is also in Zulu a slightly modified sound of the vowel *e*—the same as the German *ä*—a sound between that of *a* in *bat* and *ai* in *bait;* thus, *hambela* (walk about or for), from *hamba* (walk); and so generally in what is called the relative, or objective, or *el* form of the verb.

It is not, however, thought advisable to introduce new characters, or the use of diacritical or other marks to represent these sounds, as some of them vary but slightly from their cognate or leading sounds; some may be the result of a careless pronunciation; some of them may be dialectical differences; and those which are really intermediate between two different vowels may doubtless be gathered under one or the other fundamental and distinct vowel cognate, without inconvenience or violence to the language.

If, then, we pass over these obscure vowel sounds, and also the nicer varieties or shades above referred to, and represent the long or independent vowel sounds, as heretofore, by the simple letters *a, e, i, o, u,* and indicate the shortness or dependence of the sounds, as is sometimes done, by the ordinary short mark, we shall have the following list of vowel characters, with their corresponding values assigned.

Long.		Eng.	Zulu.	Short.		Eng.	Zulu.
a	as in	father,	*Umame.*	*ă*	as in	dogma,	*umsa.*
e	" "	prey,	*wena.*	*ĕ*	" "	let,	*itye.*
i	" "	ravine,	*mina.*	*ĭ*	" "	pit,	*ububi.*
o	" "	bone,	*Uboya.*	*ŏ*	" "	none,	*uyihlo.*
u	" "	pool,	*ingubo.*	*ŭ*	" "	full,	*insimu.*

2. *Diphthongs.*

In writing the Zulu language no use has been made of improper diphthongs or digraphs. Each vowel has in all cases its own sound, though the sound is not always so open and full in the diphthong, as in other situations. All writers, however, on the Zulu language, and also in it, are not agreed on this subject. Some say that, in a few cases, two vowels combine for the formation of one sound, as in *hai* (no), *Umcopai* (a proper name); others, that there are in Zulu no diphthongs, but that whenever two vowels meet, the separate power of each is distinctly marked and preserved in pronunciation.

But the truth seems to be somewhat between these two classes; though there are also tribal or national differences on this point. Again, the same writer or translator has not always been uniform in the application of his principles, so as to write all words, (e. g. vowels having the same or similar relation to each other), by the same rule. Hence, among the different writers we have *a i ko, a yi ko,* or *ayiko,* (it is not); *a u ko, a wu ko,* or *awuko,* (it is not); *hlaula* or *hlawula* (pay penalty); *au* or *awu* (oh); *indao* or *indawo* (place); *unyao* or *unyawo* (foot). But a close observation of the manner in which the natives pronounce these, and similar words and syllables, at least in this region, and as seems to us, as well as the greater simplicity of writing, and the securing of uniformity in the surest way, warrant and recommend that we make no use of digraphs; but that such a mode of writing the diphthongs be practiced, as will allow the vowels to retain their own sounds, so that their generic quality be not wrested in the blending to which they may be subject; that we give each vowel a separate pronunciation in all cases, allowing it, however, to be more close in diphthongs, (especially in the diphthongs *ai* and *au*), than elsewhere; and that we incline rather to a light, neat, and flexible, than to a loose, cumbersome and drawling orthography, and take care not to insert a consonant between two vowels, making *a yi ko* of *a i ko; a wu ko* of *a u ko*; and *indawo* of *indao,* etc., simply to aid in the spelling exercise of the pupil, or for any other purpose, where the best native pronunciation does not strictly require it.

If we adopt this course, we shall have the following Zulu diphthongs with their assigned values, viz:

Ai—sounded nearly like *i* in *pine,* like the English interjection *ah* and the pronoun *ye,* rapidly pronounced together; as in the Zulu words *ai* (no), *hai* (no), *ugwai* (snuff).

Au—sounded as *ou* in *ounce,* or *ow* in *now;* as in the Zulu words, *au* (oh), *gaula* (chop), *hlaula* (pay a fine), *umrau* (compassion).

Ao—in which the components retain their own respective values as before defined, (as is the case also in the other diphthongs); as in the words *unyao, indao,* and *usaoti* (salt), as Zuluized from the English word *salt.*

Eu—in which the vowels retain their respective values; as in the words *imbeu* (seed), *ukweula* (to descend).

3. *Consonants.*

Before proceeding to speak of the individual consonantal sounds of the Zulu, it may be well to notice generally, what will find an illustration, as we proceed, in several instances, and what might be expected in an unwritten language, namely, that many of the sounds of this language, consonantal and others, are not so fixed—the lines of demarcation, especially between cognate consonants, as *b* and *p*, *g* and *k*, *v* and *f*, etc., are not so distinctly drawn and uniformly observed,—as in languages long since reduced to writing.

This evil, however, must and will be corrected, as knowledge is extended among the people. The fluctuating pronunciation and intermediate shades of consonantal, as well as of vocalic sounds, must be arranged under their nearest and most appropriate principals. When, therefore, in the following remarks the value of a given letter is stated, and it is added that this letter also represents a sound intermediate between that and another, or that it should represent such a sound, it is not to be understood that such a letter has two values, or one principal and one modified value, but that its value is fixed and uniform, and that slightly varying shades are arranged under it, and made, or designed to be made, to conform to it.

We will now attempt to give and describe the several consonantal sounds of the Zulu language, taking as our guide, and as the basis of our remarks, the letters (simple and compound), which have been used heretofore, and endeavoring to notice also, in their places, those sounds which as yet have had no suitable representative assigned to them.

B is sounded in Zulu as in English *but, number; ubaba* (my father), *bona* (see), *yebo* (yes). Under it is ranked also a somewhat modified sound of this letter, nearly intermediate between the genuine *b* and *p;* as *koboza* or *kopoza* (dig and plant again). This intermediate sound is heard also in other instances, in which it comes nearer to *p* than *b,* and hence is reckoned under that letter; as in *qapula* or *qabula* (break), *popoza* or *boboza* (weep).

D has a clear, distinct sound, as in *death, did; udade* (sister), *kodwa* (but). It is also used to represent a sound nearly intermediate between *d* and *t,* as *Udambuza* or *Utambuza* (a proper name), *ukudunduzela* or *ukutunduzela* (to comfort). This is common.

F has generally a clear, sharp sound, as in *fate, if; umfana* (boy), *funda* (learn), *isifo* (disease). There is also a sound intermediate between that of *f* and *v*, which is sometimes expressed by *f*, and sometimes by *v*, as in *Uzafugana* or *Uzavugana* (a proper name), *ukufuta* or *ukuvuta* (to blow, ignite, rail).

G is always hard, as in *go, game, log; igama* (name), *geza* (wash). It is often preceded by the ringing nasal sound of *n*, especially in the beginning of particles and prepositions, as *ng* (a euphonic particle, or copula, like *is, are,* in English), *nga* (on account of, etc.), *ngi* (I, me).

The sound represented by this combination of consonants is a simple and elementary one; therefore these letters when used to express it, especially *n*, are turned aside from their proper office. The sound is nearly the same as that of *ng* in *king, ringing, ending.*

There is also a sound intermediate between that of *g* and of *k*, which is in some cases expressed by one letter, and in others by the other; or rather some writers and speakers represent it by the one, and some by the other letter, as in *Uzafugana* or *Uzafukana* (a proper name, see *f*), *ukuganda,* or *ukukanda* (to pound), *Utugela* or *Utukela* (name of river).

H is an aspirate, as in *hat, behave; hamba* (walk), *haya* (sing), *ihashi* (horse). The sound represented by *h*, as uttered by the natives in such words as *hamba, haya,* comes nearer to a guttural than to the English *h*. The Zulu *h* may be called a guttural aspirate, and is sounded with more force and depth, than in such words as *hat, hand, home.*

The most common use of this letter in Zulu orthography, is in combination with *l*, making *hl*, where, in some cases, the *h* is scarcely an aspirate, but helps to represent a sound which some have tried to represent by *dhl;* while in other cases the *hl* must be strongly aspirated, to represent a sound which some have tried to indicate by *thl.* The pure, proper sound of *h* is not very common in Zulu.

J has in Zulu the same (*dzh*) sound as in the English words *judge, jar; jabula* (rejoice), *isijingi* (pudding). This sound hardened or uttered with a strong aspiration comes near to a very common sound in Zulu, which has been represented sometimes by *ty;* see *ty.*

K has the same sound in Zulu as in English *keep, king; kodwa* (but), *kambe* (of course). As has been remarked, it is sometimes made to express a sound intermediate to that of *k* and *g*. See *g*. In words transferred from other languages it is used to represent the sound of *c* hard, as *ikam*, or *ikama*, or *ikom*, (comb), *ikamelo* (camel).

L in Zulu has the soft liquid sound of the same letter in English, as in *love*, *lurk*; *londa* (keep), *bala* (count). As has been already remarked, *l* has been often compounded with *h*, making *hl*, sometimes representing the soft lateral dento-lingual sound of *dhl*, as in *ukuhla* (to eat), and sometimes representing the aspirate palato-lingual sound of *thl*, as in *hlala* (sit). See *h* and *hl*.

M has the same sound in Zulu as in English, *man*, *me*; *musa* (must not), *mina* (I, me), *puma* (come out). This letter is combined with many other consonants, as *mb*, *mf*, *mhl*, *mn*, *mny*, etc. See Combinations of Consonants.

N has two sounds, the one pure, simple, as in *no*, *name*; *na* (and, with), *ni* (ye), *ukuneta* (to be wet); the other, the half suppressed nasal compound, as in *bank*, *thing*; *ngena* (enter), *nga* (by, on account of), *umnyaka* (year). It also enters into combination with other consonants. See Combinations of Consonants.

P has generally in Zulu the clear sound of the same letter in English *pin*, *past*; *pila* (live), *ukupa* (to give). It is, however, used in some cases to represent a sound between the proper *p* and *b*, an indistinct intermediate sound, like that of the same letter in *cupboard*, as *Umpohlo* or *Umbohlo* (a proper name).

R, with the proper English sound of *r*, is not found in Zulu, and it is with the greatest difficulty that the natives can be taught to utter it properly. They always incline to give the sound of *l* in place of *r*, when required to utter the latter. This letter has, however, been employed in Zulu orthography to represent, generally, several guttural sounds of different degrees of depth and strength, from the guttural aspirate *h*, to the peculiarly harsh, deep-toned guttural, unknown and unutterable to the European, as in *rola* (lead), where the sound *r*, is but a little more aspirate and guttural than *h*; *rara* (be voracious), *raqa* (surround), where the guttural is much deeper and stronger. See Gutturals, hereafter.

This letter has also been employed in another, professedly its English, value, in words taken from other languages, particularly in the name of Christ, *Ukristu.* But the natives generally give this letter, in such words, the guttural sound, which it is made to represent in their own language, or they change it to *l,* or they omit it entirely.

This letter, therefore, has several values in Zulu, being made to represent at least two different gutturals, and the English sound of *r,* an evil, surely, which ought to be remedied in the new orthography.

The true English sound of *r* is said to be very common in the Sichuana language, a cognate of the Zulu.

S varies in its value from the soft, flat sound, approaching the *z* in *as, nasal; ukusungeza* or *ukuzungeza* (to go round); to the sharp, hissing sound of it in *us, saint; insika* (post), *inkosi* (chief). Its most common sound is the sharp hissing; the variations to the soft flat being rare and often slight.

T is sounded as in *tide, net; tina* (we, us), *teta* (reprove, judge), *tula* (be silent). There are intermediate sounds, as above remarked under *d,* between this and that letter, which are sometimes represented by *t,* and sometimes by *d.* See *D.* *T* has also been compounded with *y,* making *ty,* to express a sound in some cases analogous to the English *ch* (*tsh*), as in *church; tyetya* (hasten), *ukutyo* (to say). See *ty.* *T* has also been employed in some cases before *s,* to represent the sharp hissing sound of that letter, as in *nansi,* or *nantsi* (here it is), *intsika,* or *insika* (a post).

V is sounded as in *vine, cave; vala* (shut), *ukova* (banana). This letter is also used to represent a sound between that of *v* and *f.* See *f.*

W is always a consonant in Zulu, and has the English sound of that letter, as in *way, wise; wisa* (cast down), *wena* (thou), *ukuwela* (to pass over).

Y is always a consonant in Zulu, and has the English value of that letter in our system of orthography, as in *yes, you; yonke* (all), *yala* (admonish). *Y* is also compounded with *t,* making *ty.* See *t* and *ty.*

Z is sounded as in *zeal, freeze; izwi* (word), *izinkomo* (cattle).

4. *Combinations of Consonants.*

The present method of writing the Zulu language includes a large number of consonantal combinations. These may be divided into two classes—the combination of consonants with consonants, and the combination of consonants with clicks. The former, and their values, are chiefly as follows:

Dw, as in *dwarf; indwangu* (cloth), *kodwa* (but).

Ghl has been used sometimes to express a sound which is not found in English, and is not easy to be described. It is sometimes represented by *hl*, and sometimes by *dhl*, as in *ukughlula*, *ukuhlula*, or *ukudhlula* (to surpass, or pass by). See *hl* flat, or soft, below.

Gw, as in *ukugwinya* (to swallow), *isigwanxo* (bar or bolt), like *gu* in *language, languor.*

Hl, as in *ukuhla* (to eat), *amanhla* (strength), *hlala* (play), *hlula* or *ghlula* (pass by), which has no corresponding sound in English. It has sometimes been well represented by *dhl*, and may be called the flat dento-lingual *l*, very slightly aspirated.

Hl, as in *umhla* (day), *ukuhlupa* (to afflict), *hlala* (sit), *umhlaba* (the world).

This has no corresponding sound in the European tongues. It is the sound of *l* strongly aspirated, and sometimes represented by *thl*, occasionally by *khl*, or by *tl* and *sl*. It is similar to *hl* above; but here the aspiration is palatal, there it is lateral; here very strong, there very slight.

Hlw, (*dhlw*) as in *umhlwa* (white ant), *uhlwayi* (shot), *umhlwazi* (sort of snake). This is the sound of the first *hl* above, with the addition of *w*.

Hlw (*thlw*) as in *ukuhlwanyela* (to sow), the same as the sound of the second *hl* above, with *w* added.

Jw, as in *ijwabu* (a strip), *umjwacu* (lean beast), *jwayela* (be accustomed).

Kl, much like *hl* hard, as in *ubuklapaklapa* or *ubuhlapahlapa* (prodigality), *inklango* or *inhlango* (reed-buck).

Kw, as in *ukukwela* (to mount), *ukwanda* (to increase)—the sound of *qu* in *quantity, queen.*

Lw, as in *ukulwa* (to fight), *isilwane* (a wild beast), not found in English, but it may be produced from *will want, shall waive,* etc., by prefixing the final *l* of *will* and *shall* to the following words *want* and *waive,* etc.

Mb, as in *ukumba* (to dig), *ukuhamba* (to walk), *isidumbi* (a bean).

It will be remembered that the Zulu makes, for the most part, open syllables, so that the proper division of these words is thus: *u-ku-mba, u-ku-ha-mba,* etc. This sound of *mb* recurs frequently, and consists of the half suppressed sound of *m* before *b*, as may be seen in the English words *amber, perambulate,* by separating *m* from the foregoing, and prefixing it to the following syllable, thus: *a-mber,* etc.

Mf, as in *umfumfu* (———), *umumfama;* plur. *abamfama,* (friendless), *ukumfonona* (to perspire). This sound may be produced from such words as *brimful, lymphatic.*

Mhl, as in *ubumhlope* (whiteness), the sound of the second *hl* above, preceded by *m.*

Mk, as in *ukwamkela* (to receive). The Zulus often insert a furtive *u*, or a sheva, after *m,* in such words, making *ukwamukela.* But this word thus written might be taken for *ukwamukela* (the relative form of *ukwamuka*), which means *to take away by force;* while *ukwamkela* means *to receive.*

Ml, as in *ukwamleka* (to be habituated), *ukuzamla* (to gape), *umpefumlo* (soul); not found in English, but it may be produced from such words as *hamlet,* by joining *m* with *l.*

Mn, as in *ubumnandi* (sweetness), which sound may be produced from such words as *hymned, hymnology,* etc.

Mny, as in *ubumnyama* (darkness), the sound of *mn* above, united with that of *y.* Some regard it as proper to insert a sheva, or a furtive *i*, in this word, making *ubuminyama* (darkness), but the sound of *i* is seldom, if ever, heard in the native pronunciation.

Mp, as in *inswempe* (a quail), *insumpa* (a wart), sounded as *mp* in *lamp, hemp.*

Ms, as in *gomso,* which may take the furtive *u*, and become *gomuso.*

Msh, as in *ukukumsha* or *ukukumtya* (to interpret). This is the sound of *sh* or *ty*, preceded by that of *m.* See *sh* and *ty.*

Mt, as in *ubumtote* (sweetness), sounded as *mt* in *tempt*, *empty*, where *p* is silent.

Mv, as in *inhlamvu* (fruit), *emva* (after), a sound not found in English, but made without difficulty. Sometimes *u* is inserted, making *emuva*, etc.

Nd, as in *ukutanda* (to love), *ukupenduka* (to turn, repent), *Umsindisi* (Saviour), sounded as in *hand*, *brand.*

Ndw, as in *umdwendwe* (a row, ridge), not found in English, but composed of *nd* above, and *w.*

Ng, as in *isango* (gate), *ngena* (enter), *umsengi* (kind of tree), sounded as *ng* in *sing*, *reading.* See *g.*

Ngw, as in *igwangwa* (unripe fruit), *sengwa* (be milked), sounded as *ngu* in *language*, *languor*.

Nhl (*ndhl*), as in *amanhla* (strength), sounded as the first *hl* above, with nasal *n* prefixed.

Nhl (*nthl*), as in *inhle* (it is nice), *amanhlambi* (waves), sounded as the second *hl* above, with nasal *n* prefixed.

Nj, as in *njalo* (thus), *njani* (how), like *nj* in *injure*, *enjoy*, putting the *n* into the second syllable with *j*.

Nk, as in *ukunkenketa* (to ache), sounded as *nk* in *ink*, *bank*.

Nkw, as in *isinkwa*, sounded as *nqu* in *inquire*, putting *n* into the second syllable with *qu*.

Ns, as in *pansi* (down, under), like *ns* in *onset*, *answer*, putting *n* into the second syllable with *s*.

Nt, as in *kanti* (so it is), *umuntu* (person), sounded as *nt* in *want*, *sent*.

Nts, as in *ukuntsala* or *ukunsala* (to bend a bow), sounded as *nts* in *ants*.

Nw, as in *umnwe* (finger), *unwele* (hair).

Ny, as in *umnyaka* (a year), *ukukanya* (light), sounded as *ny* in *Bunyan*, putting *n* into the second syllable with *y*.

Nyw, as in *ukulunywa* (to be bitten); not found in English, but made up of *ng* and *w*.

Nz, as in *ukwenza* (to do), *ubunzima* (heaviness), sounded as *ns* in *tansy*, putting *n* with *s*, which has the sound of *z*.

Sh, as in *pesheya* (beyond the river), *shuka* (rub), *shumayela* (speak), *ishumi* (ten), sounded as *sh* in *shine*, *shade*.

This is a simple elementary sound, differing from the sound of both the letters in the combination, whether they be taken either singly or conjointly, as is the case also in English. See *ty*.

Shw, as in *shwila* (twist), sounded as *sh* above, united with *w*.

Sw, as in *ukuswela* (to want), *umsweswe* (a shred), sounded as *sw* in *sweet*, *swing*.

Tsh. See *ty*.

Tshw. See *tyw*.

Tw, as in *ukutwala* (to carry), *umtwana* (a child), sounded as *tw* in *twenty*, *twilight*.

Ty. This combination has been used to represent a sound or sounds considerably varying, and ambiguous, or unsteady. These sounds have been represented also by other characters, either single or compound. Different Societies in this field have employed different characters or compounds, and the same Society has not always practised entire uniformity, as a whole, or as individuals.

This diversity arises probably, in part, from a difference in pronunciation of some words by different natives of different tribes. Thus the words *ishumi* (ten), and *ihashi* (horse), as generally pronounced, should be written as above; but, as sometimes heard, should be written, as sometimes they have been, *ityumi*, *ihatyi*, or *itshumi*, *ihatshi*.

In illustration of these remarks, we give here several words in Zulu, as written by different individuals and different Societies, giving the word first in English, thus:

To say,	ukutyo,	ukusho,	ukutsho.
To leave,	ukushiya,	ukuʻꝁiya.	
To hasten,	ukutyetya,	ukutshetsha,	ukuʻꝁeʻꝁa.
To act basely,	ukutyinga,	-shinga,	-tshinga, -ʻꝁinga.
To tell,	ukutyela,	ukuʻꝁela and	ukuʼꝁela.
To sink,	ukutyona,	ukutshona.	
To drive away,	ukuxotya,	ukuxotsha.	
To speak,	ukushumayela and ukutyumayela.		
To cast away,	ukutyinga and ukuʼꝁinga.		
Grass,	utyani and	ujani.	
Ten,	ishumi,	ityumi,	iʻꝁumi.
Horse,	ihashi,	ihatyi,	ihaʼꝁi.
Stone,	itye,	iʻꝁe,	iʼꝁe.

Upon these and similar words we have, from time to time, made observation with special reference to the subject of orthography, and endeavored to note in various ways, as near as possible, the true sounds as they came from the lips of the natives.

After taking, from these and others of a like kind, such as may be properly spelt with *sh* (according to our present notation), as *ishumi*, *ihashi*, *ukushumayela*, etc., the remainder may be reduced to three varieties of orthography, or to three classes, as to the particular sounds in question; of which certain words may be taken as specimens, as follows:

1. *Utyani* or *ujani* (grass), *kityiwe* or *kijiwe* (is taken out). The sound of *ty* in these words is nearly that of the second *t* (*ch*) in the English word *statue*. It is also like that of *d* (*dy* or *dj*), as given by some in the words *gradual*, *assiduous*, *educate*.

Perhaps it cannot be described better than to say that it is between the sound of the second *t* in *statue*, and of *d* in *educate;* or, better still, that it is equivalent to *dj*, *dsh*, or *dzh* aspirated.

2. *Tyetya* or *tshetsha;* *tyona* or *tshona;* *tyinga*, *shinga*, or *jinga* (act basely).

The sound of *ty* in these words is nearly that of the Spanish *ch*, as heard in *mucho*, much, or the sound of *tsh* or *tch*, as heard in *nature*, *virtue*. The sound *ty* is not, however, precisely the same in each of these words.

The first, *tyetya*, is taken as the standard or best representative of this class, and in it the sound of *ty* is nearly that of *tsh* or *tch;* while the sound of *ty* in the others, *tyona*, *tyinga*, is not so sharp. But as a whole, this second class of sounds (of *ty*) corresponds to the first class as *t* to *d*, *tj* to *dj*, or as *tsh* or *tch* to *dsh* or *dzh*—as sharp to flat.

3. *Itye*, *tyinga* (cast away), *tyela*. The sound of *ty* in these words resembles that of *ty* in the last class, but is still sharper or more aspirate.

Hence the sounds that have been represented by *ty*, may be called *ty* flat, *ty* sharp, and *ty* sharper; each class having, however, a gradation of its own, which reaches to, and unites with, its contiguous class. The number of words, however, belonging to the third class, and having a peculiarly sharp sound, above many of the second class, is very few.

It is, therefore, probably inexpedient to represent all these nicer shades and varieties of sound. It may be sufficiently accurate, more practicable, and more useful, to gather and arrange all the varieties of the series here described and discussed under two classes.

This may be done without difficulty, by putting into the first class (*dsh* or *dzh*) a few words which, according to the above arrangement, would come into the second; and by including what remain of the second class, and the few of the third class, as above divided, all under one other (the second) class, which would most properly be represented by *tsh* or *tch*, or such other character as may be chosen and adopted to represent it.

Tyw, as in *ubutywala* (beer), the first or soft sound of *ty* (*dsh*) with *w*.

Yw, as in *ukushiywa* (to be left), not found in English, nor easily described, though the letters *yw* are used as nearly as possible in the common value.

Zw, as in *ukuzwa* (to hear), *ilizwe* (country), *iziwe* (word). This sound is not found in English, though its corresponding sharp sound, that of *sw*, is common, as in *sweet*, *swear*. The true sound of *zw* may be produced from *sw*, by changing the sound of *s* into that of *z*, in such words as *assuage* (*azzwage*), and *suaviter* (*zwaviter*), etc.

5. *Clicks.*

The clicks (clucks or clacks) are a kind of sound, unknown, as a part of language, except in Southern Africa, and of such a peculiar nature that a foreigner finds it difficult to make or describe them. Indeed, they can be made correctly, and with ease, and properly combined with other sounds, only by a native, and can be known with accuracy to a foreigner, only by hearing them. But they may be described sufficiently for the purpose before us.

The clicks may be divided into three general classes, according to the organs chiefly employed in making them, viz: the *dental*, the *palatal*, and the *lateral* clicks.

The dental click is made by placing the tongue firmly upon the front teeth, and withdrawing it suddenly with a suction. The sound may be made by a European to attract the attention of a pet animal, or by the fondling mother to make her infant smile, taking care to employ only the tongue and and front teeth, and not the lips; or again, by an effort to remove, with the tongue, some foreign substance from between the teeth by suction. The letter *c* has been used to represent this click, as in *icala* (debt), *ukucita* (to destroy).

The palatal click, *q*, is so called from its being made by pressing the tongue closely upon the roof of the mouth, and withdrawing it suddenly, so as to produce a sharp, quick noise, a smack, clack, or click, as in *qa* (no), *qina* (make fast), *iqawe* (a brave man).

The lateral click, *x*, is so called from its being made by the tongue, in conjunction with the double side teeth, as in *xapa* (lap as a dog), *ixiba* (a watch house). A sound quite resembling this, in some of its simple forms, is often made by the rider to urge on his horse.

Each general class of clicks has at least three slight modifications, which, according to the kind of modification, may be called the *nasal* click, the *guttural* click, and the *naso-guttural* click. These several modifications have been represented, at least to some extent, by prefixing the character significant of the modification (*n*, *g*, and *ng*), to the several characters, *c*, *q*, and *x*, significant of the simple click, as in the following examples.

Simple click.	Nasal click.	Guttural click.	Naso-guttural click.
c	*nc*	*gc*	*ngc*
ca	ncenga	gcwala	ungcwengcwe.
cita		gcina	ungcweda.
icala			
q	*nq*	*gq*	*ngq*
qa	nquma	gqabuka	gingqiza.
qina	unqoqwane	gqugquza	ingqele.
qala		gqula	
x	*nx*	*gx*	*ngx*
xapa	nxanela	gxotya	umungxiba.
ixiba	inxeba	gxilisa	
	nxapa		

What are here called modified clicks, are but varieties of the respective classes of what are called simple clicks, and should be regarded not as a combination of sounds, by the addition of a new sound, but as another form of the same sound, or rather as a new monosound, moderately varying from the principal sound called the simple click; the simple click being called so, more from its being a common head of the class, or a rallying centre, than from its being any more of a monosound than what are called the modified clicks.

If, then, some simple character be used to represent the simple clicks, and some slight modification of that character by a diacritical mark be used to represent the modified clicks, the orthography of the language will be simplified, and the ground of some dispute be removed, as to whether the modification precedes or follows the simple click, inasmuch as it will appear at once that the modification is in, and neither before nor after, the click.

But the symbols, both principal and modified, for the different kinds of clicks, will be suggested hereafter, though the final choice or suggestion as to what may be the most appropriate symbols for these as well as other sounds, is left of course to the general and ultimate committee.

The only proper combination of consonants with clicks, according to this view, is that in which the different varieties are sometimes followed by *w*, as in *cwila* (dive), *gcwala* (fill), *unqoqwane* (snow); though, according to past and present orthography, all the nasal, guttural, and naso-guttural clicks, have consonants prefixed to the characters chiefly significant of the click.

There are some fluctuations in the use of the clicks, especially in some words, and among different tribes. Some say *binqa*, others *binca* (bind), some *xuga*, others *quga* (be loose); at one time *ca*, at another *qa* (no). At one time we seem to hear *ńgqoka*, at another *gqoka*, and at another *qoka* (dress); *ńgqiba*, *gqiba*, or *qiba* (close up). But the fluctuation is not very great; a fluctuation of the same kind is sometimes observed also among the consonants and vowels.

Many of the words in which the clicks are found, may be onomatopœias; as, *qabula* (snap), *cocoma* (hop), *cinsa* (spirit), *coboza* (crush), *cokozela* (parley), *congozela* (hobble), *ubucwazicwazi* (splendor), *ukucwazimula* (to be bright), *cumbacumba* (tickle), *amaqabuqabu* (finery), *qaqa* (rip), *qaqamba* (ache, throb), *qaqazela* (shiver, tremble), *eca* or *eqa* (jump), *uqoqoqo* (the trachea), *qova*, or *xova*, or *xuva* (mix, as mortar), *xoxa* (converse together), *qunquta* (shake out), *quqa* (trot), *xapa* (lap as dogs and cats), *xokozela* (make a tumult), *conisa* (shake up), *cofoza* (crush), *cataza* (pour out, as of a bottle), *xapazela*, or *xapaza* (bubble up, or boil, as a pudding), *xegaxega* (go tottering), *xuma* (prance, nestle).

6. *Gutturals.*

The guttural sounds, as they are called, in the Zulu language are somewhat frequent and various. The different varieties or shades may be reduced to three classes, which cannot perhaps be better designated than by calling one the *soft continuous*, another the *hard continuous*, and the third the *explosive* guttural.

The two former have been heretofore represented by the letter *r*, and the latter sometimes by *r* and sometimes by *k*. None of them occur, however, in the English language, and but one of them in any European tongue. The two latter, the hard continuous and the explosive, cannot be pronounced by a foreigner.

The soft continuous guttural resembles a strongly aspirated *h,* the aspiration, however, being back in the throat, and not in the palate or vault of the mouth. It is said to be the same as the Dutch *g,* as in *gemeente, groot.* But there are different shades or degrees even of this soft guttural. In some words the aspiration is scarcely more than that of the ordinary English *h,* as *unorora* or *unohoha* (a baboon), *umroro* (a cavern). But in *rola* (lead), *rabula* (drink), etc., it is stronger. The sound of the hard continuous guttural, and the manner of making it, are not easily described. It consists of a rough, forcible expulsion of the breath, sharply modified by a tremulous motion of the epiglottis, as in the words *rara* (eat greedily, as a cow in the garden, or as a thief stolen food, in constant fear of being caught), *raqa* (surround), *rudula* (drag). This harsh continuous guttural is thought to resemble the Hebrew ח. If, then, we reckon the Hebrew ה as equivalent to the English *h,* we shall have ה to ח as *h* to the hard continuous Zulu guttural. But if we reckon the English *h* as between the Hebrew ה and ח, we may say as ה is to *h,* so is *h* to ח. And again, if we may reckon the soft guttural as intermediate between the hard and the English *h,* we shall have *h* to the soft guttural, as the soft is to the hard. But the laws of mathematics do not apply with much precision or profit to phonetics.

The other guttural, or group of gutturals, called explosive, is still more difficult to describe and make. It differs from the hard continuous, in having less of the aspirate and more of the guttural, and seems to be made by contracting the aperture of the throat, shaping the organs of speech as if to utter *cl* in *clown,* and giving the breath a very compressed and forcible expulsion. The root of the sound seems to be that of *k,* or *kh,* or *kl,* commenced firmly and far back at the root of the tongue, which is urged and opens forward, so as to break out into an explosive utterance with an abrupt termination. The number of words containing this sound are few, perhaps no more than ten or a dozen in all. Among them are *ukureza* or *ukukleza* (to milk into the mouth,) *ukukweba,* or *ukwreba,* or *ukukheba,* (to tear, as a lion the flesh of its prey), *umrezo* or *umklezo* (the bush or switch of the tail). Some of these words seem to be onomatopoetic; so do some of the words which contain the continuous guttural, as *rara* (eat fast and greedily, in a craunching manner), *ru-*

zula and *rebula* (tear), *rebeza* (drive away locusts by a rushing, rattling noise), *irolo* (roughness), *ronqa* (snore), *roza* (gurgle, bubble), *ratyazela* (rustle, as ripe waving corn in the wind).

Since the foregoing was written, the following remarks on some of the more important and difficult sounds of the Zulu language, have been received from the Rev. J. L. Dohne, a German, and one of the Committee of the American Zulu Mission, on Uniform Orthography. The remarks are so evidently original and valuable, that we beg to insert them here, as a brief discussion, review, and confirmation of the subject before us. We copy them entire, beginning with:

"*Dentals.*

Soft.			Sharp.		
j	as in.	*jeza.*	*tsh* or *ty*	as in	*tyetya.*
sh	" "	*shiya.*	*ts*	" "	*intselo.*
z	" "	*zala.*	*s*	" "	*sita*

"*Aspirates.*

1. Soft—*'hl* in *ukuhla.*
2. Sharp—*'hl* in *ukwehla.*
3. Palato-guttural—*kl* in *umgokla.*

"In articulating the first two, *'hl* and *'hl,* the tongue in a flat position touches the palate, and an aspiration is made between the tongue and palate. The sound is the same as *ll* in Welsh, in the proper name *Lloyd.* The same sound, a report has stated, is found also in Sanskrit, and the original pronunciation of the Hebrew ט [ע?] was very likely quite the same as in our case. The sound represented by *kl* is a peculiar and difficult mixture of palatal and guttural power. In articulating, it sounds almost as a lateral click, for the flat tongue is moved as in making a guttural, and moves forth against the palate in a throwing way. Persons who suffer from colic sometimes make such a sound, when throwing up from the stomach.

"*Clicks.*

1. Dental, (1) *c;* (2) *gc;* (3) *nc;* (4) *ngc;* in *cima, gcina, ncela, ngcwango.*
2. Palatal, (1) *q;* (2) *gq;* (3) *nq;* (4) *ngq;* in *qala, gquka, nqaba, ngqoka.*
3. Lateral, (1) *x;* (2) *gx;* (3) *nx;* (4) *ngx;* in *xala, gxutya, nxusa, ngxangxa.*

"In articulating *c*, the point of the tongue is placed against the upper front teeth, touching but slightly the under teeth, and, whilst the jaws are moved a little from each other, the tongue is drawn from the teeth, as it were, in a sucking manner. In some parts of Europe it is customary for people, when an accident of a serious nature is related to them, to express their sympathy by this very sound.

"*G* added modifies the original sound, so as to make it flatter; *n* adds only the nasal sound, and *ng* turns it still flatter.

"In articulating *q*, the tongue in a flat position is fixed against, or rather in the hole of the palate, and, as if sucking at it, clicks down with some power.

"There are several sounds in common life, similar to this click. Little children, when eating something sweet or sticky, frequently produce such clicks.

"This *q* class varies in the same manner as the *c* class; it is, however, easier to be learned.

"To articulate *x* properly costs great pains, and a great deal of practice. It is made by keeping the jaws a little from each other, whilst the tongue is clicking against the lateral teeth, just as one makes a noise by sucking with them. It is modified according to the same rules as the preceding classes.

"Properly speaking, we can hardly call the clicks by the name of consonants, or attribute to them the same power. They are rather a mixture, or part, of some sound that is immediately connected with a following vowel. Nearly all of them appear to have originated from a tendency to express agreeable or disagreeable feelings by imitative sounds. They are a language of signs. Take, for instance, *ncela* (suck as a child), *ncenceta* (click for calling a dog), *ncinza* (pinch the flesh), *qaqa* (tear off, rip, tattoo, cup or cut the skin;) *qatsha* or *qatya* (gasp or struggle, as a dying animal), *qopa* (cut notches, tickle the nose and draw tears), *qiqizela* (run and make a bustle).

"*Gutturals.*

There are two gutturals which have been represented by the letter *r*. The one may be called the soft guttural, though it is of a broader sound than the German *ch* in *Macht*; it corresponds more to the gutturals in the Dutch language, as *ch* in *Christen,* and *g* in *God*, *goed*, etc. The other is a peculiar ringing, harsh sound; it is made by contracting the throat, and then making a sound with the throat, as if one were choking; thus, *rweba*, *rara*, etc. The original pronunciation of the Hebrew ר may come nearest to it."

According to the foregoing discussion and review, we find the sounds of the Zulu language, and the signs heretofore used for them, to be chiefly as follows:

I. *Vowels*.

Long.				Short.			
1. *a*	as in	father,	*umame.*	1. *a*	as in	dogma,	*umsa.*
2. *e*	" "	prey,	*wena.*	2. *e*	" "	let,	*itye.*
3. *i*	" "	ravine,	*mina.*	3. *i*	" "	pit,	*inkosi.*
4. *o*	" "	note,	*uboya.*	4. *o*	" "	none,	*uyihlo.*
5. *u*	" "	pool,	*ingubo.*	5. *u*	" "	full,	*insimu.*

II. *Diphthongs*.

1. *ai*	as in	aye, pine;	*ai, hai, Uncapai, Ugwai.*
2. *ao*	" "	——	*unyao, indao.*
3. *au*	" "	now, house;	*hlaula, gaula.*
4. *eu*	" "	——	*imbeu.*

III. *Single Consonants*.

1. *b*	as in	but,	*ubaba.*	10. *n*	as in	no,	*neta.*
2. *d*	" "	did,	*udade.*	11. *p*	" "	pin,	*pila.*
3. *f*	" "	fate,	*fana.*	12. *r*	" "	Christ,	*Ukristu.*
4. *g*	" "	go, log,	*igama.*	13. *s*	" "	us, so,	*si, umsa.*
5. *h*	" "	hut,	*hamba.*	14. *t*	" "	tide,	*tina.*
6. *j*	" "	jar,	*jabula.*	15. *v*	" "	vine,	*vela.*
7. *k*	" "	keep,	*kodwa.*	16. *w*	" "	way,	*wena.*
8. *l*	" "	love,	*londa.*	17. *y*	" "	yes, ye,	*yala.*
9. *m*	" "	man,	*mina.*	18. *z*	" "	zeal,	*zona, ukuza.*

IV. *Combinations of Consonants*.

1. *dw* as in dwarf, *kodwa.*
2. *gw* like *gu* in language, as in *igwinya, gwaba.*
3. *hl* soft (*dhl*), as in *ukuhla.*
4. *hl* hard aspirate (*thl*), as in *hlala* (sit).
5. *hlw* soft (*dhlw*), as in *Umhlwai, Umhlwazi.*
6. *hlw* hard (*thlw*), as in *ukuhlwanyela.*

7. *jw*, as in *ijwabu, umjwacu.*
8. *kl*, " " *klapaklapa, umgokla.*
9. *kw* like *qu* in queen, as in *kwela, ukwanda.*
10. *lw*, as in *ukulwa, isilwane.*
11. *mb*, " " *ukumba, hamba.*
12. *mf*, " " *umfumfu, abamfama.*
13. *mhl*, " " *ubumhlope.*
14. *mk*, " " *ukwamkela.*
15. *ml*, " " *ukwamleka, zamla.*
16. *mn*, " " *ubumnandi.*
17. *mny*, " " *ubumnyama.*
18. *mp* " " lamp, *insumpa, inswempe.*
19. *ms*, " " *gomso* or *gomuso, umsa* or *umusa.*
20. *msh*, " " *ukukumsha.* See *sh* and *ty.*
21. *mt*, " " *ubumtote.*
22. *mv*, " " *inhlamvu, emva* or *emuva.*
23. *nd* " " hand, *ukutanda, penduka.*
24. *ndw*, " " *undwendwe.*
25. *ng* " " sing, reading, *isango, ngena.*
26. *ngw* like *ngu* in language, as in *igwangwa, sengwa.*
27. *nhl* soft, *n* and *hl*, or *ndhl*, as in *amanhla.*
28. *nhl* hard, *n* and *hl*, or *nthl*, as in *inhle, amanhlambi.*
29. *nj*, as in *njalo, njani.*
30. *nk* " " ink, bank, *ukunkenkela.*
31. *nkw*, " " *isinkwa.*
32. *ns*, " " *pansi, tonsa.*
33. *nt* " " want, *umunta, kanti.*
34. *nts* " " ants, *ukuntsala.*
35. *nw*, " " *unwele, umnwe.*
36. *ny*, " " *umnyaka.*
37. *nyw*, " " *ukulunywa, 'linywa.*
38. *nz*, " " *ukwenza, nzima.*
39. *sh* " " shine, shall, *pesheya, ishumi.*
40. *shw*, " " *shwila.*
41. *sw* " " sweet, *swela.*
42. *tw* " " twenty, *twala, umhrana.*
— *ty* nearly equal to *dsh* and *tsh*, as below.
43. *dsh* (or *dzh*), *utyani* or *udshani* or *ujani.*
44. *tsh* (or *tch*), as in *tyetya* or *tshetsha, itye.*
45. *tyw* (or *dshw*), as in *ubutywala* or *ubudshwala.*
46. *yw*, as in *ukushiywa.*
47. *zw*, " " *ukuza, ilizwe, izwi.*

V. *Clicks.*

1. *c*, as in *cita, cima.*
2. *gc*, " " *gcwala, gcina.*
3. *nc*, " " *ncenga, ncela.*
4. *ngc*, " " *ungcwengcwe, ngcwanga.*
5. *q*, as in *qina, qala.*
6. *gq*, " " *gqabuka, gquka.*
7. *nq*, " " *nquma, nqaba.*
8. *ngq*, " " *gingqiza, ngqoka.*
9. *x*, as in *xopa, xala.*
10. *gx*, " " *gxotya, gxutya.*
11. *nx*, " " *nxanela, nxusa.*
12. *ngx*, " " *umungxiba, ngxangxa.*

VI. *Gutturals.*

1. *r*, as in *rola.*
2. *r* or *ʻr*, as in *rara.*
3. *r* or *ʻr*, or *kl* or *ʻkl*, as in *ʻreza, umʻklezo.*

With these tables of the sounds of the Zulu language, and their signs or characters before us, we are better prepared to suggest some changes, insertions, and omissions, which we would recommend in the Zulu alphabet.

1. Let the short sound of the several vowels be represented in vocabularies, and elsewhere when required, by the ordinary sign for short vowels; thus *a* long, as in *umame*, and *ă* short, as in *umsă; e* long as in *wetu*, and *ĕ* short as in *ilizwĕ*; etc.

2. If in some words, or in some dialects, it be thought necessary, that each vowel of the several diphthongs should be sounded with a peculiar distinctness and separation, a diæresis may be used; thus *aü, aï.*

In the Zulu language, each of the vowels, in the several diphthongs, should ordinarily have a good degree of distinctness and separation given it in enunciation, and this should be considered the rule in Zulu, even without the diæresis.

3. If the letter *j* be used, as it has been by us and some others, in the English value of that letter, modifications of it might be made by marks attached to it, to represent several sounds more or less closely related to it, as that or some of those of *ty.* But if *j* should not be so used, then some other simple character will be required in place of it, which might perhaps be modified to express the related sounds referred to. The same principle or remark applies to other letters or sounds, and indeed to the whole scheme of alphabetical signs. But the choice of signs, together with many other things, must be left in a great measure to the taste and judgment of the general committee, when they shall have all the different representations, facts, and sounds before them.

4. The propriety of attempting to use *r* in the English sense, and of placing it with its English value in the Zulu alphabet, must depend much upon the course that should be pursued in rendering, or translating into the Zulu, foreign proper names which include the letter *r*. If such foreign names should retain the letter in Zulu, with its English value, then it should enter into the alphabet with that value and no other. But if such names may drop that letter, or substitute *l* in place of it, then it may not be required in that English sound in Zulu, and might be used for some other sound; as one of the gutturals, as heretofore. To aid in deciding this point, it may be noticed again in this place, that the sound of the English *r* is not found in the Zulu or Kafir language, and that it is quite impossible for the people to utter it without much effort and training. They give the sound of *l* in place of *r*. And yet this same sound of *r* is very common in the Sechuana, one of the neighboring and cognate dialects of the Zulu and Kafir.

5. In respect to the combinations of consonants—those sounds which have been represented by two or more letters combined,—it is difficult to say what course should be pursued. It is not easy, for some at least, to determine at once with certainty in all cases, as to what are, and what are not purely single, simple, elementary sounds. And when this point is settled, there is still another as to the comparative advantages, on the one hand, of representing each single sound, not to say some compound sounds, by a single, uncompounded character, and of the advantages, on the other hand, of representing some of these sounds by two or more characters already in use, each for a specific purpose of its own, by their being each so modified as to lose a part or all of their original value, and so blended as to become unitedly significant of another entirely different sound.

To weigh properly all the considerations for and against each of these methods, and select the best, or so unite the two in a given system as to furnish the best method, all things considered, requires an acquaintance with the whole science of phonology and of mind, as well as with the signs, of sounds best suited to the mind, and most feasible, such as few possess.

Of the above forty-seven consonantal combinations, the 8th, *kl*, the 14th, *mk*, the 19th, *ms*, and the 34th, *nts*, are of doubtful necessity—*kl* occurs in only a very few cases, and the sound may perhaps be classed under hard *hl; ms*, and perhaps some other examples of *m* followed by a consonant, may be, and often are, separated by inserting *u* between them, thus, *gomuso* for *gomso*, *umusa* for *umsa*. See the combinations beginning with *m*. *Nts* is sometimes written *ns*, as *ukunsala* or *ukuntsala, pansi* or *pantsi*. Of the remaining combinations, some represent but very imperfectly, or even erroneously, especially if we regard the values of the components, the sounds for which they stand. The 3d and 4th, *hl*, and the several combinations of the same, as in the 5th, 6th, 13th, 27th and 28th examples, also the 43d, *dsh*, and 44th, *tsh*, and the 45th, *dshw*, are all of this class, where the sounds are imperfectly, or erroneously, represented by the characters employed, that is, if the component characters are to be supposed to retain any considerable portion of their original proper value.

Some of the sounds and signs for which we would recommend new signs, and the kind of signs we would suggest, are the following:

Combinations.

For No. 3, *hl* soft, substitute l̤, or ƚ, i. e. *l* with two dots under it, or *l* with a short bar across it.

For No. 4, *hl* hard, substitute ḷ, i. e. *l* with one dot under it.

For No. 25, *ng*, substitute ŋ, or ǥ or ḡ, i. e. a character made by uniting the two letters *n* and *g*, and making but one letter, by taking parts of the two; or the common *g* with a bar across or above it.

For No. 29, *nj*, substitute ŋ̇, i. e. one character made from *n* and *j*, by taking parts of the two and combining them. This change may be thought inexpedient; the combination does not occur often.

For No. 39, *sh*, substitute *ʃ*, or ṣ, or s̄; i. e. a long *s*, much like the old fashioned long ſ; or the common *s* with a dot, or a bar above or below it.

For No. 43, *dsh*, ɉ, i. e. *j* with a short bar across it.

For No. 44, *tsh*, ʽj, or ꞓ, or ç French, or ɥ, i. e. *j* with a mark of the Greek rough breathing attached, or a modified *c* as above, or the French *c* with cedilla, or a kind of inverted *h*, as in the Russian alphabet.

Gutturals.

For No. 1, the soft continuous guttural, use ħ, i. e. *h* with a bar across it.

For No. 2, the hard continuous guttural, use ṛ, or r̲, i. e. *r* with a dot or a bar under it.

For No. 3, the very rough explosive guttural, use ʽk or ꝁ, i. e. *k* with the rough breathing prefixed, or with a bar across.

Or:

For No. 1, use ṛ, for No. 2, use r̤, and for No. 3, use ʽk or ꝁ.

Clicks.

For the simple clicks, *c*, *q*, and *x*, use as before those same letters.

	c				*q*				*x*		
For	*gc*	use	ċ;	for	*gq*	use	q̇;	and for	*gx*	use	ẋ.
For	*nc*	"	c̄;	for	*nq*	"	q̄;	"	*nx*	"	x̄.
For	*ngc*	"	c̈;	for	*ngq*	"	q̈;	"	*ngx*	"	ẍ.

i. e. instead of using the letters *g*, *n*, and *ng*, before the simple clicks, to indicate the several modifications of them, put over the several letters used for the several simple clicks, a dot for *g*, a bar for *n*, and two dots for *ng*.

Notes on the foregoing Substitutions and Signs.

1. If some of these new characters, or old characters modified, have been introduced into other African languages, to represent other sounds than those for which they are above recommended, that of course would be an objection to their being used as above proposed, at least while they should continue to be used elsewhere for a different purpose.

2. Should some new characters, other than those here recommended, have been introduced into any of the African languages, to represent sounds for which we would use and have recommended some new characters, that would be a reason, why those new characters, already in use elsewhere, should be employed in Zulu also, to represent the same sound here which it elsewhere represents.

It is thought that ł, one of the characters proposed for No. 3, *hl* soft, has been introduced into the Bakĕlĕ dialect, to represent a sound (that of *l* and *th*) which differs from that of *hl* soft in Zulu; and if so, that would be an objection to using it for *hl* in Zulu. It is thought also that ḷ for *hl* hard (*thl*), and l̤ for *hl* soft (*dhl*), may have seemed to some of the missionaries in Kafirland, very suitable representations for those sounds. And if they, or any of them, or others, have represented said sounds by said characters, or have the means already at hand for so doing, that would be a reason for using these characters for these sounds in Zulu.

It is thought that ŋ has been recommended, or even used, in some systems of orthography, to represent the sound of *ng*, as often heard in Zulu, as in the English words *king, singing;* and if so, that might be a reason, especially if it is thus used in some parts of Africa, for using that character for said purpose in Zulu. The same remarks apply to ʃ, for *sh*, etc.

Ɉ is recommended for *dsh* (*ty*) on the ground that *j* may continue to be used, as heretofore, in Zulu, and some other African languages, as it is used in English; and on the further ground that the sound of *dsh*, or *dzh*, =*ty* in *utyani*, etc., is closely allied to the sound of the English *j*.

And again, ɉ is recommended for *tsh* (*ty*), as in *tyetya* or *tshetsha*, on the ground of the relation of this sound to the foregoing sounds represented by *j* and ɉ.

It is thought, however, that this sound of *tsh* has been already represented by some, as A. J. Ellis, J. Pitman, etc. by ɕ; and by others as the French missionaries among the Basutu, by ç (French *c* with cedilla); and if so, that might be good reason for using one of said characters (as ç) for the above sound in Zulu.

3. If missionaries and others, in Africa, think it important to have new characters for sounds common to their and our African language, for which sounds we have recommended no new characters, we might like to introduce them into the Zulu alphabet, to represent the same sounds in Zulu, in place of some clumsy combinations which would still remain in our alphabet, after the changes which we propose at the present time are made.

4. The committee to whom the whole subject is referred, may think that many more changes than those above pro-

posed should be made, and new, simple (uncompounded) signs be used in place of many of the compound characters now employed, and if so, we would gladly accept those more simple and appropriate signs, in place of the ugly compounds.

5. It may be thought expedient to represent the simple clicks by other signs than those heretofore employed (*c*, *q*, and *x*), and reserve these letters for some other purpose, or dismiss them from the alphabet. If so, it will doubtless seem desirable that the characters used for the modified clicks should have a close resemblance to those used for the simple clicks—as close, at least, as *ċ*, *c̄*, and *c̈*, have to *c*, etc. as in the characters suggested for the clicks.

6. Much that pertains to the use of diacritical marks, or the shape, etc., of the type for new signs, must doubtless be referred to the letter-cutter or type-founder, or the experienced printer—an artist capable of judging of the beauty and utility of a new sign, or the modification of an old one.

Some of the signs above proposed, may be found incompatible with economy and good taste; if so, more consistent and becoming characters should be used instead of them.

According to the foregoing remarks, changes, and suggestions, the following are appropriate and sufficient

ALPHABETICAL SIGNS FOR THE ZULU LANGUAGE.

	Old character.		Old character.
1. a	a	18. ʻɉ, ʻɉeʻɉa, (tyetya.)	ty (*tsh*)
2. b	b	19. k	k
3. c	c	20. ʻk or ꝁ.	k or r explosive guttural.
4. ċ	gc		
5. c̄	nc		
6. c̈	ngc	21. l	l
7. d	d	22. l̤, ukul̤a.	hl (*dhl*)
8. e	e	23. ḷ, ḷala.	hl (*thl*)
9. f	f	24. m	m
10. g	g	25. n	n
11. ŋ	ng	26. o	o
12. h	h	27. p	p
13. ħ (r in rola)	r soft guttural.	28. q	q
14. i	i	29. q̇	gq
15. j	j	30. q̄	nq
16. ŋ̇	nj	31. q̈	ngq
17. ɉ, uɉani, (utyani.)	ty (*dsh*)	32. r, Ukristu.	r English
		33. ṛ, (raqa.)	r hard guttural.

	Old character.		Old character.
34. s	s	40. x	x
35. ſ or ṣ or ṡ or s̄	sh (*ty*)	41. ẋ	gx
36. t	t	42. x̄	nx
37. ŭ	u	43. ẍ	ngx
38. v	v	44. y	y
39. w	w	45. z	z

According to the above, the whole number of signs or letters convenient and sufficient for writing the Zulu language is *forty-five.*

According to the foregoing examination, and remarks, the following are

THE FUNDAMENTAL SOUNDS IN THE ZULU LANGUAGE.

I. *Vowels.*

1. a	as in	father,	*umame.*	6. ĭ	as in	pit,	*inkosi.*
2. ă	" "	dogma,	*umsa.*	7. o	" "	note,	*uboya.*
3. e	" "	prey,	*wena.*	8. ŏ	" "	none,	*uyihlo.*
4. ĕ	" "	let,	*itye.*	9. u	" "	pool,	*ingulo.*
5. i	" "	ravine,	*mina.*	10. ŭ	" "	full,	*insimu.*

II. *Diphthongs.*

1. ai	as in	pine,	*ai, hai.*	3. au	as in	now,	*hlaula.*
2. ao	" "	——	*unyao.*	4. eu	" "	——	*imbeu.*

III. *Consonants and Gutturals.*

1. b	as in	but,	*ubaba.*	14. l	as in	love,	*londa.*
2. d	" "	did,	*udade.*	15. l̤	" "	*ukul̤a* (*-hla*) *dhl.*	
3. f	" "	fate,	*fana.*	16. ḷ	" "	*ḷala* (*hlala,*) *thl.*	
4. g	" "	go,	*igama.*	17. m	" "	man,	*mina.*
5. ŋ	" "	sing,	*ngena.*	18. n	" "	not,	*neta.*
6. h	" "	hat,	*hamba.*	19. p	" "	pin,	*pela.*
7. ħ	"	Dutch *g* in goed, ħola, (*rola.*)		20. ɍ	" "	rose,	*Ukristu.*
				21. ṛ	" "	*rara,*	hard continuous guttural.
8. j	" "	jar,	*jabula.*	22. s	" "	saint,	*si, umsa.*
9. ɲ	" "	*njalo,* or ɲalo.		23. *ʃ,* ſ	" "	shall,	*iʃumi* (*ishumi*)
10. ɉ	" "	uɉani (*utyani*) *dsh.*		24. t	" "	tide,	*tina.*
11. ʽɉ	" "	church, ʽjeʽɉa (*tyetya*) *tsh.*		25. v	" "	vine,	*vela.*
				26. w	" "	way,	*wena.*
12. k	" "	keep,	*kodwa.*	27. y	" "	you,	*yala.*
13. ʽk or ꝁ	as in	ʽ*keza,*	rough explosive guttural.	28. z	" "	zeal,	*zona.*

IV. *Clicks.*

1.	c	as in	*cita, cima.*
2.	ċ	" "	*ċwala, (gcwala).*
3.	c̄	" "	*c̄enga (ncenga).*
4.	c̈	" "	*c̈wanga (ngcwanga)*
5.	q	" "	*qina, qala.*
6.	q̇	" "	*q̇abuka (gqabuka).*
7.	q̄	as in	*q̄uma (nquma).*
8.	q̈	" "	*q̈oka (ngqoka).*
9.	x	" "	*xopa, xala.*
10.	ẋ	" "	*ẋotya (gxotya).*
11.	x̄	" "	*x̄anela (nxanela).*
12.	ẍ	" "	*ẍaẍa (ngxangxa).*

V. *Combinations.*

1.	dw	as in	dwarf, *kodwa.*
2.	gw	" "	language, *gwaba.*
3.	ŋ*	" "	ringing, *ngena.*
4.	jw	" "	*ijwabu.*
5.	ɟw	" "	uɟwala, (*utywala*)
6.	kw	" "	queen, *kwela.*
7.	lw	" "	*ukulwa.*
8.	l̤w	" "	*uml̤wazi (dhlw).*
9.	ḷw	" "	*ḷwanyela (thlw).*
10.	mb	" "	*hamba.*
11.	mf	" "	*umfumfu.*
12.	mk	" "	*ukwamkela.*
13.	ml	" "	*zamla.*
14.	mḷ	" "	*ubumlope.*
15.	mn	" "	*ubumnaudi.*
16.	mny	" "	*ubumnyama.*
17.	mp	" "	lamp, *insumpa.*
18.	ms	" "	*gomso.*
19.	mt	" "	*ubumtote.*
20.	mv	as in	*emva.*
21.	nd	" "	hand, *tanda.*
22.	ndw	" "	*undwendwe.*
23.	nk	" "	ink, *nkenketa.*
24.	nkw	" "	*isinkwa.*
25.	nl̤	" "	*amsul̤a (ndhl).*
26.	nḷ	" "	*inḷe (nthl).*
27.	ns	" "	*tonsa.*
28.	nt	" "	want, *umuntu.*
29.	nw	" "	*unwele.*
30.	ny	" "	*umnyaka.*
31.	nyw	" "	*lunywa.*
32.	nz	" "	*nzima.*
33.	sw	" "	sweet, *swela.*
34.	ʃw	" "	*ʃwila (shw).*
35.	tw	" "	twenty, *twala.*
36.	yw	" "	*shiywa.*
37.	zw	" "	*ukuzwa.*

From the foregoing observations, it appears that the *fundamental sounds* in the Zulu language are:

1. Vowels,	10
2. Diphthongs,	4
3. Consonants and Gutturals,	28
4. Clicks,	12
5. Consonantal Combinations,	37
Fundamental sounds, total,	91

---

* This sign has been entered properly as a simple sign and sound, and is inserted here by mistake—leaving thirty-six combinations and ninety sounds. —L. G.

We have now done with the phonology and alphabet of the Zulu language. But the use and place of capital letters in writing Zulu proper names, and the transferring of proper names from Scripture, and other sources, into Zulu, and the joining and disjoining of words, are all subjects which are attended with more or less difficulty in writing and printing Zulu, and which come properly under the head of orthography. They are now under consideration, and remarks upon them may be expected soon.

In behalf of the Comm. of the Am. Zulu Mission, on Uniform Orthography.

In the preceding essay, Rev. Mr. Grout has spoken out from a full heart, and from personal experience, his own views on the important subject to which he has devoted his attention. He has stated the points of the case ably and clearly. We doubt not that he will have the ready sympathy and coöperation of missionaries among unlettered tribes. Others who have occasion to write foreign words in Roman characters know the embarrassments of the subject, and can appreciate the difficulties against which the author is contending.

It is only at the earnest request of the writer that we add a few remarks, and exhibit our own views on a subject, in which from our situation we must be constantly liable to err.

COMM. OF PUBL.

REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING ESSAY.

It is very clear from the preceding statement, that the problem of a uniform orthography or notation for the languages of Southern Africa is a very different one from that for the aboriginal languages of North America.

It is particularly evident that many new and distinct sounds, which cannot be expressed by the common Roman character, are to be provided for in the new alphabet.

It also follows that, after the necessary changes and additions are made, the order of the English alphabet will be so disturbed, that what remains of it will not be worth preserving; and that the letters should therefore be arranged anew in a more natural and philosophical order, namely, the order of their organic development.

The names, too, of the English letters are so arbitrary and merely conventional, that they also should be given up. The vowels may then be named from their sounds simply. To the sound of each consonant, we would uniformly add the sound of *a* (*ăh*), the primary leading vowel, as is done in Sanskrit, and thus obtain the name of the consonant.

Let us now see what sounds are developed in Zulu, and how they should be represented.

There are in this language the five usual vowel sounds, *ăh; ĕh, ĭh, ŏh, ŭh,* which we would express by *a, e, i, o, u.*

There is also a sound intermediate between *a* and *e*, which we would express by *ä* or *å*, as is done in German.

There is also an obscure sound, which, until its sound is learned more exactly from understanding the analogy of the language, may be expressed by *i*, the most slender of the vowel sounds.

With regard to vowels it is generally conceded, that they all stand on one line or scale; that there is a gradual transition from one sound to another; and that, although twelve or more sounds might be distinguished by an accurate ear, yet it would not be convenient in practise to have more than five or seven sounds. Accordingly, in some languages we find five vowel sounds, and in others six or seven.

The special vowel sounds in Zulu, according to Mr. Grout's statement, appear to differ not as long and short, but as accented and unaccented. The simple vowel sign, in our view, should stand for the ordinary sound of the vowel, i. e. the short, or unaccented. To express a long or accented vowel, we should add a long mark, as *ā;* or an acute accent, as *á*. The long or accented vowel is developed from the short or unaccented, and not *vice versâ*. On this point we differ from Mr. Grout. Compare p. 460. But in books of instruction the short mark may also be used.

In Zulu there are four proper diphthongs, which are naturally expressed by the vowels out of which they are composed: *ai, ao, au, eu.* The first is the English vowel *i* in *pine;* and the third the English diphthong *ou* in *house.* The two others are less familiar to us.

When vowels come together, and yet are enounced distinctly and separately, we would employ the diæresis, as recommended by Mr. Venn, p. 425, and Mr. Grout, p. 460.

In Zulu we find the breathing or aspiration *h.*

There are three gutturals in Zulu, which Mr. Grout characterizes as *the hard continuous, the soft continuous,* and *the explosive.*

To judge from the description given of them, we should infer that the first is the Arabic ح, the second, the Arabic خ, and the third, a modification of the Arabic ق; and that they may be represented by these Arabic letters.

In Zulu we find the semivowels *y* and *w.*

In Zulu we find the liquid *l,* but not *r,* which the Zulus find it difficult to pronounce. The letter *r,* however, will evidently be wanted for many words having that sound, borrowed from Europeans. See p. 461. The use of *r* to denote a peculiar guttural sound, which was first practised in the Susu, has produced embarrassment; and should not be continued.

In Zulu we find the *labial* nasal *m,* the *lingual* nasal *n,* and the *palatal* nasal *ng.* To avoid the digraph *ng,* we would recommend here the use of a character, combining part of *n* and part of *g,* as in the Essay of Mr. Grout.

In Zulu we find the dentals or sibilants *s* and *z*, and their aspirates *sh* and *zh*. To avoid digraphs for simple sounds, we would draw a line or bar across the *s* and *z*, to express the aspirate; as, ꞩ.

In Zulu we find the two labial mutes *p* and *b*, and their respective aspirates *f* and *v*. We know of no better or more definite signs for representing these sounds.

There are also in this language many intermediate gradations of sound between *p* and *b*, and between *f* and *v*. But these, as is suggested by Mr. Grout, it is neither necessary nor expedient to indicate. See p. 443. These different grades will naturally arrange themselves under the two extreme sounds.

In Zulu we find the two lingual mutes *t* and *d*, and their respective aspirates *th* and *dh*. But in order to avoid digraphs for simple sounds, we would express these aspirates by the Anglo-Saxon characters used for the same purpose; see the Anglo-Saxon Grammars. These characters in this use are already established. These aspirates, though not found by themselves, we suppose to be the sound coming before *l*, and modifying it. See p. 447.

There are also in this language many gradations of sound between *t* and *d*, as between *p* and *b*, which need not be noticed. See above.

In Zulu we find two palatal sounds *k* and *g*. Their respective aspirates, *kh* and *gh*, if wanted, we would, in order to avoid digraphs, express by *k* and *g* with a bar across them; as, ꝁ, ǥ.

There are also many grades of sound between *k* and *g*, which need not be noticed.

The *clicks*, so called, in the Zulu dialect are an interesting and important subject. They are a peculiarity of the Hottentots, and other tribes, as the Zulus, who may be supposed to have derived them from the Hottentots. There are other uncouth sounds in these dialects, and uncouth sounds in other dialects, which are equally difficult to be expressed in Roman letters, but which would not sort with clicks.

Whether clicks are to be regarded as consonants, i. e. articulations, is a mere question of words. They certainly are not vowels.

With respect to the clicks in Zulu or Kafir, there is a general harmony of statement. There are three classes, each of which is divided in a similar way into four varieties; making twelve varieties in the whole.

The notation of such clicks is a new problem in alphabetic writing. To adopt any Roman letter, whether otherwise wanted or not, can only lead to confusion. We would recommend squares, open or barred, for the classes, in order that the modifications of the classes may be indicated in the four corners.

The *dental* click may be represented by □; the *palatal* by ⊟; the *lateral* by ◫.

The four modifications, viz. the *simple*, the *nasal*, the *guttural*, and *naso-guttural*, may be represented on the four corners; thus, ◰, ◳, ◱, ◲.

The general onomatopoetic character of words containing click sounds illustrates a principle now well understood, that language was onomatopoetic in its origin. Mr. Grout deserves the thanks of philologists for developing this point so minutely. See pp. 454, 457.

The mixed consonants *tsh*, *dzh*, expressed in English by *ch* in *church* and *j* in *judge*, are readily disposed of. We should judge, from Mr. Grout's statement, that there are four sounds of this description developed in Zulu, namely, *tsh*, *tzh*, *dsh*, *dzh*. As all these are evidently compound sounds, we have only to unite the character for *t* or *d* with that for *sh* or *zh*. We are misled in English in supposing the monograph *j* a simple sound; as well as in supposing the digraph *sh* to be a compound sound. Comp. pp. 460, 462, 463.

The other combinations of consonants, whether of clicks or proper consonants, may be expressed as proposed by Mr. Grout.

As it appears to be a law of the Zulu language to end each syllable with a vowel, these combinations of consonants will produce no special difficulty.

This law of the language will also show how syllables ought to be divided. Comp. p. 427.

The foreign characters, which we have thus introduced, will, it is thought, gradually adapt themselves, both in printing and writing, to the other Roman letters.

J. W. G.

MISCELLANIES.

I. Ebed-Jesu's Maḳâmât.

The following notices of this singular work are founded upon a MS. copy of it, written in the modern Nestorian character, which is in the library of the Oriental Society.

It is in the ancient Syriac language, and is entitled *The Book of the Paradise in Eden.* The author was *Ebêd-Jesu*, ܥܒܕܝܫܘܥ, a metropolitan bishop of *Zoba*, ܨܘܒܐ, and Armenia, who lived in the latter part of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century.

It commences with the following announcement by the anonymous transcriber: "In thy adorable strength, O God, we begin to transcribe the Book of the Paradise in Eden; which was composed and formed by the unction of my lord, Ebed-Jesu, metropolitan of Zoba and Armenia; and to which is prefixed a Proem, showing the occasion and the object of the work.—O Lord, in thy mercy assist me, and bring me to the consummation of the work."

From the declaration of the author himself, in the Proem (page 5, line 3, etc.), it appears, that Ebed-Jesu commenced writing the book in the year of the Greeks 1602, or A.D. 1291; and that he finished it in the year of the Greeks 1627, or A.D. 1316; that is, at the end of 25 years. The work therefore is now (A.D. 1853), 537 years old. And the transcriber, in a subscription on the last page of the volume, tells us, that he completed his task in the year of the Greeks 2047, or A.D. 1736, on the 13th day of the month Tamuz (June), which, he says, was the third day of the week, (or Tuesday,) and Apostles' day. He likewise states, that he performed his task in the blessed town of *Darband*, ܕܪܒܢܕ, in the blessed land of *Targoor*, ܬܪܓܘܪ; and that his copy was that of the mårtyr Mar Jacob.—This manuscript, therefore, has now been written 117 years; and it has evidently been bound a second time, when considerably worn.

The Proem or Introduction to the work, thus speaks of the occasion and the object of its composition.—Many of the Arabian literati, and some among the Syrians, were accustomed to extol greatly the elegancies and powers of the Arabic language, and to depreciate those of the Syriac; representing the latter language as unpolished, stiff, and clumsy; while the former possessed exquisite beauty, flexibility and precision. And, in proof of such assertions, they were perpetually appealing to an Arabic book called *Maḳâmât*, with which the Syriac afforded nothing that would bear a comparison.

Now, it was to confute this slander upon the Syriac language, and to show, by numerous examples, the amazing richness, flexibility and power of this slandered tongue, that Ebed-Jesu undertook the composition of this curious work.

It consists of fifty short poems or discourses, composed with great art; and each poem is followed by copious explanatory notes and illustrations. The author calls them all *Mimre*, ܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ, *Discourses:* but they are really *Poems*, consisting of ܦܬܓܡ̈ܐ, metrical lines or *verses*, and of ܥܪ̈ܟܐ, *stanzas* or *couplets*. The lines or verses are all either *hexameter*, or *double trimetric*. The former consist of from twelve to fourteen syllables, or from six to eight words, with no uniform cesura; the latter consist of two distinct trimetric portions, each made up of six or seven syllables, in three or four words. The *rythm* in these poems, like that of the Hebrew poetry, appears to depend on the number of logical terms, and the cadence in correct reading, rather than on the number and length of the syllables. And both in the choice of words and in their grammatical structure, there is very frequent recurrence to what is called poetic licence. But the most marked peculiarity of these poems is the regular occurrence of certain *letters*, or their exclusion, in definite parts of the lines or verses; and these artificial dispositions of letters are so numerous and varied, that no two of the poems are constructed in precisely the same manner. Throughout the book, the single lines, if detached, or the couplets, if they form stanzas, commence with the several letters of the alphabet in their order (like the alphabetic Psalms in Hebrew); and if any supernumerary lines or couplets are introduced, they are martialled under their appropriate initial letters. And the termination also, not only of the lines and couplets, but even of the trimetric half-lines in many instances, are regulated by the laws of the several poems. In some of the poems, a particular letter, (as, an ܐ, a ܒ, a ܕ, etc.,) is found in every word, from the beginning to the end of it; while certain other letters, (three, four, or five, in number,) are altogether excluded from the poem. To these *alliterations* (as they may be called), which are numerous in themselves, and susceptible of various combinations, we may add the very artificial arrangement of letters in two of the poems, namely, the 3d and the 21st. In the first of these poems, (the 3d,) we have twenty-nine double trimetric lines, in alphabetic order, and each terminating in its own initial letter; but its chief peculiarity is, that the letters composing the first trimeter in each line are reversed, or read backwards, in the second trimeter; so that one may read each line from right to left, or from left to right, and meet with the same identical letters, arranged in the same order, and yet making good sense. The other of these two poems, (the 21st,) consists of twenty-four alphabetic hexameter lines, each of which contains all the twenty-two letters of the Syriac alphabet, once written and not repeated; so that each line has precisely the same letters, namely, the entire Syriac alphabet, arranged in one of twenty-four different ways, and in each making tolerable sense.

As it was avowedly the great object of this singular work, to exhibit the plastic character of the Syriac language, and to make a book that would rival the famous Arabic *Maḳâmât*, the author taxed his invention to form series of words in which letters would play fantastic tricks, and surprise us with their whimsical feats. And to facilitate the matter, he chose such subjects for his poems as he found most manageable; namely, simple, general truths, perfectly familiar to every educated Christian man. And hence these poems are of very little value for the important truths they contain, or for the beauty and grandeur of the conceptions in them. This book, therefore, as far as the poems are concerned, is a mere literary curiosity, of no solid worth. But the copious explanatory notes subjoined to the several poems, and constituting much the larger part of the volume, may be regarded as a useful contribution to Syriac lexicography; as they certainly are quite necessary to render the strange and enigmatical language of the poems intelligible.

JAMES MURDOCK.

II. SYRIAN SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

THE existence and prosperity of this Society is an indication, most interesting to the philanthropist and the scholar, that the culture of western nations is exerting a great and happy influence upon minds in Syria, and even gives promise, that the naturally fine intellect of the Arab race may be re-cast in the mould of modern civilization. A copy of the First Part of the Transactions of the Society, recently received for the library of the American Oriental Society, enables us to confirm this general remark by some statements which, we think, will interest the reader.

The Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences was established in 1847. Its objects are defined in the second article of its Constitution, as follows:

"The objects of this Society shall be: first, the acquisition of the sciences and arts, on the part of its members, by means of mutual communications, tracts, discourses, and reports; second, the collecting of books, and papers, whether printed or manuscript, and especially those which are in the Arabic language, likely to be of use to the

Society; third, the awakening of a general desire for the acquisition of the sciences and arts, irrespective of disputed questions relative to religious rites and doctrines, with which this Society does not concern itself."

The stated meetings of the Society are monthly; and in January of each year is held an annual meeting. Other meetings may be called at the request of members. From the establishment of the Society to the close of 1851, there had been held fifty-three meetings, beside more than twenty open to the public. The number of corporate members whose names appear in the published Transactions, is forty-two, most of whom are Syrian Arabs, or residents in Syria, not European; six American missionaries, the Prussian Consul General Schultz, and his dragoman Catafago, make part of the number. Applications for membership are said to be constantly made. The admission-fee is fixed at fifty piastres, and the annual tax, at twenty-five. There are, also, nine corresponding members, of whom none are Europeans. The library of the Society is open every Saturday, from sunrise to sunset; books may be taken out, under certain proper restrictions.

But the papers which are contained in this First Part of the Society's Transactions, printed as they were presented, at different meetings, by their authors, are the most significant indication of the position and genius of the Society. After an extempore discourse by the President for the year 1852, Rev. Dr. Eli Smith, we have the following pieces: On the Delights and Utilities of Science, by Cornelius Van Dyck; The Measure of the Progress of Knowledge in Syria, at the present time, and its causes, by Yohannâ Wurtebât; A New Discovery, by the Editor [Bŭṭrus el-Bostâny]; On the Principles of the Laws of Nature, by Selim Naufal; A Discourse on the Instruction of Women, by Bŭṭrus el-Bostâny; On the Sciences of the Arabs, by Nâṣîf el-Yâzijy; On the Origin of Commerce, and its Vicissitudes, by Mîkhâil Medûr; On Prosperity and Adversity, and the [influence of the] Eye, by Mîkhâil Meshâḳah; On the Training of Children, by Henry De Forest; On the City of Beirût, by Bŭṭrus el-Bostâny; On the Sabbatic River, by William Thomson; Ḥarîry, by Bŭṭrus el-Bostâny; On the Superiority of the Moderns over the Ancients, by Cornelius Van Dyck; A Poem in praise of Mr. William Thomson, President of the Syrian Society, on his departure for America, by Nâṣîf el-Yâzijy; The 'Aḳîḳ-Maḳâmeh, by Nâṣîf el-Yâzijy; A Discourse on Plants, by Naufal Na'metallah Naufal; Dictations relative to the Heavenly Bodies, by the Editor. We should have been glad to make extracts from several of these pieces, but it is most to our purpose, at this time, to translate the whole of Dr. Smith's discourse, delivered at the annual meeting of the Society in January, 1852, together with the paper on the progress of knowledge in Syria, at the present time; and our limits forbid doing more.

1. *Annual Discourse of the President for the year* 1852.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,

It devolves upon me, as President of this Society, to address you, at this annual meeting, with a set discourse; but one engagement pressing upon another has left me no time for preparation. I see myself, therefore, restricted to some thoughts which occur to me this evening.

It is apparent, that our Society has various objects in view, for each of which a special Society is established in countries possessing means more effective and more abundant than those which are at our command. So that whoever considers the smallness of our number, and the narrowness of our means, is much surprised at the boldness of the originators of this Society,—of which I myself, being absent, was not one of the first members.

Our Constitution, which I see before me, lays down, as one of the objects which it requires us diligently to aim at, the aiding of one another in the sciences and arts. But these sciences and arts are numerous, various, and comprehensive; so that a man who would become conversant with only one of them, and would advance in it with the progress of his age, must often devote his whole life to it. Indeed, there are sciences for which that is not sufficient, but which, on the contrary, if to reach the higher degrees of perfection in them is desired, require many lives, that is, must be divided into parts, for each of which an entire life is needed. Nor is it possible for certain of the sciences and arts to be carried to that consummate perfection, and to the point of those admirable discoveries, which we hear of and behold, except by the assiduity of many individuals, thus exclusively devoted to their several branches.

Now, these individuals who devote themselves to the sciences and arts, it is well known, are not all in one place, but, on the contrary, are dispersed in different places and separate kingdoms; so that one may be ignorant of what another knows, and may often, on that account, toil, and expend time and money, in the pursuit of ends already attained. It follows from this, that such investigators, while they make new acquisitions only after much labor and oft repeated experiments, are, to a great extent, deprived of the means of adding to the general stock of knowledge.

Wisdom, therefore, dictates the establishment of Societies, in which all who labor in the pursuit of any one branch of knowledge, are brought together, and compare the results of one another's labors; so that one reaps what another has sown, and is not obliged to spend time in repeating experiments already tried; and, consequently, begins where his companions have left off, with a view to making new acquisitions. But as many Societies exist, devoted to single branches of knowledge, as there are kingdoms, and languages of people belonging to them. They must, therefore, be in correspondence with one another, and the doings of each must be published, in order to their highest usefulness. Thus, they labor in behalf of the sciences, and of thorough research, like a band of brothers.

Our Society, now, is certainly bold in appearing among these distinguished Societies, as a younger sister; and we know that, being the people we are, we have no claim to be greeted, only that true science is a stranger to pride, and ever extends a helping hand to all those who love it, even its feeble and erring votaries. Already, indeed, have we seen Societies in Germany, France, and America, making mention of our Society in terms which strengthen our resolution, and confirm our hopes. The German Oriental Society has favored us, also, with the present of a copy of its Journal, which it sends to us as it comes out, together with some other valuable books.

But it is the object of all these Societies, as is well known, to enlarge the boundaries of the sciences, or to carry the arts to a higher perfection; and what assistance can we render in a work so zealously prosecuted, as we see, by many of the most distinguished learned men of the world? That our number is small, our knowledge circumscribed, and our means restricted, is obvious. Yet we need not abandon hope, and throw off all concern in this matter; for the genius of your native country, and of the race from which you are sprung, and of the language which you speak, is suited, we think, to encourage you, and to give you aid. As for your country, its long history, telling what has taken place in it, and studied with avidity by all who are religiously disposed, and who take pleasure in remarkable events, is engraven on her rocks and walls, and buried in her mountains and hills. As for your Arab ancestry, its literature is a connecting link between the ancient world, adorned with Roman and Grecian sciences, and the modern, adorned with the sciences of Europeans, and their thorough research; while within your borders are found books handed down to you from that obscure age, which throw light upon its strangely pleasing events. As for your language, although no works composed in it, which are extant, reach far back into antiquity, is it not found to be nearly related to the languages of certain other works which have come down to us from ancient times, and to which, therefore, some very subtle, linguistic investigations attach themselves,—so that your language sometimes illustrates what is most obscure in these dead languages? We say, then, that it is quite within your range, to copy a rock-inscription, or to describe a ruin, or to interpret some book, or phrase, in your printed Transactions; and however little your own countrymen may think of such things, they certainly make accessions to knowledge which are appreciated in foreign countries.

Let us assume, however, that our first object is to gather the fruits of the labors of others, with little hope of distinguishing ourselves by the addition of any thing, on our part, to the general stock of knowledge; and that we are to effect this by reports of those acquisitions of others which suit our purpose, by tracts on subjects laid open to us, by discussions on such subjects in the retirement of our ordinary meetings, and by mutual assistance in all, according to the measure of science and information which each of us possesses. Of course, then, our aim is practical, and the work to be done by us, simple, in accordance with our circumstances. For the same reason, it is only in a general way that we have undertaken to investigate the sciences and arts. Nor let us fear the imputation of presumption and self-esteem, because we gather only what are good for us, suit our taste, and meet our wants, from among the various fruits which present themselves; and let us not reach after more.

Another object mentioned in our Constitution, is the forming of such a library as may be useful to ourselves. In respect to this, the favor of Providence has enabled us, already, to accomplish something of consequence. For, a short time after our Society was formed, there fell in our way a store of books relating to certain departments of science; and the liberality of some of our associates, and of other lovers of science, gave us the means of purchasing these books, without the necessity of our spending much of the Society's money. These books, though not such as some of us read, treat of sciences which have a recognized place in linguistic literature, and are, therefore, an appropriate foundation for our library. Others have been added, by degrees, according to our means and the opportunities we have had of obtaining them, especially, books printed at the Bûlâķ press, in the province of Egypt. We shall very soon publish a catalogue of the whole collection, in the Second Part of the Transactions of our Society.

I will add a thought, here, which connects itself with the increase of this library. I do not doubt the entire propriety of the decision of those who originated our Society, that its Transactions should be in the language of the people of this country, since we aim at benefitting them, and not those of foreign countries. But many of our associates, obviously, are acquainted with foreign languages, especially the French and English; and inasmuch as valuable books in these languages, on the history of this country, its geography and its literature, are published from time to time, I advise you, as you have the means, to purchase some of them. It is, likewise, indispensable that we should receive the printed Journals of foreign Societies; for we may learn much from them. Some of these Societies may, perhaps, expect to be informed of our wants, in order, only, to imitate the German Oriental Society in its liberality toward us. This will, I think, be accomplished by our Transactions, which are soon to come out. Moreover, some of these Societies are engaged in printing Arabic books, composed by men most eminent for learning among the Arabs of ancient times; and I learn from the Annual Report presented this year, by the learned Mohl, to the Oriental Society of France, that their intention is to publish many oriental works, within a short time, and in a style, too, which will make it easy for us, with our means, to obtain them. I hope, therefore, that but little time will elapse, before I see many of these books on the shelves of our library.

The third object of our Society, set forth in its Constitution, is to awaken a general desire for attainments in the sciences, and acquisitions of knowledge. This we endeavor to accomplish in two ways. First, by public discourses, to which we admit, as hearers, all who wish to be present. Many such have already been delivered, in past years, and your Directors rely upon the ready disposition of zealous members, for the delivery of discourses every week during the winter. The increased number of intelligent persons who come from the city to hear, shows, also, that they are favorably received, and useful. It is true, we have not the means which some in other countries possess, of obtaining the services of men most eminent for learning, to edify us, and those who meet with us, with successive discourses on the various departments of science. Let us each, however, contribute what we can, according to the measure of our several abilities and the time at our command. The other mode of accomplishing the object now under consideration is the printing of our Transactions, a publication made up of papers read and discourses delivered, from time to time, at our meetings. You already know what has retarded the appearance of the First Part, and I need not, therefore, dwell upon the subject, except to say that, without doubt, it will soon be out. It is hoped that high and low will read it with such avidity as shall embolden us to follow it up with another Part, in due course.

I have no need to remind you who know our rules of proceeding, that we are forbidden by our Constitution to interfere, in any respect, as members of this Society, with those religious opinions by which the various parties of the inhabitants of this city are distinguished from one another. But I charge you to hold fast, most earnestly, to this principle, for the sake of love and harmony in all our meetings; so that all those who are fond of the sciences and of acquisitions of knowledge, to whatever religious sect they belong, may be present without compromise of opinion, and finding here a common ground, may grasp hands as brothers in one great cause.

In conclusion, I congratulate you on having lived to see the beginning of this new year, in peace and safety, praying that similar seasons may be multiplied to you, and that with the opening of every year you may find this Society of ours advancing in prosperity and usefulness.

2. *The Measure of the Progress of Knowledge in Syria at the present time, and its causes. By Yohannâ Wurtebât.*

In order to judge of this, we need to know what was the amount of knowledge in former times, since comparison presupposes that the two things compared are determined. So far as we are ignorant of that, we run the risk of error and false judgment. Since, however, the state of science in those times was witnessed by no one of us, and we have no history of it, and tradition is little to be relied upon, the best means usually resorted to, to gain that information without which we cannot form a well-grounded judgment of our present position, are not at our command. Our task is, therefore, more difficult than some may imagine it to be; and were we restricted to the use of such helps as have been mentioned, reason would require us not to appear before the Society on a subject which we could not grasp. But let us resort to intellectual philosophy for relief from this difficulty.

In regard to all points which admit of question, there are two modes of reasoning: first, to reason from effect to cause, as, for example, our reasoning from the works of creation, that God exists, which philosophers call the *à posteriori* method; and second, to reason from cause to effect, as, for example, our reasoning that every glass vessel which is struck with a heavy blow, is broken, which is called the *à priori* method. Now, that knowledge is progressing in our country, at the present time, may be proved, by the latter method, on the ground that we discover causes necessarily producing the effect, which did not before exist; on account of which we are sure that there is progress. And then, if we compare the effect of these causes, where their influence is felt, with the state of things independently of them, as, for example, the condition of those cities in which their presence is wanting, or of the parties which do not favor them, or of the individuals who stand aloof from them, we shall find out, not only, in general, how much knowledge is advancing, but, also, what its progress is, relatively, among different people. This method of reasoning on the point in question I regard as alone satisfactory, and my views of the subject will be in accordance with it. For my inversion of the natural order, in putting the causes of the progress before the measure of it, I beg to be excused, inasmuch as this irregularity proceeds from the necessity of the case.

I propose, then, to mention, one by one, the more special causes of the progress of knowledge, together with what seems to me to have been their effect; after which I shall show, by comparison, as already intimated, how great that progress is.

The first cause. It is within the present age, as you well know, that commerce has been opened between us and the Franks; in which our whole country has shared, and we have become receivers of their commodities and dispensers of our own to them. In consequence of this, we borrow more or less from each other, and there is so much interchange that our merchants and all those of us who come into contact with these strangers, learn many things, as, for example, what commerce requires one to know, and some of the languages which open to us the door to a knowledge of their sciences and customs. Hence there are those among us who learn some of these sciences, while others acquaint themselves with the laudable customs of the Franks, and are thus enlightened, and become a blessing to themselves and their country. Here I would fain stop, but am constrained to allude to some who, by intercourse with the Franks, learn evil, and losing their nationality, despise the Arab race; these, as well as the unenlightened, are a plague to themselves and a curse to their country. Speaking generally, we would say that the progress of knowledge from this cause is not so great as it formerly seemed to be, when limited to a very few cities, and to a few individuals, most of whom were solicitous for improvement. "The yellowest is that of which the yellow is the best."

The second cause. This is the dispersion of books, from the presses of Bûlâk and Constantinople, Germany and France, and Beirût, London and Malta; for how many have been distributed, and how much good do we behold, which they have effected! The sciences have been advanced. Although many, after all, know not why we do not fly off from the surface of the earth, if it truly revolves around the sun, at the rate of sixty-eight thousand miles in an hour, or why we do not fall, and continue falling forever, if the earth is truly round, and its being fixed in its sphere depends upon the attraction of the heavenly bodies; yet they are not without some of the enlightenment of the age. Some have already become eminent in Arabic style, and in syntax and poetry; and others have acquired familiarity with the modern sciences.

The third cause. The progress of knowledge among those holding offices under Government. That persons in authority should possess knowledge, and zeal in the pursuit of it, is most desirable; because its light is thereby made to spread, of itself, over the whole country, beside that those in authority are rendered zealous to enlighten their subjects, to say nothing of the emulation awakened in the mass of the people. This, as you well know, is the actual state of things in our great Empire. For, most of its Wezîrs and Pâshâs are instructed and trained in the best colleges, and are, accordingly, exercised in the sciences of government and philosophy; and we ourselves have placed over us masters of sciences, earnestly desirous to enlighten the country. What I say is attested by their colleges in Constantinople and elsewhere, by their regard for learned men, and by their excluding from offices of government all ignorant people. Not much of this light, it is true, has reached this country; but there is a beginning, which undoubtedly influences the present state of knowledge among us.

The fourth cause. The colleges which are springing up in these times. This is one of the most influential causes, since colleges prove not only that knowledge exists, and that some persons are indoctrinated in it, but also that men seek after it, and desire it for themselves and their children. Nor is it a small matter, that such is the fact; on the contrary, it shows a certain degree of knowledge, or, let me rather say, an increase of natural light, it being no mark of ignorance, that a man seeks information, but a conclusive sign of it, that he endeavors to keep himself in the state in which he was born. Accordingly, the comparative number of those who read and write well, and of those who are untaught, is very different now, from what it was in past times, as we suppose. At the present day, all young men, with very few exceptions, learn to read and write; and some are instructed in one or more of the Frank languages, while others, more or less thoroughly, acquire the sciences. Who knows, indeed, what will come of these colleges, and these students, and this systematic instruction, conducting to the great sources of science, and these authors successively taken up, Ismâ'îl Jidd Amri-l-Ḳais, Mutenebby, Ḥarîry, Fâriḍh, Ibn Sînâ, Ibn Beiṭâr, Sheikh Nâṣîf el-Yâzijy, and other learned men, without end, of genuine Arab birth. Besides, if we look at those who come out of these colleges, we see that they are improved in intellect, and have made some acquisitions of knowledge, so as to be distinguished from the ignorant, and prepared to impart to others what they know, in a manner winning the respect of all.

I ought here to enumerate these colleges, and give the number of their students and officers; which would most clearly show how we stand. My time, however, is very short, and I am content to omit those details, together with much that I might say under the previous heads, desiring, only, that whoever comes after me may, by what he shall write or say, supply my deficiency.

By the foregoing remarks, I have proved that causes exist for the progress of knowledge at the present time; whence, by the so-called reasoning *à priori*, we infer that there is progress. On inquiry, we also find that these causes operate, which gives to our inference the confirmation of experience. We have, now, to show how great the progress is. This may be ascertained, as we have said, by comparing the cities in which these causes are present, and the communities and individuals influenced by them, with others. Whoever, then, would know the measure in question, should compare Beirût with Ṣeidâ, and the Christians with other communities, and those who receive instruction with those who are untaught, and the colleges of the present time with those of the past. Nor let him forget to compare this Society with the Societies of former times, in which we were wont to dispute about Genii, Ghûls, hiding-places, liers in wait, the elixir of life, the gold-elixir, and about men as half beasts and half descendants of Adam, and other ridiculous things which depress the intellect.

The former times have passed away, their people are no more, their darkness is gone, the four elements are done with; and another era is opening for Syria,—an era of light. True, it is but the first break of day, after all, and that only partaking of the darkness of a long night; yet must it be sunrise ere we awake? Since the dawn has at length appeared, let us rise and bestir ourselves. Already, have many opportunities been lost; and there is much for us to do, before we reach the goal. Would that I had a trumpet-voice,—it should arouse this whole country. I would sound a warning in the ears of the slumbering, that the dawn has come, and we must be up and doing. E. E. S.

III. Colonel Rawlinson's Outlines of Assyrian History, derived from his latest readings of cuneiform inscriptions.

At a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 5th of June last, a paper by Col. Rawlinson was read, which, though drawn up "in great haste, amid torrents of rain, in a little tent upon the mound of Nineveh, without any aids beyond a pocket bible, a note-book of inscriptions, and a tolerably retentive memory," is full of important mythological, geographical and historical information, obtained by reading cuneiform inscriptions on the banks of the Tigris. This paper is appended to the last Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1852. The most interesting deductions of Col. Rawlinson are the historical, and to these we shall confine ourselves in the following brief notice.

The annals of Divanubara, on the Black Obelisque of the British Museum, a translation of which has been published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xii., tell us of several expeditions made by that king against Benhadad king of Syria, the last of which was in his fourteenth year; and that in his eighteenth year he again invaded Syria, when Hazael was on the throne. Consequently, the accession of Hazael must have occurred from about the fifteenth to the seventeenth year of Divanubara; but Benhadad's death, and the accession of Hazael, is supposed to have taken place B. C. 886; from which it follows that Divanubara began to reign about the beginning of the ninth century before Christ. It is also recorded that this king received presents from Jehu, king of Israel, which Col. Rawlinson refers to his twenty-first year, when, according to his annals, he again invaded Syria, and the cities of Phoenicia paid him tribute. Jehu began to reign B. C. 883, and the twenty-first year of Divanubara falls about B. C. 881.*

Going back, now, from Divanubara, we find the names of three kings through whom the Assyrian empire was transmitted to him, in regular succession from father to son. These are Sardanapalus I., Anaku Merodach, as Col. Rawlinson proposes to read his name, and Adrammelech I., also a conjectural reading. Allowing twenty years to each reign, we are thus brought to B. C. 962, or about the time of the death of Solomon. It was Sardanapalus I. who built the North-West palace at Nimrûd, or Calah, where he also built several temples. His military achievements are recorded in an inscription on a huge monolith at Calah which will soon be published. "It describes the various expeditions of the king in the most elaborate detail, and enables us to identify a multitude of cities and countries which are named in the historical and prophetical books of Scripture, but of which the positions have been hitherto unknown. Gozan, Haran and Rezeph, Eden and Thelaser, Calno and Carchemish, Hamath and Arpad, Tyre and Sidon, and Gebal and Arvad, are all distinctly named; so are the Arab tribes of Kedar and Hazor, Sheba, Teman and Dedan." Connected Assyrian history begins with the accession of Sardanapalus I. All his predecessors, probably, are not as yet known; the existence of only five has been made out, whose names are still undetermined. Col. Rawlinson, however, supposes that the Assyrian empire was founded as long ago as the thirteenth century before Christ.

The length of Divanubara's reign is uncertain; his annals cover thirty-two years, and Col. Rawlinson gives him ten years more, and to his two successors, Shamas Ader and Adrammelech II., as he proposes to call them, the remainder of the ninth century before Christ. Between this period and the end of the first Assyrian dynasty, B. C. 747, there were fifty-three years, during which the Pul of Scripture reigned, whose name is, however, nowhere preserved in the inscriptions, under whom the old Assyrian royal family was driven out by Sargina; but Col. Rawlinson thinks he finds traces of a king who reigned before Pul, after Adrammelech II. To this intervening reign he assigns thirty years, making Pul's accession to have been B.C. 770. Now, in a fragmentary inscription of the South-West palace of Nimrûd, Pul is said to have received tribute from Menahem, king of Israel, in his eighth year, that is, B.C. 762; which was three years before Pekahiah succeeded Menahem on the throne in Samaria. This payment of tribute is mentioned in 2 Kings, xv. 19: "And Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him, to confirm the kingdom in his hand."

---

* It is proper to observe that the translation of the inscription of the Black Obelisque, published by Col. Rawlinson in the Journal of the R. Asiatic Society, gives different readings for the names which he now identifies as those of Benhadad and Hazael; and that the name of Jehu, apparently Yahua, was not thus identified.

Sargina, the Sargon of Isaiah, is identified by Col. Rawlinson with Tiglath Pileser and Shalmaneser. This identification, and the notices of campaigns against Samaria and Damascus made by Sargina, which are read in the inscriptions of Khorsabad, contribute to the elucidation of many important passages of Scripture history. For example, the synchronous ruin of Samaria and Damascus foretold in Isaiah, viii. 4, of which we have no account in the Bible, is ascertained to have taken place in Sargina's reign. "It is also suggested that the temporary interruption of the sovereignty of Israel, consequent upon the first reduction of Samaria [an event mentioned in Sargina's annals, as belonging to the first year of his reign], resolves an historical discrepancy in the Book of Kings, which has hitherto defied explanation. Hoshea is said in one passage to have slain Pekah, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham (2 Kings, xv. 30). In another, his accession is made to fall in the twelfth year of Ahaz, who was Jotham's successor (2 Kings, xvii. 1). The explanation of this is, then, that during the early part of the reign of Ahaz there was an interregnum in Samaria, and that the second accession of Hoshea dated from the period when he threw off the yoke of Assyria."

The Khorsabad annals extend only to the fifteenth year of Sargina, that is B.C. 732, and it is doubtful whether there is any Assyrian record existing of the captivity of the Ten Tribes in the reign of Hoshea (2 Kings, xvii. 6).

According to Col. Rawlinson, Sennacherib followed his father Sargina immediately, and came to the throne B.C. 716. The expedition of this king against Jerusalem, related in 2 Kings, xviii. 13, ff., is noticed with its attendant circumstances in the annals of his third year. We feel constrained to transfer to our pages the whole passage, as translated by Col. Rawlinson, together with his remarks upon it compared with the Scripture narrative.

'In the autumn of the year, certain other cities which had refused to submit to my authority, I took and plundered. The nobles and the people of *Ekron* having expelled their king *Haddiya* and the Assyrian troops who garrisoned the town, attached themselves to *Hezekiah* of Judæa, and paid their adorations to his god [the name is lost]. The kings of Egypt also sent horsemen and footmen, belonging to the army of the king of *Mirukha* [Meröe or Æthiopia], of which the numbers could not be counted. In the neighbourhood of the city of *Allakhis* [Lachish], I joined battle with them. The captains of the cohorts, and the young men of the kings of Egypt, and the captains of the cohorts of the king of 'Meröe,' I put to the sword in the country of *Lubana* [Libnah]. 'Afterwards I moved to the city of *Ekron*, and the chiefs of the people having humbled themselves, I admitted them into my service; but the young men I carried into captivity, to inhabit the cities of Assyria. Their goods and wealth, also, I plundered to an untold amount. Their king *Haddiya* I then brought back from the city of *Jerusalem*, and again placed in authority over them, imposing on him the regulated tribute of the empire; and because Hezekiah, king of Judæa, did not submit to my yoke, forty-six of his strong fenced cities, and innumerable smaller towns which depended on them, I took and plundered; but I left to him Jerusalem, his capital city, and some of the inferior towns around it.' [A faulty passage, and of doubtful signification, here follows]. 'The cities which I had taken and plundered, I detained from the government of Hezekiah, and distributed between the kings of *Ashdod*, and *Ascalon*, and *Ekron*, and *Gazah*; and having thus invaded the territory of these chiefs, I imposed on them a corresponding increase of tribute over that to which they had formerly been subjected; and because Hezekiah still continued to refuse to pay me homage, I attacked and carried off the whole population, fixed and nomade, which dwelled around Jerusalem, with 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, the accumulated wealth of the nobles of Hezekiah's court, and of their daughters, with the officers of his palace, men slaves and women slaves. I returned to Nineveh, and I accounted this spoil for the tribute which he refused to pay me.'

"Now the value of this notice can hardly be overstated. It gives us the Assyrian version of one of the most important episodes of Scripture history, and coloured as we must expect to find it in favour of the Assyrians, it still confirms the most important features of the Scriptural account. Jerusalem alone, of all the cities of Syria, did *not* fall under the arms of Sennacherib. The Jewish and the Assyrian versions of the campaign are, on the whole, indeed, strikingly illustrative of each other.—Hezekiah, at an early period of his reign, while *Sargina* was still upon the throne of Nineveh, 'had smote the Philistines even unto Gaza'—and it is probably this event which is described in the inscription as a defection of the *Ekronites*, for otherwise it is difficult to account for the fugitive Assyrian governor being found in Jerusalem. In the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, or B. C. 713, Sennacherib having reduced the other cities of the sea-coast, turns his arms against Ekron, which was still held by the king of Judah. He was interrupted in his design by the advance of the Egyptians and Æthiopians under *Tirhakah*, king of Meröe, and he turned back accordingly to *Lachish*, to engage with them. . . . . . . That Sennacherib did really defeat the Egyptians at *Lachish*, may be inferred from 2 Kings, chap. xviii. verss. 21, 24, as well as from various passages in the prophetical books, and the story accordingly which is told by Herodotus of the flight of the Assyrians, may be set down to the vanity of the priests of Memphis. From *Lachish* Sennacherib proceeded to *Lubana* [Libnah], where he executed his Egyptian prisoners, and where he was joined by Rabshekah, after the latter's unsuccessful mission to Jerusalem. (2 Kings, xix. 8.) Sennacherib must have now made that foray upon the territory of Hezekiah, which is noticed in Scripture under the expression, 'He came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them.' (2 Kings, xviii. 13.) Colonel Taylor's cylinder gives an account of the prisoners and spoil which were taken in this foray. The numbers of the male and female prisoners are stated at 200,164, and it is very remarkable that Demetrius the Jew, as he is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria, ascribes the great Assyrian captivity of the Jews to this very king Sennacherib. Of the distribution of the captured cities among the kings of the Philistines, we have no account in Scripture; but the cylinder gives the details of the arrangement, and names the kings whose territories were thus enlarged: *Mittinta* of *Ashdod*, *Haddiya* of *Ekrón*, and *Ismibel* of *Gaza*. The reason assigned by Sennacherib for leaving Hezekiah in possession of Jerusalem, cannot, unfortunately, be made out in either of the copies of the inscription. It is certain, however, that Hezekiah still refused to submit, and as it is also evident, from the close of the 10th chapter of Isaiah, that the Assyrians must have approached very near to the city (a strong argument being thus furnished in favour of the truth of Sennacherib's statement, that he carried off the whole population from around Jerusalem), the inference seems to be inevitable, that the capital could only have been saved by the miraculous interposition of the Almighty. Sennacherib's annals do not of course allude to a discomfiture produced by pestilence and panic; but the summary way in which he closes his account of the campaign, merely stating that he returned to Nineveh with his spoil, would be alone sufficient to indicate some disaster to his army. It is also important to add that he was unable, during the following year, owing apparently to the severe check he had sustained, to undertake any operations of magnitude, and that, so far as has been yet ascertained, he does not appear, at any subsequent period of his reign, to have ventured to lead his armies across the Euphrates into Syria."—pp. xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii.

Col. Rawlinson adopts from the Greeks the length of reign which they give to Sennacherib, eighteen years, and consequently places his death B. C. 698. Between this event and the taking of Nineveh by the Medes, B. C. 606, three kings reigned, called Asur-akh-as, or Assur-akh-adana, the Esar-haddon of Scripture, Assur-adon-pal, or Sardanapalus III, as Col. Rawlinson's makes him, who supposes Pul to have been also called Sardanapalus, and one whose name Col. Rawlinson's cannot as yet read. E. E. S.

IV. Late Discoveries in Persia and Mesopotamia.

The following paragraphs from a letter to the Corr. Sec. from Rev. Dr. Justin Perkins, missionary in Orûmiah, dated July 2, 1852, will be read with interest.

"A very pleasant visit which we have just received from the members of the English Expedition commissioned to assist in surveying and settling the boundary between Turkey and Persia, furnished me with some facts of antiquarian interest, and reminded me that your last letter is still unacknowledged.

"Col. Williams, the head of this Expedition, and Mr. Loftus, the geologist connected with it, have made some intensely interesting discoveries at *Susa*—which they have no doubt is *Shushan*—one of the residences of the ancient Persian kings, Artaxerxes, Darius, etc. They have excavated extensive ruins of a marble palace, covered with sculptures and cuneiform inscriptions, the the same slab often containing the three-fold form, of Babylonian, Median and Persepolitan writing. On these slabs are the names of the Persian kings above mentioned, in these three characters. The palace itself seems to have been the counterpart of that of Persepolis—as we might say, a copy of it. The marble pillars, sixty feet in length, were broken and crumbled in falling, and many portions of them had been dug out and carried off by the inhabitants, to be burnt into lime; but most of their pedestals are still standing, though quite buried under ground; and on these pedestals were most of the sculptures and inscriptions taken by Mr. Loftus. These sculptures and inscriptions, transferred to moistened brown paper placed upon them, were very successfully and accurately preserved; and they gave me a more vivid impression on the whole subject of antiquities than any thing I have ever seen, except the scenes I witnessed, with unspeakable delight, mingled with awe and admiration, while walking among the marble palaces of ancient Nineveh.

"The great similarity between the palaces of Susa and Persepolis, will not appear strange, when we have in mind the practice of modern kings of Persia, to occupy similarly built palaces in different and often distant portions of the empire, at different seasons of the year, thus avoiding the extreme heats of summer and the cold of winter.

"Near the ruins of Susa, is the reputed tomb of Daniel, a humble brick dome, resorted to, from time immemorial, by almost numberless Jewish pilgrims. Of course, due weight must be given to this immemorial tradition.

"Mr. Loftus has also made interesting discoveries, in the Bactiaree mountains, of inscriptions, which he has in like manner copied. He thinks that he has also found the Ur of the Chaldees, the home of Abraham, in lower Mesopotamia, where there are mounds forty or forty-five feet high, formed entirely of earthen coffins, (and their contents,) the interior of which is glazed. I am not sufficiently confident that I correctly remember the modern name of this locality to give it to you. All these discoveries will of course in due time be given to the world in a proper form, and I forbear to run the risk of marring their interest, by attempting any particular description of them, which would necessarily be very imperfect. Copies of many of the inscriptions are already in the hands of Col. Rawlinson, and specimens have been sent to the British Museum.

"The day seems thus to have come, for this old Eastern world to yield up its long buried, but priceless treasures, to the research of antiquarians; as the more newly discovered portions of the earth are revealing their mineral riches, and science and art are daily astonishing and blessing mankind with their triumphs. These all, we trust, are to act as the handmaids of the Gospel, and contribute materially to hasten the time when the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun, seven-fold."

V. Barth and Overweg Expedition to Central Africa.

From the *London Athenæum*, Nos. 1309, 1314, 1315, we gather some particulars of the progress of this important Expedition. In the latter part of 1851, an attempt was made to explore Borgu and Waday, on the East of Lake Tsad, under the protection of an army sent out by the Sultan of Bornu; but the army being soon met by the enemy and defeated, the travellers barely escaped with their lives and instruments. Soon after this, under the cover of another foray made by the Sultan of Bornu, the country of Mandara, to the South of Bornu, was visited, and found to be "most fertile and rich." The foray lasted through December, 1851, and January, 1852. Between the end of March and the end of May, 1852, Dr. Overweg made a journey South-West from Lake Tsad, to within 150 English miles of Yacoba, in the Fellah country, and returned; while Dr. Barth went South-East, to the kingdom of Bagirmi, whence he returned on the 20th of August last. Both journeys were successful, and may lead to important results. Yacoba is situated on a branch of the Tchadda, which is itself a branch of the Kawāra, or Niger; so that in that direction communication was almost opened from the centre of the continent to the sea-coast. "Dr. Barth collected a large mass of valuable information respecting the history, geography, and ethnography of Bagirmi and Waday,—which he has embodied in an account addressed to the Foreign Office." He also "collected copious vocabularies of the languages of Lógĕne, Bagirmi, and Waday,—and less complete vocabularies, each containing about two hundred words, of not less than eight other languages." Dr. Barth's explorations have thrown much light upon the water-courses of that part of Africa on the East, South-East and South of Lake Tsad; and, when last heard from, he had obtained information reaching to the basin of the Nile, for he was told, on authority which he could rely upon, of a route leading to "*the banks of a very considerable river flowing westward*, so large that they could not make out persons standing on the other side, and which they were unable to cross."

The latest date at which the Expedition had been heard from, when the foregoing was written, was August 21, 1852. The *London Athenæum*, No. 1322, gives us information down to the 12th of last October. On the 27th of September, Dr. Overweg fell a victim to his devotion to the enterprize in which he was engaged, at the early age of thirty years. But Dr. Barth, undaunted, was determined to follow up the results already obtained. Dr. Vogel, a distinguished astronomer and botanist, was on his way to join the Expedition, most happily, on the very day the news of Dr. Overweg's death was received. There is reason to hope, therefore, that these important explorations will not be given up. Among the communications last received is a map of Central Africa from 4° to 15° N. L. and 8° to 23° E. L., of which Prof. Petermann says: "I have no hesitation in pronouncing this map as the most comprehensive and complete that has ever resulted from the travels and researches of any single African traveller."

E. E. S.

VI. UNITED STATES EXPEDITION TO JAPAN.

In November last, the U. S. steam-frigate Mississippi sailed from Annapolis, bearing the flag of Commodore Perry, as commander of the United States Expedition to Japan. The whole squadron, consisting of several steam-frigates, and other vessels of war, was expected to rendezvous at Hongkong. About this time, probably, the Expedition is approaching its destination; and it will soon be decided what are to be its results. We earnestly hope that, without any dishonor to our national flag, through abuse of power, it may contribute to enlarge our knowledge of that great Empire, all we know of which, at present, only excites the desire to know more. The intentions of the Government are clearly set forth in the following letter from President Fillmore to the Emperor of Japan, from which an extract was published last spring in our public prints.

"MILLARD FILLMORE,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

"GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: I send you this letter by an envoy of my own appointment, an officer of high rank in his country, who is no missionary of religion. He goes by my command to bear to you my greeting and good wishes, and to promote friendship and commerce between the two countries.

"You know that the United States of America now extend from sea to sea; that the great countries of Oregon and California are parts of the United States, and that from these countries, which are rich in gold, and silver, and precious stones, our steamers can reach the shores of your happy land in less than twenty days.

"Many of our ships will now pass in every year, and some perhaps in every week, between California and China; these ships must pass along the coasts of your empire; storms and winds may cause them to be wrecked on your shores, and we ask and expect from your friendship and your greatness, kindness for our men and protection for our property. We wish that our people may be permitted to trade with your people; but we shall not authorize them to break any laws of your empire.

"Our object is friendly commercial intercourse, and nothing more. You have many productions which we should be glad to buy; and we have productions which might suit your people.

"Your empire has a great abundance of coal; this is an article which our steamships, in going from California to China, must use. They would be glad that a harbor in your empire should be appointed to which coal might be brought, and where they might always be able to purchase it.

"In many other respects, commerce between your empire and our country would be useful to both. Let us consider well what new interests arise from these recent events which have brought our two countries so near together, and what purposes of friendship, amity, and intercourse they ought to inspire in the breasts of those who govern both countries. Farewell.

"Given under my hand and seal, at the city of Washington, the 10th day of [L. S.] May, 1851, and of the independence of the United States the seventy-fifth.

By the President. M. FILLMORE.

D. WEBSTER, *Secretary of State*."

To the American Oriental Society, this Expedition is the more interesting as one of its own members is included in it, the Rev. George Jones, U. S. N., who accompanies the Commodore as chaplain, whose knowledge of the world, gathered on long absences from his native country in our national vessels, and scientific and literary accomplishments, justify the expectation that the Society will hereafter receive important communications from him in answer to a series of inquiries addressed to him by a committee appointed for the purpose, previous to his departure. E. E. S.

VII. United States Expedition to the Pacific.

We extract from a carefully prepared article in the *National Intelligencer* for November 18, 1852, the following paragraphs relative to the design and equipment of this Expedition, now soon to take its departure, under Commander Ringgold.

"Its objects will be to survey portions of the China and Japan seas, the route between China and California, and the North Pacific ocean in the region of Behring's Straits. It may probably also ascend the Sea of Tartary, to make some examinations needed for the advantageous prosecution of commercial enterprises in those comparatively unknown waters.

"In every particular this Expedition will be thoroughly prepared for the work before it. . . . .

"In the scientific departments the same circumspection is manifested. The astronomical instruments are obtained through the National Observatory at Washington, and are of the very best quality. . . . . . . The means of collecting information in natural history have been exceedingly well cared for, even to the most minute particular. . . . .

"We understand that this Expedition will probably consume three years in the accomplishment of its varied and important work, and in returning to the Atlantic coast. In this time it will traverse the waters of many of the hitherto unfrequented regions bordering upon the Pacific ocean. On the one side, are the coasts of California and Oregon; on the other, the regions of Kamtschatka and the islands of Japan; in the north, to a very high degree of latitude, the scenes of our adventurous whalers; and in the south, the countless islands of the ocean, so imperfectly known to the civilized nations of the earth, yet many of them inhabited by human beings whose condition challenges our pity, and whose characteristics invite the scrutiny of the learned and the curious.

"One of the most remarkable, and to us most interesting island groups in the world is the Sandwich Islands. They form the natural stopping-place for all the vessels plying between China or Japan and the coasts of California. They are already the established resort of our whaleships, *six hundred* of which have already taken harbor there within a single year, and not a few of them, with the meagre facilities now existing, transferring their cargoes at these ports. In the lapse of but a few years more, they will constitute the great commercial depot of many nations. Through them will pass the tidings from China that will be thence received as news in London some twenty or thirty days later.

> "At present, a sail-vessel can make the voyage from Canton to San Francisco in forty-five days; but it is thought that ocean-steamers, which must necessarily touch at the Sandwich Islands, will accomplish it in sixteen, or even fourteen days. The passage from San Francisco to Panama now occupies twelve days. When the railroad shall be completed, the sixty miles transit across the Isthmus will be made in three hours; and thence to New York in eight days. But how long will the Isthmus be the way of transit from the Pacific to the Atlantic shores? Who can tell? The Western States of this Union are neither listless nor idle. They are alive to their interests, and full of enterprise. They will soon connect their mercantile cities with the ports of the Pacific by railroads and telegraph-wires. Before many years shall pass, not only will the Canton news be transmitted by telegraph from San Francisco to St. Louis, and thence to the Atlantic coasts, within sixteen or eighteen days after the occurrence of the incidents at Canton, but chests of tea and bales of silks, by the same conveyance across the ocean, will be there opened within a few brief days thereafter; and St. Louis, a few years ago an unimportant village amidst the wilds of the West, will be the city of commerce and divergence for the choicest products of the Celestial Empire. And sixteen days, it is confidently predicted by many, will be sufficient lapse of time to enable the merchant of New York to read the despatches of his correspondents at Canton.
>
> . . . .
>
> "Congress has appropriated for this Expedition one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars; a large sum, to be sure, but how small when contrasted with the magnitude of the work to be accomplished!"

While the Government is thus providing for the exploration of the North Pacific, and the opening of the new route of commerce between China and California seems likely soon to bring the United States into intimate relations with the Celestial Empire, and to afford new facilities for increasing our knowledge of that part of the East, some of the islands of Micronesia, in a more southern latitude, are being lighted up, for the first time, by the presence of Christian missionaries,* who, while pursuing their work of benevolence, may be expected to communicate much that will be new respecting the tribes of these countless ocean-isles, their physical and intellectual characteristics, their migrations, their relations to each other and to continental races, and the like, as well as the geography of their island-homes.

A private letter from one of these missionaries to a gentleman in New Haven, alludes to some interesting ruins on Ascension Island, one of the Caroline group, in Lat. 7° N. We are permitted to quote the passage here.

> "The past history of this island is full of interest, and much of it wrapped in mystery. There are numerous ruins, here, of what are supposed to be castles. We visited one, the other day, which is truly wonderful. The walls are twenty-five feet high, very thick, built entirely of prismatic rocks, some of them eighteen feet long, and two thick. There are walls within walls, the outer enclosing about one acre, and several very neat vaults, in which human bones, etc., have been found. When, why, and by whom these walls were

---

* See *The Missionary Herald* for March, 1853.

constructed, will most likely forever remain unknown. Some suppose them the strong-holds of Spanish pirates, which I think is altogether unlikely. We shall hope to make some further exploration, and then shall be happy to communicate any information."

The same letter states that the language of Ascension differs from all others spoken in that part of the Pacific.

E. E. S.

VIII. Official Report of the United States Expedition to the Dead Sea.

"The official Report of the United States Expedition to explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan, was published in part by order of the United States Senate, but the manner in which the work was executed was so little creditable, either to the enterprising officers who had charge of it, or to the Government under whose authority it was undertaken, that the late Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Graham, authorized its publication by Lieut. M. F. Maury, Superintendent of the National Observatory, in a more appropriate style. The execution of the work was entrusted to Messrs. John Murphy & Co., of this city, who have recently issued it in a very neat quarto volume, handsomely bound and gilt. The Report, as published by the Senate, consisted only of the narrative portion of the Commander of the Expedition, Lieut. W. F. Lynch; but the geological portion was not included in it, as it was not then finished. The volume, as published by Messrs. Murphy & Co., contains the large and comprehensive map of the Dead Sea and the River Jordan, with the surrounding country, constructed from the joint labors of Lieutenants Lynch and Dale, and Passed Midshipman Aulick, as well as numerous plates of fossil remains found during the geological explorations."—*Baltimore American.*

The geological part of this Report is by our associate Dr. Henry J. Anderson.

IX. Bibliographical Intelligence.

I. Africa.

1. *Philology.*

La Toison d'or de la langue Phénicienne; collection d'inscriptions puniques trouvées sur les ruines de Carthage et sur divers points de la régence de Tunis, avec la transcription en caractéres hébreux et la traduction en Latin et en Français, par l'Abbé Bourgade, aumônier de la chapelle de Saint-Louis, à Carthage, missionaire apostolique, chanoine honoraire d'Alger, etc. Paris: 1852.

Entzifferung der neupunischen Inschriften, von Heinrich Ewald. Göttingen: 1852.

2. *History.*

Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopen und der Halbinsel des Sinai, von Richard Lepsius. Mit Tafeln. Berlin: 1852.

Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, nach den Zeichnungen der v. Sr. M. dem Könige v. Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in d. J. 1842–45 ausgeführten wissenchaftl. Expedition, auf Befehl Sr. M. d. Königs herausg. und erläut., von R. Lepsius. Tafeln. Lfg. 5–32. Imp. fol. Berlin: 1850–52.

Abu 'l-Mahâsin Ibn Tagrii Bardii annales quibus titulus est *En-Nujûm ez-Zâhirah fy Mulûk Miṣr wa-l-Kâhirah* e codd. mss. nunc primum Arabicè editi. Tomi I. partem 1 ed. Prof. Dr. T. G. J. Juynboll et Dr. B. F. Matthes. Lugd. Batav.: 1852.

3. *Religion.*

Pistis Sophia, Opus Gnosticum Valentino adjudicatum, e codice manuscripto Coptico Londinensi descripsit et Latinè vertit M. G. Schwartz, edidit J. H. Petermann. Berolini: 1851.

II. Western Asia.

1. *Philology.*

Mémoire sur les inscriptions Achéménides, conçues dans l'idiome des anciens Perses. Par M. Oppert. (Suite et fin.) (In *Journ. Asiat.* for Feb., 1852.)

Die Tributverzeichnisse des Obelisken aus Nimrod, nebst Vorbemerkungen über d. verschiedenen Ursprung und Charakter d. persischen und assyrischen Keilschrift, etc., von G. F. Grotefend. Mit 3 Tafeln. Hannover: 1852.

Foreign words occurring in the Qorân, by A. Sprenger, M.D. (In *Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal*, No. 2 for 1852.)

Grammaire Persane, ou Principes de l'Iranien moderne, accompagnés de *fac-similes* pour servir de modèles d'écriture et de style pour la correspondence diplomatique et familière, par Alexandre Chodzko, ancien consul de Russie en Perse, etc. Paris: 1852.

2. *History.*

Taberistanensis sive Abu Dschaferi Mohammed ben Dscherir Ettaberi Annales regum et legatorum Dei. Ed. Prof. J. G. L. Kosegarten. Vol. iii. Gryphisvaldiae: 1852.

Scriptorum Arabum loci de Abbadidis, nunc primum editi a R. P. A. Dozy. Vol. ii. Lugd. Batav.: 1852.

Ibn-Adhárí [de Maroc] Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, intitulée Al-Bayano-L-Magrib, et fragments de la Chronique d'Aráb [de Cordoue.] Par R. P. A. Dozy. Lugd. Batav.: 1848–1851. 2 tomes.

Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties Musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale, par Ibn-Khaldoun. Trad. de l'Arabe par le Baron de Slane. Tome i. Paris: 1852.

Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum a Mustafa Ben Abdallah ... nomine Haji Khalfa celebrato compositum .... primum edidit ... Gustavus Fluegel. Tomus vi. London: 1852.

Literaturgeschichte der Araber. Von ihrem Beginne bis zu Ende des zwölften Jahrhundertes der Hidschret. Von Hammer-Purgstall. Erste Abth. Dritter Band. Wien: 1852.

Études sur les chants historiques et les traditions populaires de l'ancienne Arménie, d'après une dissertation de M. J. B. Émin. Par M. Éd. Dulaurier. (In *Journ. Asiat.* for January, 1852.)

.... Nineveh and Babylon, with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert, being the result of a second expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum. By A. H. Layard, M. P. Plates. London: 1852.

Monuments of Nineveh (second series) chiefly illustrative of the wars of Sennacherib. By A. H. Layard. London: 1852.

Nineveh and its Palaces. The discoveries of Botta and Layard applied to the elucidation of Holy Writ. By Joseph Bonomi, F.R.S.L.

3. *Geography.*

Lexicon geographicum, cui titulus est *Merâṣid el-Iṭṭilâ'* e duobus codd. mss. Arabicè editum. Fasc. iv.... Ed. Prof. Dr. T. G. J. Juynboll. Lugd. Batav.: 1852.

Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur u. Geschichte des Menschen, od. Allgemeine Vergleich. Geographie. 16r Theil, 1· Abth.: 3 Buch. West Asien, mit einem Plan von Jerusalem und einer Karte von Galiläa in Imp. 4°. aufl. 2. Von Carl Ritter. Berlin: 1852.

Asie Mineure.... Description physique, statistique et archéologique de cette contrée. Par P. de Tchichatcheff. 1re Partie: Géographie physique comparée. 8°. Plus 12 planches, une grande carte de l'Asie et un Atlas avec 28 pll., in 4°. Paris: 1852.

Voyage antour de la Mer Morte et dans les terres Bibliques, exécuté de Décembre, 1850, à Avril, 1851. Par F. de Saulcy. Relation de Voyage. Tome i. Paris: 1852.

Dr. K. von Spruner's Historisch-geographischer Hand-Atlas. Lief. 14. 10 Karten. Gotha: 1852.

4. *Religion.*

Zendavesta, or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians, edited and interpreted by N. L. Westergaard. Vol. i. The Zend Texts. Part 1. Yasna. Copenhagen: 1852.

Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen, übersetzt . . . von Dr. F. Spiegel. Bd. i. Der Vendidad. Leipzig: 1852.

Lettre à M. Reinaud sur quelques manuscrits Syriaques du Musée Britannique, contenant des traductions d'auteurs Grecs profanes et des traités philosophiques. Par M. E. Renan. (In *Journ. Asiat.* for April, 1852).

5. *Belles-Lettres.*

The Gulistan, or Rose-Garden of Sheikh Muslihu'ddin Sadi of Shiraz. Translated for the first time into Prose and Verse, with an Introductory Preface, and a Life of the author, from the Atish Kada. By Edward B. Eastwick. London: 1852.

III. EASTERN ASIA.

1. *Philology.*

Ueber die Sprache d. Jakuten. Grammatik, Text, und Wörterbuch. Von Otto Boehtlingk. St. Petersburg: 1851.

Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Altslawischen, Gothischen und Deutschen. Von Franz Bopp. Abth. 6. Berlin: 1852.

Jâska's Nirukta sammt den Nighantavas, herausgegeben von Rudolph Roth. Heft 3. Göttingen: 1852.

Çabdakalpadruma, by Râja Râdhakânta Deva. Vol. vii. Calcutta: 1851.

A Sanskrit Encyclopædia.

2. *History.*

Râdjataranginî. Histoire des rois de Kachmîr, traduite et commentée par M. A. Troyer. Tom. iii. Paris: 1852.

The completion of a work begun in 1840. It contains the continuation of Kalhana's history, by an unknown author of the twelfth century.

Indische Alterthumskunde von Christian Lassen, ordentlichem Professor d. altindischen Sprache u. Litteratur an d. Königl. Preuss. Fried.-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn. Zweiter Band. [Second Part.] Geschichte von Buddha bis auf die Ballabhi- und jüngere Guptadynastie. Mit einer Karte. Bonn: 1852.

Akademische Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte. Gehalten im Wintersemester 1851–52, von Dr. Albrecht Weber. Berlin: 1852.

Two lectures on the Aboriginal Race in India, as distinguished from the Sanskritic or Hindu Race. By Lieut. General Briggs, F. R. S. (In *Journal of R. Asiatic Soc. of Gr. Britain and Ireland*, Vol. xiii. Part 2, for 1852.)

An interesting survey of the aboriginal tribes of India, showing that, while they differ from the Sanskrit race, radically, as to customs, physical traits and language, they themselves belong to one family, which the writer calls the Tamulian, and supposes to be a branch of the Scythian race.

Abstract of the Sijara Malayu or Malayan Annals, with Notes. By T. Braddell, Esq. (In *Journ. of the Ind. Archip.*, for November and December, 1851, and for January, 1852.)

Continued from September, 1851. See page 229 of this volume.

Leaves upon Japan, by Levyssohn. (Original title not known.) Hague: 1852.

Le Siècle des Youên. Troisième Partie. Notices biographiques des auteurs. Catalogue alphabetique des principaux écrivains, Chinois et Mongols, qui ont fleuri dans le siècle des Youên, depuis l'an 1260 jusqu'à l'an 1368 après J. C. Par M. Bazin. (In *Journ. Asiat.* for May–June, 1852.)

3. *Religion.*

The White Yajurveda, edited by Dr. Albrecht Weber. Part i. The Vâjasaneyi-Sanhitâ in the Mâdhyandina- and the Kâṇva-Çâkhâ, with the commentary of Mahîdhara. Nos. 6, 7. Berlin: 1852.

Beiträge zur Kenntniss d. indischen Philosophie. Fortsetzung. Von Dr. M. Müller. (In *Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. vi. Heft 2., for 1852.)

Continued from Bd. vi. Heft. 1. See page 231 of this volume.

Droit Hindou. Le Mitakchara et le Dattaca Chandrica traduits en Français, avec des explications, suivis de l'énumération de tous les legislateurs Hindou et de l'indication de leurs ouvrages. Paris: 1852.

An account of the religion of the Khonds in Orissa. By Captain S. Chartres Macpherson, Madras Army. (In *Journ. of R. As. Soc.*, Vol. xiii. Part 2, for 1852.)

Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, traduit du Sanscrit, accompagné d'un commentaire et de vingt et un mémoires relatifs au Bouddhisme, par Eugène Bournouf. Paris: 1852.

A posthumous work of the lamented Bournouf. An index to this and the *Histoire du Bouddhisme,* has been added by Théodore Pavie.

A Manual of Buddhism, in its modern development. Translated from Singhalese MSS. By R. Spence Hardy. London: 1853.

IV. OCEANICA.

1. *Philology.*

Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands. By J. R. Logan. Language. Chap. iii. Sec. 1. Comparative characteristics of each group.

vi. West Indonesian. vii. North Indonesian. (In *Journ. of the Ind. Archip.*, for October, 1851, and February, 1852.)

Abhandlungen über die Aino-Sprache. Von Dr. Aug. Pfizmaier. Wien: 1852.

Kritische Durchsicht der v. Dawidow verfassten Wörtersammlung aus der Sprache der Ainos. Von Dr. Aug. Pfizmaier. Wien: 1852.

Beitrag zur Kenntniss der ältesten japanischen Poesie. Von Dr. Aug. Pfizmaier. Wien: 1852.

Ueber einige Eigenschaften der japanischen Volkspoesie. Von Dr. Aug. Pfizmaier. Wien: 1852.

2. *History.*

Report on the condition and prospects of the aborigines of Australia. By W. Westgarth, Esq. (In *Journ. of the Ind. Archip.*, for December, 1851.)

X. TEXT OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA.

It was announced in our last Number, that Mr. William D. Whitney of Northampton, Mass., a member of the Am. Or. Society, had been collating the MSS. of this Veda, in Berlin, preparatory to publishing it. He has lately gone to Paris, to perform the same labor there, and intends, also, to collate the MSS. in England. The printing will, probably, be begun before the end of the summer. Professor Roth of Tübingen is associated with Mr. Whitney as joint-editor. The learned world may expect, therefore, soon to have a valuable edition of this important work—the first Sanskrit publication in which an American has been concerned. A recent letter from Mr. Whitney informs us that, on careful comparison of the text of the Atharva with that of the Rik, which had not been made when his paper on the results of the later Vedic researches in Germany, inserted in another part of this Number, was written, "the relation turns out to be essentially different from that which had been conjectured. If, namely," he says, "there be left out of account, in estimating the Atharva, on the one hand, the twentieth book, (which, as stated, is a mere collection of extracts from the Rik,) and, on the other, the prose portions which occur here and there, in two instances constituting whole books, there will remain not much over 4000 verses, of which only about 625, not one-sixth, admit of identification with corresponding Rik passages." Mr. Whitney finds reason, also, to modify what he has said of the origin and value of the various names of the Atharva, in the paper referred to, "since the light which the text itself affords, seems to show the untenability of the hypothesis which assumes a fictitious connection with the families of Atharvan and Angiras, and with the Brahma, to have been asserted for these hymns with the conscious intention of gaining dignity and importance for them; and I suspect," he adds, "the word *brahma* in Brahma-veda, to be used in an entirely different sense, namely, something like 'spell, incantation,' which would make this name to a certain extent fairly descriptive of the collection." E. E. S.

XI. MELEK TÂUS OF THE YEZIDÎS.

Melek Tâus is a term which the Yezidîs apply to Satan and to the figure of a bird.

There are three explanations of this term; viz. that of Dr. Thomas Hyde, 'Angel Peacock,' see *Vet. Pers. Relig. Hist.* p. 518, that of Rev. H. A. Homes, late Missionary of American Board, 'King Peacock,' see *Bibl. Repos.* Apr. 1842, p. 340, and that of Rev. Dr. Justin Perkins, Missionary of American Board, 'Mighty Angel,' see *Miss. Her.*, Feb. 1838, p. 53.

Some approximation, however, may be made towards a correct explanation. *Tâus* clearly denotes 'peacock.' See Garzoni: *Grammatica e Vocabulario della Lingua Kurda*, p. 206. We have also the testimony of Fr. Forbes, that the bronze figure of a bird is a peacock, see *Journ. R. G. S. of Lond.*, 1839. But it is uncertain from Garzoni, whether *Melek* denotes 'a king,' as explained by Homes, (comp. Kurd. *memmleket*, 'a kingdom;') or 'an angel,' as explained by Hyde, (comp. Kurd. *melaiket*, 'an angel.') In neither case should Mr. Layard in the same line have rendered *Melek* in reference to this subject both 'king,' (comp. Hebr. *melek*, 'king,') and 'angel,' (comp. Hebr. *malâk*, 'angel.') See Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. I. p. 245.

Since writing the above, additional information has been received from Mr. Layard himself, and from Rev. H. Lobdell, Missionary of American Board.

Mr. Layard, in the autumn of 1849, at Redwan, a town of the Yezidîs, obtained a sight of this mysterious figure. He describes it thus: "A stand of bright copper or brass, in shape like the candlesticks generally used in Mosul and Baghdad, was surmounted by the rude image of a bird in the same metal, and more like an Indian or Mexican idol than a cock or peacock. Its peculiar workmanship indicated some antiquity, but I could see no traces of inscription upon it. . . . . It is not looked upon as an idol, but as a symbol or banner, as Sheikh Nasr termed it, of the house of Hussein Bey." See Layard's *Babylon and Nineveh*, New York, 1853, p. 48, where he gives an engraving of this object. He does not explain *Melek*, but appears to use *Melek Isa* for 'King Jesus,' on p. 83.

Mr. Lobdell, in October, 1852, visited Sheikh Adi, on occasion of the annual festival of the Yezidis at that place. He says, there was "music and dancing, every night during the festival, before *Melek Taoos*, King Peacock, or the Devil's image, as one of the Sheikhs privately informed me." One of the chief priests accounted to him for the Devil's being called *Melek Tâus* as follows:

> "'When Christ was on the cross, in the absence of his friends, the Devil in the fashion of a dervish took him down, and carried him to heaven. The Marys soon came, and, seeing that their Lord was not there, inquired of the dervish where he was. They would not believe his answer; but they promised to do so, if he would take the pieces of a cooked chicken from which he was eating, and bring the animal to life. He assented to the proposal; and, bringing back bone to his bone, the cock crew! The dervish then announced his real character, and they expressed their astonishment by a burst of adoration. Having informed them that he would thenceforth always appear to his beloved in the shape of a beautiful bird, he departed.' The peacock (taoos) was chosen as their chieftain's symbol; and the deity, if not the sun, was forced to give way in the Sabean system to the prince of hell."

We give this myth as being the explanation of the Yezidis themselves. The grammatical interpretation of *Melek Tâus*, 'King Peacock,' we may now consider as established.

J. W. G.

ERRATA.

Page	iv,	for	*Khaifung-fu,*	read	*Singan-fu.*
"	1,	"	*Rev. Chester Bennett,*	"	*Rev. Cephas Bennett*
"	24,	"	*Na-la-gee-ree,*	"	*Na-la-ge-re.*
"	"	"	*Be-lu,*	"	*Be-loo.*
"	54,	"	*Na-yin-zä-ya,*	"	*Nay-yen-zä-ya.*
"	65,	"	*he eat rice,*	"	*he ate rice.*
"	67,	"	*Tha-ma-da,*	"	*Thu-ma-da.*
"	68,	"	*Gau-ta-mee,*	"	*Gau-da-mee.*
"	73,	"	*Wa-pa-thee,*	"	*We-pa-tha.*
"	81,	"	*Anara-gee-ree,*	"	*Anara-ge-re.*
"	120,	"	*are eight, as follows: the,*	"	*are eight, as follows. The.*
"	"	"	*This is one reason,*	"	*This is one cause.*
"	139,	"	*Tha-mu-da-tha-na,*	"	*Thu-ma-da-tha-na.*
"	167,	"	*after the El-Bákir's day,*	"	*after El-Bákir's day.*
"	181,	"	*Asrákil,*	"	*Isráfil.*
"	211,	"	*Rev. Chester Bennett,*	"	*Rev. Cephas Bennett.*
"	230,	"	*Vâyasaneyi-Sanhitâ,*	"	*Vajasaneyi-Sanhitâ.*
"	263,	"	եկեղեցականաց,	"	եկեղեցականս.
"	"	"	*yegeghetsaganats,*	"	*yegeghetsaganüs.*
"	"	"	Պապի,	"	Պապն.
"	"	"	*Babi,*	"	*Babün.*
"	376,	"	*gádí,* and *tágădí,*	"	*gádí.*
"	384,	"	*Even the word* Bráhmăn, *they*	"	*Even the word* Bráhmăn *they.*
"	414,	"	*he says; Worship,*	"	*he says: Worship.*
"	446,	"	*Sichuuna,*	"	*Sechuana.*

JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

THIRD VOLUME.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
GEORGE P. PUTNAM & Co. 10 PARK PLACE.

MDCCCLIII.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1853, by the
American Oriental Society,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Connecticut.

NEW HAVEN:
PRINTED BY B. L. HAMLEN,
Printer to Yale College.

CONTENTS

OF

THIRD VOLUME.

Page.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY AND CABINET OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, March, 1851—April, 1852, ... i–xi

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY AND CABINET OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, May, 1852—April, 1853, ... i–xxxi

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, corrected to April, 1853. xxxv

ART. I.—LIFE OF GAUDAMA, a translation from the Burmese book entitled Ma-la-len-ga-ra Wottoo, by Rev. CEPHAS BENNETT, Missionary of the American Baptist Union in Burma, ... 1

ART. II.—TRANSLATION OF AN UNPUBLISHED ARABIC RISÂLEH, by Khâlid Ibn Zeid El-Ju'fy, with notes, by EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 165

ART. III.—REMARKS ON THE MODE OF APPLYING THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHINESE LANGUAGE, by WILLIAM A. MACY, ... 195

MISCELLANIES:

I. *Extracts from Correspondence,* 211

II. *Translation of the Firmân of his Imperial Majesty Abd-el-Mejid, granted in favor of his Protestant subjects,* 218

III. *Bibliographical Intelligence,* 220

IV. Dr. VASSALLO on *Maltese Antiquities,* 232

V. *The Jews of Khaifung-fu,* 235

VI. *Chinese Repository,* 240

Page.

ART. IV.—CATALOGUE OF ALL WORKS KNOWN TO EXIST IN THE ARMENIAN LANGUAGE, OF A DATE EARLIER THAN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, by Rev. H. G. O. DWIGHT, Missionary of the American Board in Turkey, ... 241

ART. V.—ON THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE LATER VEDIC RESEARCHES IN GERMANY, by WILLIAM D. WHITNEY, ... 289

ART. VI.—ON THE MORALITY OF THE VEDA, by Prof. RUDOLPH ROTH, of Tübingen, translated from the author's manuscript by WILLIAM D. WHITNEY, ... 329

ART. VII.—NOTES ON RUINS IN THE BŬḲA'A AND IN THE BELÂD BA'ALBEK, by Rev. HENRY A. DE FOREST, M. D., Missionary of the American Board in Syria, ... 349

ART. VIII.—ON THE RELATIONS OF THE MARÂTHÂ TO THE SANSKRIT, by Rev. HENRY BALLANTINE, Missionary of the American Board in India, ... 367

ART. IX.—BRIEF NOTES ON THE TAMIḺ LANGUAGE, by Rev. HENRY R. HOISINGTON, Missionary of the American Board in Ceylon, 387

ART. X.—ON THE GENUINENESS OF THE SO-CALLED NESTORIAN MONUMENT OF SINGAN-FU, by EDWARD E. SALISBURY, ... 399

ART. XI.—AN ESSAY ON THE PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE ZULU AND KINDRED DIALECTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, by Rev. LEWIS GROUT, Missionary of the American Board in Southern Africa, ... 421

REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING ESSAY, ... 469

MISCELLANIES:

I. *Ebed-Jesu's Maḳâmât,* 475

II. *Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences,* 477

III. *Col. Rawlinson's Outlines of Assyrian History,* derived from his latest readings of cuneiform inscriptions, ... 486

IV. *Late Discoveries in Persia and Mesopotamia,* 490

V. *Barth and Overweg Expedition to Central Africa,* 491

Page.
VI. *United States Expedition to Japan,* 492
VII. *United States Expedition to the Pacific,* 494
VIII. *Official Report of the United States Expedition to the Dead Sea,* 496
IX. *Bibliographical Intelligence,* 496
X. *Text of the Atharva-veda,* 501
XI. *Melek Tâus of the Yezidis,* 502

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION

FOR 1851—53.

EDWARD E. SALISBURY.
JOSIAH W. GIBBS.
CHARLES BECK.

turæ Varietatem, et Observationes continens. Upsaliæ: 1846.

Presented by Prof. C. J. Tornberg, of Upsal.

Bundehesh, liber Pehlvicus. E vetustissimo codice Havniensi descripsit, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis Primi adjecit N. L. Westergaard, Professor Havniensis. Havniæ: 1851.

Presented by the Editor.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated from the Original Greek into Maráthí. Printed for the Ahmednuggur Mission, at the American Mission Press. 1850. 18°.

Presented by the Rev. R. G. Wilder, of Bombay.

Last Will of Táu-kwáng, Emperor of China [accompanied with a translation].

Inaugural Proclamation of Hien-fung, the Emperor of China [accompanied with a translation].

Imperial Decree giving directions for the canonization of the Empress Dowager, mother of His Majesty Táu-kwáng.

Testimony of Kí-ying, late Governor General of Canton, etc., to the truth of Christianity, with a translation.

Copy of an Imperial Edict issued by the present Emperor Hien-fung, on his accession, remitting all arrearages of taxes and revenue due from the people and officers of the empire.

Letter from Rev. B. J. Bettelheim, M. D., of Lewchew, giving an account of his labors there during the last three years. Canton: 1850.

Presented by Samuel Wells Williams, of Canton.

The Christian Instructor and Missionary Record. Vols. VI.–VIII. Madras: 1848–50.

Presented by the Rev. Miron Winslow, of Madras.

A Grammar of the Turkish Language of Azerbîjân, by Robert Ross Glen, Esq. MS.

A fragment of Ebed Jesu's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Authors and their Works. MS.

A brief account of the Council of Nice, as given by Maroota of Meparkat, by direction of the Patriarch Isaac. MS. [In Syriac; with a translation.]

The Kurân. [Lithographed.]

Presented by the Rev. Austin H. Wright, of Orûmiah.

Charles Folsom, *Librarian.*

ADDITIONS

TO THE

LIBRARY AND CABINET

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

MAY, 1852—MARCH, 1853.

ADDITIONS ETC.

Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. New Series. Vol. IV. Part II. Cambridge and Boston: 1850. 4°.

By the Academy.

Judson (A.). A Dictionary, English and Burmese.... Maulmain: American Baptist Mission Press. 1849. 4°.

Bible. The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments: translated into the Burmese, from the Original Tongues.... 2d ed.—5,000. Maulmain; for the American and Foreign Bible Society, and the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. 1840. 4°.

By the American Baptist Missionary Union.

Dwight (H. G. O.). Christianity revived in the East; or, A Narrative of the Work of God among the Armenians of Turkey.... New York: 1850. 12°.

Dibble (Sheldon). History of the Sandwich Islands. ... Lahainaluna: 1843. 12°.

Bible—*Old Testament.* The Books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, translated into the Choctaw Language.... New York: American Bible Society. 1852. 16°.

——— The First and Second Books of Samuel, and the First Book of Kings, translated into the Choctaw Language.... New York: American Bible Society. 1852. 16°. [*Bound with the preceding.*]

New Testament—*Matthew.* The Gospel of Matthew, in the Mpongwe Language. Press of the A. B. C. F. M. Gaboon, West Africa: 1850. 12°. 5 *copies.*

Renville (J.). Dakota Dowanpi Kin. Hymns in the Dakota or Sioux Language, composed by Mr. J. R. and Sons, and the Missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. Boston: 1842. 18°.

Byington (Cyrus). Holisso Anumpa Tosholi. An English and Choctaw Definer; for the Choctaw Academies and Schools. 1st ed.—1,000 Copies. New York: 1852. 18°.

SOME Thoughts on the Proper Term to be employed to translate Elohim and Theos, into Chinese; by an American Missionary in China. Shanghae: 1850. 8°, pp. 28. 3 *copies.*

MEDHURST (W. H.). On the True Meaning of the word Shin, as exhibited in the Quotations adduced under that word, in the Chinese Imperial Thesaurus, called the Pei-wan-yun-foo. Translated by W. H. M. Shanghae: 1849. 8°, pp. 88. 3 *copies.*

BOONE (William J.), *D.D.* Defense of an Essay on the proper Rendering of the words Elohim and *ΘΕΟΣ* into the Chinese Language. Canton: 1850. 8°. 3 *copies.*

Hebrew Spanish Primer. Smyrna: 1851. 12°.

Child's Book on the Soul, Part I. 2d ed. Smyrna: 1851. 12°, pp. 57. *In Bulgarian.*

The Village in the Mountains. Smyrna: 1851. 12°, pp. 32. *In Armenian.*

A Tract on Self-Examination, by Mr. Whiting. 2d ed. Smyrna: 1849. 24°, pp. 47. *In Modern Armenian.*

An Armenian Spelling Book. 5th ed. Smyrna: 1851. 12°, pp. 60.

BRIEF Sketch of the American Ceylon Mission, with an Appendix. Jaffna. 8°, pp. 56.

MALAY Tracts, Nos. 1 to 10.—New Series, Vol. I. Singapore: 1832. 8°.

TELUGU Calendar for the Year 1850. . . . Madras: for the American Mission. 1850. 12°. 2 *copies.*

TAMIL Calendar for the Year 1850. . . . Madras: for the American Mission. 1850. 12°. 3 *copies.*

. . . SUMMARY of Scripture Doctrines. . . . American Mission Press, Bombay: 1848. 12°. *Maráthí.*

. . . COMPENDIUM of the Bible. . . . American Mission Series, No. 19. 2,000 Copies. Bombay: 1845. 12°. *Maráthí.*

. . . SMALL Arithmetic (A) in Maráthí. No. 50. American Mission Series. 1,000 Copies. . . . 18°.

OTHER Worlds. The School Boy; Chap. V. . . . No. 52. American Mission Series. 1,000 Copies. *Maráthí.*

SHEPHERD (The) of Salisbury Plain. . . . No. 53. American Mission Series. 1,500 Copies. 18°. *Maráthí.*

. . . PARLEY the Porter. American Mission. No. 57. Maráthí Series. 2,000 Copies. 18°.

POOR Sarah. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 48. Maráthí Series. 1,000 Copies. 18°.

DAIRYMAN'S Daughter. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 50. Maráthi Series. 2,000 Copies. 18°.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS. Forty-second Annual Report. 1851. Boston: 1851. 8°.

——— Forty-third Annual Report. 1852. Boston: 1852. 8°.

PERKINS (*Rev.* Justin). A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Muhammedans. With a Map and Plates. Andover: 1843. 8°.

WILSON (John), *D.D.* The Pársí Religion, as contained in the Zand-Avastá, and propounded and defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, unfolded, refuted, and contrasted with Christianity. Bombay: 1843. 8°, pp. 610.

KNIGHT (*Rev.* J.) *and* SPAULDING (*Rev.* L.). An English and Tamil Dictionary; or Manual Lexicon for Schools. . . . Revised, in great part, by the Rev. S. Hutchings, M.A., Madras. Madras: 1844. 8°, pp. xxii., 831.

MANUAL DICTIONARY (A) of the Tamil Language. Published by the Jaffna Book Society. Jaffna: 1842. 8°.

RHENIUS (C. T. E.). A Grammar of the Tamil Language, with an Appendix. . . . 2d ed. Madras: 1846. 8°.

ABRIDGMENT of Rhenius' Tamil Grammar. 2d ed. With Additions and Improvements. Madras: 1845. 18°.

PHRASE BOOK: or Idiomatic Exercises in English and Tamil. . . . 2d. ed. Published by the Jaffna Book Society. Jaffna: 1841. 16°.

An original Arabic Grammar, by Nâṣif El-Yâzijy.

GRAMMAR (A) of the Mpongwe Language, with Vocabularies: by the Missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. Gaboon Mission, Western Africa. New York: 1847. 8°, pp. 94. 10 *copies.*

EXTRACTS from the New Testament. Gaboon, West Africa: 1845. 24°, pp. 82. *In Mpongwe.*

JOSĔF na awŏngi yĕ alomi. Gaboon, Western Africa: 1844. 24°, pp. 28.

COLLOQUIAL Sentences in the Gaboon Language. With Translations into English. Cape Palmas, West Africa: 1843. 24°, pp. 16.

HYMNS and Catechism. Gaboon, West Africa: 1845. 24°, pp. 48. *Mpongwe.*

SIMPLE Questions. Gaboon, Western Africa: 1844. 24°, pp. 12. *Mpongwe.*

SECOND Reading Book, in the Mpongwe Language. Gaboon, Western Africa: 1844. 24°, pp. 23.

SHORT Catechism, in the Mpongwe Language. Gaboon, Western Africa: 1844. 24°, pp. 40.

HYMNS in the Mpongwe Language. Gaboon, Western Africa: 1844. 24°, pp. 28.

TABLE (A) exhibiting the various . . . forms . . . of the Mpongwe Verb tŏnda, to love. Broadside.

VOCABULARY (A) of Greybo Words. Fair Hope, Cape Palmas, West Africa: 1837. 8°, pp. 16.

NEW TESTAMENT—*John.* No. 1. John, Chapter xx. Cape Palmas, W. A. *n. d.* 12°, pp. 4. *In Grebo.*

PERCIVAL (P.) . . . A Collection of Proverbs in Tamil, with their Translation into English. Published by the Jaffna Book Society. Jaffna: 1843. 12°. 5 *copies.*

BIBLE—*Old Testament.* . . . The Psalms. Published by the Jaffna Auxiliary Bible Society. Manepy: 1839. 18°. *In Tamil.*

BIBLE—*Old Testament.* . . . Deuteronomy. Published by the Jaffna Auxiliary Bible Society. Manepy: 1839. 18°. *Tamil.*

SCRIPTURE Text Book (English and Tamil) for each Day in the Year. . . . Madras: 1st ed.—3,000 Copies. For the Madras Tract and Book Society. 1845. 32°.

ABDULLAH. Bahwa ini Kesah Pŭ-Layar-an Abdullah, Ben Abdulkadir, Munshi. Deri Singapura ka-Kalantan. . . . ["Abdullah's Journal;" or Narrative of a Trip up the Eastern Coast of the Malayan Peninsula.] Singapura: 1838. 8°.

VOCABULARY (A) of Words used in Modern Armenian but not found in the Ancient Armenian Lexicons. Smyrna: 1847. 8°.

HEMENWAY (A.) . . . Story of Jesus Christ. 1st ed.,—3000 copies. Bangkok: A. B. C. F. M. Press. 1848. 18°. *In Siamese.*

BRADLEY (*Mrs.* E. R.) . . . Elementary Tables and Lessons in the Siamese Language. The 2d ed.—1,000 Copies. Bangkok: A. B. C. F. M. Press. 1845. 8°.

CASWELL (J.). . . . A Grammar of the English Language. Prepared by J. C. Assisted by H. R. H. Thun Kramom Fa Yai. Bangkok: A. B. C. F. M. Press. 1846. 8°. *English and Siamese.*

EASY Lessons in Reading. With an English and Marathee Vocabulary. Bombay: 1841. 12°.

NEW TESTAMENT—*Mark*. . . . The Gospel of Mark: translated from the Original Greek in Maratha and English. Bombay; for the Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society. 1843. 12°.

HINDOO Traveller (The): comprising the Geography of Hindostan . . . &c. No. 1. Published by the Jaffna Book Society. Manepy: 1839. 12°.

BARTH ( ). Barth's Church History, in Armeno-Turkish. Smyrna: 1848. 12°.

CHAHTA *Uba* Isht Taloa Holisso, or Choctaw Hymn Book. 3d. ed., revised. . . . Boston: 1844. 32°.

——— 4th ed., revised and enlarged. . . . New York: 1851. 24°. 2 *copies*.

CHAHTA Holisso ai Isht ia *Ummona*. The Choctaw Spelling Book. 5th ed., revised and enlarged. Boston: 1849. 18°. 3 *copies*.

NEW TESTAMENT—*Mark*. The Gospel according to Mark, translated into the Choctaw Language. . . . Boston: 1845. 8°, pp. 73.

OJIBUE N*ugu*mouin*un*. . . . [Ojibwa Hymns.] Boston: 1844. 18°. 2 *copies*.

OJIBUE Spelling Book. Boston: 1846. 16°, pp. 64. 2 *copies*.

GALLAUDET (*Rev.* T. H.). Wowapi Mitawa. Tamakoce Kaga. My Own Book. Prepared . . . in the Dakota Language. By S. R. Riggs. . . . Boston: 1842. 16°, pp. 64. 2 *copies*.

HIMENI (Na) Hoolea. [Hymns.] Honolulu: 1837. 24°.

ALEMANAKA Hawaii, . . . 1835. . . . Oahu: 1834. 8°, pp. 16. 2 *copies*.

INCWADI Yamagama. ["A Book of Hymns," in Zulu.] Port Natal: 1849. 32°. pp. 68, iv.

INHLIZIYO yako i lungile na. ["Is thy Heart right?"—A tract on Regeneration, in Zulu.] Port Natal. 16°. pp. 8.

By the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

APURVA Krishna (Maha Raja . . . Bahadur). The History of the Conquerors of Hind from the most early period to the present time. . . . Vol. I. [Chap. iv.] Calcutta: 1852. 8°.

By the Author.

The PRUBHAKM [i. e. "The Sun"] a weekly paper in Mahratta, published in Bombay—from its commencement in Oct., 1841 to Dec., 1846.

Two Almanacs [one in MS. and the other lithographed], in the Maratha language—such as are commonly used in Western India by the Hindoos.

By the Rev. Henry Ballantine, Ahmednuggur.

Ḳitâb el-Ajrûmîyeh. A work on Arabic Syntax. Beirût: 1841.

Sherḥ Ibn 'Aḳîl 'ala Alfîyeh Ibn Mâlik, i. e. Ibn 'Aḳîl's Commentary on the Alfîyeh of Ibn Mâlik. Bûlâḳ: A.H. 1265.

Kitâb Faṣl el-Khiṭâb, on the principles of the Arabic Language. By Nâṣîf El-Yâzijy of Mt. Lebanon. Beirût: 1836.

Ḳitâb eth-Theleth Ash'arah Risâleh, i. e. Book of the Thirteen Letters. A work written by Rev. Isaac Bird against the errors of the Greek Church, in Arabic. Beirût: 1849.

Ḳitâb Siyâḥat el-Mesîḥîy. Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, in Arabic. Beirût: 1844.

Ed-Delîl ila Ṭâ'at 'el-Injîl, i. e. Guide to Obedience to the Gospel. By Dr. Mîkhâil Meshâḳah. Beirût: 1849.

Kitâb Ta'lîm el-Ḳirâah, i. e. Book of Instruction in Reading. Beirût: 1850.

Ḳitâb el-Mabâhith fy I'tiḳâdât Ba'ḍh el-Kenâis. A brief discussion of some of the errors of the Greek Church, in Arabic. Beirût: 1844.

Kitâb ez-Zebûr el-Ilâhy li-Dâwud en-Neby. Psalms of David, in Arabic. Beirût: 1851.

Kitâb el-Bâb el-Meftûḥ fy A'mâl er-Rûḥ, i. e. The Book of the Opened Door on the Works of the Spirit. Beirût: 1843.

Sefr et-Tekwîn. Book of Genesis, in Arabic. Dr. Eli Smith's new version.

El-Mirâh el-Waḍhîyeh fy el-Kurah el-Arḍhîyeh, i. e. The Clear Mirror, on the Sphere of the Earth. A geographical work. By Dr. Van Dyck. 216 *pages—incomplete.*

A work on the Evidences of Christianity, in Arabic. 152 *pages—incomplete.*

Ternîmât li-l-'Ibâdeh, i. e. Chants for Worship. 12 *pages—incomplete.*

Ḳitâb Ta'lîm 'el-Aulâd 'an en-Nefs. Second Section. A Part of Gallaudet's Child's Book on the Soul, in Arabic. Beirût: 1839.

Kitâb Dhekhîrat el-Îmân. A Tract on Justification by Faith. Beirût: 1848.

Risâleh fy Imtihân en-Nefs. A Tract on Self-examination. Beirût: 1849.

Kitâb Ta'lîm Mesîhîy. The Shorter Catechism, in Arabic. Beirût: 1843.

Mau'izah fy Ghadhab Allâh 'ala el-Khitâh, i. e. Admonition on the Anger of God against Sinners. Beirût: 1849.

Risâleh fy el-Hawâi el-Asfar. Tract on the Cholera. By Dr. Azariah Smith. Beirût: 1848.

Kitâb fy el-Imtinâ' 'an Sherb el-Muskirât. Tract on Abstinence from Intoxicating Drinks. Beirût: 1848.

Risâleh fy Tarbîyet el-Aulâd. Tract on the Education of Children. Beirût: 1850.

Light of the Soul. Rev. Mr. Whiting's Tract on Self-examination, in Armenian. Smyrna: 1849.

"Without holiness no man shall see the Lord." A Tract in Armeno-Turkish. Smyrna.

Hymns in Hebrew-Spanish.

Kissat Elâm Seidnâ Yesû' el-Mesîh, i. e. Narrative of the Sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. Beirût: 1841.

By the Rev. William A. Benton, Mount Lebanon.

. . . DNYANODAYA (THE), Volumes I. II. and III. Published by the American Missionaries. Volume IV.—X. Published by the American Missionaries at Bombay and Ahmednuggur. [Vol. I.—III., in one,] Ahmednuggur: 1844. [Vol. IV.—X.,] Bombay: 1845–51. 4°.

SHERWOOD (*Mrs.* M. M.). . . . The Indian Pilgrim. Translated into Maráthí. Bombay: Bombay Tract and Book Society. 1848. 8°.

. . . HISTORY (THE) of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; compiled from the Gospels. . . . Bombay: American Mission Press. 1840. 12°. *Maráthí.*

GALLAUDET (*Rev.* T. H.). . . . The Youth's Book on Natural Theology. Translated into Maráthí. American Tract Society. 1850. 12°.

BARTH ( ). . . . Barth's Bible Stories. Old Testament. Translated into Maráthí. Bombay Tract and Book Society. 1851. 12°.

PLEASING Instruction. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. 1851. 12°.

LIVES of the Cæsars. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. 1851. 12°.

BUNYAN (John). . . . Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in Maráthí. 1841. 8°.

NEW TESTAMENT. . . . The N. T. . . . translated from the original Greek into Maráthí. American Mission Press. Bombay. 1851. 8°.

NEW TESTAMENT. . . . The N. T. . . . translated from the original Greek into Maráthí. American Mission Press. [Bombay.] 1850. 12°.

. . . BOMBAY Native Almanac (The). For A.D. 1848. . . . 8°.

——— For A.D. 1851. . . . Published by the American Mission. 8°.

——— For A.D. 1852. Ditto. 8°.

EVIDENCES of Christianity briefly stated. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 47. Maráthí Series. 1850. 24°?

BRAHMAN'S Claims (The). . . . 23. Bombay Tract and Book Society. 4th ed.—2,000 Copies. 1848. 12°? *In Maráthí.*

[ABBOTT (   )]. . . . The School Boy. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. 1,000 Copies. 1850. 18°. *Maráthí.*

[———]. The School Boy. Chap. I. . . . No. 51. American Mission Series. 1,000 Copies. 1849. 18°. *Maráthí.*

USE (ON THE) of Intoxicating Drinks. . . . Bombay Temperance Society. Maráthí and English. 1846. 24°. 2 *copies.*

——— *The same.* Maráthí. 1846. 24°.

IN WHOM shall we trust? . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 2. Maráthí 18mo Series. 3,000 Copies. 9th ed. 1850.

GOOD Boys, or Examine Yourselves. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. 3d ed. 2,000 Copies. 1849. 24°. *Maráthí.*

DEZ Mandamentos. Ten Commandments. . . . American Tract Society. Bombay: 1848. 24°. *In Latin, Portuguese, English and Maráthí.*

. . . TEN Commandments (The). No. 3. Bombay Tract and Book Society. 12th ed. 2,000 Copies. 1848. 24°. *Maráthí.*

. . . DIALOGUE (A) on Religion. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 51. Maráthí Series. 2,000 Copies. 1850. 18°.

. . . Prize Essay on the Holi. Published by the American Mission. Bombay: 1849. 18°.

. . . Second Prize Essay on the Holi. . . . Published by the American Mission. Bombay: 1850. 18°.

Hindu Domestic Reform. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. 2,000 copies. Maráthí. 1851. 18°.

Henry and his Bearer. . . . No. 21. American Mission Series. 6th ed. 2,000 Copies. [Bombay.] 1846. 18°. *Maráthí.*

. . . Small Arithmetic (A) in Marathi. No. 50. American Mission Series. 2nd ed. revised. 1,000 Copies. 1851. 18°.

. . . First Book for Children. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 1. Maráthí 18mo Series. 23d ed. 10,000 Copies. 1851.

. . . First Book for Children. Bombay Tract and Book Society. Maráthí Mod. Series. 24th ed. 3,000 Copies. 1851. 18°.

. . . Good Tidings. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 2. Maráthí Mod. Series. 2,000 Copies. 1851. 18°.

Flower Gatherers (The), &c. . . . No. 38. Bombay Tract and Book Society. 2nd ed. 2,000 Copies. 1849. 18°.

Shepherd (The) of Salisbury Plain. . . . No. 43. Bombay Tract and Book Society. 1,000 Copies. 1849. 18°. *Maráthí.*

Dairyman's Daughter. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 50. Maráthí Series. 2,000 Copies. 1850. 18°. *2 copies.*

. . . Catechism on the History of the Bible and Scripture Narratives. Bombay: American Mission Press. 1840. 12°. *Maráthí.*

Scripture Narratives. From the Old Testament. . . . 3d ed. 2,000 Copies. 1847. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 31. 12°. *Maráthí.*

Life of Babajee. American Mission Press, Bombay: 1844. 12°. *Maráthí.* 2 *copies.*

The Gospel of Matthew in Maráthí. 12°.

. . . Scripture Stories. American Mission. Maráthí Series. No. 58. 1,000 Copies. 1851. 12°.

. . . Dialogues concerning the Christian and Hindu Religions. Bombay: American Mission Press. 1847. 12°. *Maráthí.*

New Testament—*Mark.* . . . The Gospel according to Mark. Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society. 1846. 8°. *Maráthí.*

. . . Book of Birds. Published by the American Mission. Bombay: 1851. 8°. *Maráthí.*

. . . Book of Beasts. Published by the American Mission. Bombay: 1851. 8°. *Maráthí.*

. . . Jugunnath. A tract in Maráthí. 32°, pp. 8.

. . . Good Tidings. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 2. Maráthí 32mo Series. 16th ed.—6,000 Copies. 1850.

New Testament—*John.* The Gospel . . . according to John. [With the Acts of the Apostles.] Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society. 1847. 18°.

African Girl (The) and other Stories. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 5. Maráthí 32mo Series. 3d ed.—6,000 Copies. 1850.

Náráyan Báwá, &c. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 6. Maráthí 32mo Series. 5,000 Copies. 1852.

. . . First Lessons. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 1. Maráthí 32mo Series. 16th ed.—10,000 Copies. 1850.

. . . Good Tidings. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 2. Maráthí 32mo Series. 16th ed.—6,000 Copies. 1850.

Honesty. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 3. Maráthí 32mo Series. 6,000 Copies. 2d ed. 1850.

. . . Idols (The) Destroyed. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 4. Maráthí 32mo Series. 6,000 Copies. 1850.

African Girl (The) and other Stories. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 5. Maráthí 32mo Series. 3d ed.—6,000 Copies. 1850.

Náráyan Báwá, &c. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 6. Maráthí 32mo Series. 5,000 Copies. 1852.

Child's Picture Book. . . . American Mission. No. 58. Maráthí Series. 2,000 Copies. 1850.

Note.—The seven tracts last named are bound in one volume.

. . . First Book for Children. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 1. Marathi 18mo. Series. 23d ed.—10,000 Copies. 1851.

In whom shall we trust? . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 2. Maráthí 18mo Series. 3,000 Copies. 9th ed. 1850.

Three Worlds (The). . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 3. Maráthí 18mo Series. 7th ed.—4,000 Copies. 1851.

A tract in Maráthí, with no English title; probably No. 4 of the series.

PILGRIMAGES, Cholera, &c. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 5. 18mo Series. 4th ed.—2,500 Copies. 1851.

COMPENDIUM of the Bible. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 6. Maráthí 18mo. Series. 5th ed.—3,000 Copies. 1851. 2 *copies.*

Note.—The six tracts last named are bound in one volume.

CATECHISM. . . . American Mission. No. 3. Maráthí Series. 3,000 Copies. 1851. 32°.

SHEPHERD (The) of Salisbury Plain. . . . No. 53. American Mission Series. 1,500 Copies. 1849. 18°. *Maráthí.*

MAHRATTA Primer. . . . American Mission Series. 2d ed., revised—2,000 Copies. 1849. 18°.

EASY Primer (The); containing Children's First Lessons in Reading and Spelling. With an English and Maráthí Vocabulary. Bombay: American Mission Press. 1851. 18°.

. . . LAMBS (The) Fed. American Mission. No. 58. Maráthí Series. 1,000 Copies. 1851. 18°.

. . . FIRST Book for Children. No. 2. American Mission Series. 1,500 Copies. 1850. 18°. *Maráthí.*

. . . PARLEY the Porter. American Mission. No. 57. Maráthí Series. 2,000 Copies. 1850. 18°.

. . . INCONSIDERATION of Hindoos. Necessity of Repentance and Atonement. . . . Reprinted from the Dnyanodaya. American Mission Press. 1845. 18°. *Maráthí.*

POOR Sarah. . . . No. 48. Bombay Tract and Book Society. 1,000 Copies. 1850. 18°. *Maráthí.*

OTHER Worlds. The School Boy; Chap. V. . . . No. 52. American Mission Series. 1,000 Copies. 1850. 18°. *Maráthí.*

REWARDS of Drunkenness. . . . American Mission Press. Bombay: 1847. 18°. *Maráthí.*

CHILD'S Book (The) on the Soul. Part I.—II. . . . 2 vol. 1844. 12°. *Maráthí.*

CHILD'S Book (The) on Repentance. . . . Bombay: American Mission Press. 1848. 12°. *Maráthí.*

ADDRESS to Mothers. No. 34. American Mission Series. 1st ed.—2,000. 1841. 12°. *Maráthí.*

[ABBOTT (*Rev.* Amos)]. Arithmetic, in three Parts. . . . Bombay: American Mission Press. 1841. 12°. *Maráthí.*

[———]. Arithmetic in three Parts. . . . American Mission. Maráthi Series No. 7. 2nd ed.—1,500 Copies. Bombay: 1850. 12°.

[———]. *The same.* [Part II.—III.] Bombay: American Mission Press. 1842. 12°. *Maráthi.*

Colburn (Warren). . . . Intellectual Arithmetic. Translated into Murathee, by the American Murathee Mission. Bombay: 1840. 12°.

A treatise on Geography, in Maráthí. 12°. *Incomplete.*

Natural Philosophy. Part. 1st. Mechanics. American Mission Press. Bombay: 1846. 12°. *Maráthi.*

Burgess (*Rev.* E.). Astronomy. American Mission Press. Bombay: 1846. 12°. *Maráthi.* 2 *copies.*

Principles of English Grammar and Idiomatic Sentences, in English and Maráthí. . . . Bombay: American Mission Press. 1851. 12°.

A treatise on Logic, in Maráthí. American Mission Press. Bombay: 1846. 12°.

Faith (On). . . . American Mission Series. 1850. 18°. *Maráthi.*

Various Systems of Religion. American Mission Series. 2,000 Copies. 1851. 18°.

A book of Hymns in Maráthí, mostly translations of English hymns, by H. Ballantine, Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Ahmednuggur. 18°. 2 *copies*, to one of which is appended a collection of tunes.

Old Testament Selections. . . . American Mission Series. No. 29. 1,000 Copies. 1851. 12°. *Maráthi.*

Easy Lessons in Reading with an English and Maráthí Vocabulary. Bombay: American Mission Press. 1851. 12°.

Murathee Grammar. . . . Bombay: American Mission Press. 1848. 8°.

Letter (A) to a Zoroastrian Friend. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 3. Parsi Gujaráthí Series. 2,000 Copies. 1851. 32°.

Glory (The) of Jesus Christ. A brief Account of our Lord's Life and Doctrines, in Sanskrit Verse. With a Hindi Version, and an English Summary. . . . 1st Bombay ed. Bombay: American Mission Press. 1852. 2 *copies.*

New Testament—*Mark.* . . . The Gospel of Mark: translated from the original Greek. In Maratha and English. Bombay: printed for the Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society. 1843. 12°.

. . . HELP (A) in acquiring a knowledge of the English Language. . . . 4th ed., revised. Bombay: 1851. 12°, pp. 183.

. . . POLYTHEISM (The) of the Parsis, as set forth in the Books of the Zoroastrian Faith. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 4. Parsi Gujarati Series. 1,000 Copies. 1851. 12°.

PLAIN and Short History of England (A), in a Series of Letters . . . ; together with a Goojrattee Translation. By Shereearjee Pestonjee. Revised by Nowrozjee Furdoonjee. Bombay: 1839. 8°.

. . . GUJARÁTHÍ Spelling Book. [Bombay.] 1848. 32°.

GOOD Tidings. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 6. Gujaráthí Series. 6th ed.—4,000 Copies. 1850. 32°.

CHILD'S Picture Book. Bombay Tract and Book Society. Gujaráthí Series. No. 18. 5,000 Copies. 1851. 32°. 2 *copies.*

. . . THREE Worlds (The). No. 1. Bombay Tract and Book Society. 5th ed.—2,000 Copies. 1848. 18°.

. . . IN WHOM shall we trust. No. 2. Bombay Tract and Book Society. 3d ed—1,500 Copies. 1848. 18°. *In Gujaráthí.*

. . . FIRST Book for Children. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 17. Gujaráthí Series. 6,000 Copies. 2nd ed. 1852. 18°.

HENRY and his Bearer. Gujarati Series. No. 14. [Bombay.] 1850. 18°.

GOSPEL Catechism. In Maráthí and Gujarati. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. 1,000 Copies. 1851. 18°.

. . . VOICE (The) from Heaven. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 1st. Hindí Series. 2,000 Copies. 3d Bombay edition. 1850. 48°.

[ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER]. The Shorter Catechism. . . . No. 3. Hindustaní Series. Bombay Tract and Book Society. 2nd ed.—2,000. 8°.

RELIEF to the Sin-burdened. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. . . . No. 9. Hindustaní Series. 1st ed.—2,000 Copies. 1850. 12°.

CHILD'S Picture Book. . . . Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 10. Hindusthání Series. 2,000 Copies. 1850. 48°. 2 *copies.*

SERMON (THE) on the Mount, with Extracts on Relative Duties.... Masih ki Nasihat. Bombay Tract and Book Society. No. 10. Hindusthání and English Series. 1851. 48°.

By the Bombay and Ahmednuggur Missions of the Amer. Board.

Book of Genesis. *In Chinese.*

The Four Gospels. Translated by Dr. Gutzlaff and Dr. Medhurst. *Chinese.*

Historical Books of the New Testament: Matthew–Acts. Shanghai Version. 1851. *Chinese.*

Acts of the Apostles, Epistle to the Romans, and First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians. *Chinese.*

Gospel of St. Matthew. Shanghai version. *Chinese.*

" " St. Mark. " " "

The Gospel according to St. Mark. From the version of Dr. Gutzlaff, Dr. Medhurst, and Dr. Bridgman. *Chinese.*

Gospel according to St. Luke. *Chinese.*

Gospel of St. Matthew. Shanghai dialect. *Chinese.*

First and Second Epistles of St. Peter. *Chinese.*

History of Jacob. *Chinese.*

The History of Joseph, taken from the Book of Genesis, in the Amoy colloquial dialect. Romanized by Rev. J. V. N. Talmage, Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M.

Psalms of David. Malay version.

Christian Three-character Classic. *Chinese. 2 copies.*

Fifty-two Village Sermons, by Rev. Wm. Milne, D.D. *Chinese.*

A tract on Prayer, from Dr. Milne's Village Sermons. *Chinese.*

The Great Design of the Gospel. A Tract. *Chinese.*

The Two Friends. A Dialogue. By Rev. Wm. Milne, D.D. *Chinese.*

The Peaceful Death of Good Men. *Chinese.*

Commentary on the Ten Commandments. *Chinese.*

A Religious Miscellaneous Periodical, published at Canton. *Chinese.*

Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, by Rev. Ho-Chun-Sin of Hong Kong, revised by Rev. Dr. James Legge. From chap. I. to 22nd v. of chap. II. *Chinese.*

Catechism by Rev. Mr. Gaehnaer. pp. 17–20. *Chinese.*

Tract on Repentance and Faith. *Chinese.*

Tract on the Sabbath. *Chinese.*

Catechism of the Prot. Episcopal Church, translated into the Shanghai dialect by Rt. Rev. Wm. J. Boone.

Rev. Dr. Wm. Milne's Catechism, revised by his son Rev. W. Milne. *Chinese.*

Pangajar Agama Kristan, &c., i. e. The doctrines and duties of the Christian Religion, in the language of Scripture. Singapura: 1847. *In Malay.*

Taman Pŭngatauan, i. e. The Garden of Knowledge. Vol. I. Singapore: 1848; Id. for June, 1849. *Malay.*

Kitab Pŭlajaran, i. e. The First Instructor. Nos. 1, 2. Singapore: 1847.

Puji Pujian—Malay Hymns. Singapore: 1846.

A Tract in Tamil, published by the Jaffna Relig. Tract Society—No. 12.

A Treatise on the Evil Effects of Gambling. In Siamese. By Robert D. Davenport. Bangkok: 1843.

LESSONS in the Amoy Colloquial Dialect, printed in the Roman character. By Rev. Wm. Young.

VOCABULARY (A) of the Hok-Këen Dialect, . . . to which is prefixed a Treatise on Hok-këen Tones. Printed at the Anglo-Chinese College Press.

ESOP'S Fables, as translated into Chinese by R. Thom, Esq., rendered into the Colloquial of the Dialects spoken in the Department of Chiang-Chiú, in the Province of Hok-Këen, and in the Department of Tiè-Chiú, in the Province of Canton. By S. Dyer and J. Stronach. Singapore Mission Press. 1843.

Phrases in the Canton Colloquial Dialect. With an English translation. 1851.

Phrases of four Chinese Characters.

LEXILOGUS (A) of the English, Malay, and Chinese Languages, comprehending the vernacular idioms of the last in the Hok-këen and Canton Dialects. Malacca: 1841.

DICTIONARY of the Favorlang Dialect of the Formosan Language, by Gilbertus Happa: written in 1650. Translated from the Transs. of the Batav. Lit. Soc. By W. H. Medhurst. Batavia: 1840.

The Three-character Classic. 2 *copies.*

Ying-Hwán Chí-lióh, or General Survey of the Maritime Circuit. A Universal Geography, by His Excellency Sü-Ki-Yü of Wútai, in the Province of Shansí, then Lièut. Gov. of the Province of Fuh-Kien. 10 vols.

Hien-szu, the Official Pekin Almanac for the 30th year of Tau-kwang. 1849-50.

A Calendar for the 2nd year of Hien-fung. 1851.

Almanac for the 26th year of Tau-kwang.

Fac-similes of Autographs by the Imperial Ministers of Tau-kwang, A.D. 1848, exhibiting various forms of Chinese writing.

Travels in the United States of America in the years 1847–48, by Lin-King-Chin, since linguist of the American Consul at Amoy.

A Romance of the ancient times—a story of loves. *In Chinese.*

Specimen of an Arithmetic arranged to the plan of Arabic numerals. By Rev. E. F. R. Montcrief, LL.D. Printed at the Press of the London Miss. Soc. at Hong-kong. *Chinese.*

On the Human Physiology. By Benjamin Hobson. *Chinese.*

Modern Geography. 1848. *In Malay.*

Life of Abdallah. *Malay.*

A MS. of Chinese dialogues, translated into Latin.

ESSAY (An) on the Proper Rendering of the words Elohim and Θεος into the Chinese Language. By Wm. J. Boone, D.D. Canton: 1848.

LETTERS on the Rendering of the name God in the Chinese Language. By Rev. James Legge, D.D. Hong-kong: 1850.

SOME THOUGHTS on the proper term to be employed to translate Elohim and Theos into Chinese, by an American Missionary in China. Shanghae: 1850.

DISSERTATION (A) on the Theology of the Chinese, with a view to the elucidation of the most appropriate term for expressing the Deity in the Chinese language. By W. H. Medhurst, Sen. Shanghae: 1847.

LETTER on the Chinese Version of the Holy Scriptures, to the British and Foreign Bible Society, from the Rt. Rev. George Smith, D.D. Hong-kong: 1851.

PRESENT STATE (The) of British Connection with Idolatry and Mahommedanism. A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Sir J. C. Hobhouse, by the Rev. James Peggs. London: 1847.

PRESENT STATE (The) of Infanticide in India, chiefly extracted from the Parliamentary Papers ordered to be printed by the Hon. House of Commons, June, 1824, July, 1828, and Aug., 1843. By the Rev. James Peggs. London: 1844.

JOURNAL of a tour along the coast of Java and Bali, &c., with a short account of the island of Bali. Singapore: 1830.

A Chinese and a true Map of the World compared.

Chinese Map of Canton City and Province.

LETTER from Rev. B. J. Bettelheim, M.D., of Lewchew. Canton: 1850.

Fac-simile of a celebrated historical inscription in Chinese, relating to the Ming dynasty.

FAC-SIMILES of Hebrew MSS. recently brought from Kaifungfu. 13th Section of the Law. Exodus chap. I.—chap. VI. v. 1.

Lament of the Ox, a Buddhist tract, in Chinese, with a MS. English translation.

An Exhortation that men should always retain the celestial principle and the virtuous heart. A Buddhist tract, in Chinese, with a MS. English translation by Rev. J. Van Ness Talmage, missionary at Amoy.

Proclamation on the death of His Imperial Majesty Taukwang, with a MS. English translation.

Proclamation against Infanticide, posted up at Amoy in July, 1851, with a MS. English translation.

Fac-simile of a Tablet erected in 1851, to commemorate His Honor Chung, with a MS. English translation.

MS. Copy of an Imperial record of the first extermination of rebels in Formosa, and the capture alive of Lin-Shwang-wan, with a MS. English translation.

Sixteen Chinese cash, of the Táng, Sung, Ming, and Tá-tsing dynasties, from 619 to 1850. Also, two coins from the island of Taiwan or Formosa. With a MS. explanatory Table.

A parcel of cash of Taiwan or Formosa.

A Chinese medal significant of good omen; another Chinese medal.

Three Chinese ancestral tablets, with MS. explanations of the inscriptions upon them.

A parcel of joss-sticks; a joss-stick holder.

A terra cotta image of Pin-diŭk, a Buddhist deity worshipped by the wealthy Chinese, as the god of happiness, abundance, &c.

A pair of cymbals used in the worship of the Buddhists of China.

Eight rolls of paper tablets, significant of the four seasons, good fortune, &c., suspended in Chinese houses.

Specimens of braided paper from Fuhchau; specimens of the pith-plant, from which the Chinese rice-paper is made.

Pack of Chinese playing-cards, used at Canton.

" " " " " " Amoy.

Specimens of Chinese notes, in their envelopes, some note-paper, and visiting-cards, and a Chinese bank-note; two Chinese seals.

Specimens of cloth made by the savages of Taiwan or Formosa.

Two Japanese bronzes.

A terra cotta image of a Hindoo devotee.

A Chinese apparatus for smoking opium; two smoking-reeds; another smoking-apparatus.

A parcel of pith lamp-wicks, with an earthen vessel in which they are burnt; a coil of Chinese paper-wick, used for a hand-lamp.

Two Chinese ladies' perfume-bags.

A " fire-fan.

A parcel of bird's nests, (*hirundo esculenta,*) from Sumatra.

A piece of Chinese bedstead-drapery, showing different forms of the same Chinese character.

A Chinese mourning robe, and a cap worn by sons at the funeral of a parent; a pair of mourning-shoes.

A cooly's dress and hat; another Chinese hat, made of reeds, worn on certain occasions for protection to the head.

By Charles W. Bradley, Amoy.

NOVUM Testamentum domini nostri et salvatoris Jesu Christi in linguam Amharicam vert. Abu-Rumi Habessinus. Nova editio per C. H. Blumhardt. Londini: 1852.

Ko te Kawenata Hou o To tatou ariki o te kai whakaora o Ihu Karaiti. [New Zealand Pentateuch.] Ranana: 1852.

HOLY Bible (The), containing the Old and New Testaments. In the Tamil language. Madras: 1840.

Surat brasi Djandji Taheta tuhan dan djuru-salamat ikei Jesus Kristus. [Dyak New Testament.] Njelo: 1846.

Kholagano Enca ea Yesu Keresete, . . . e e hetolecoeñ mo puoñ ea Secuana. [Sechuana New Testament.] London: 1840.

Ko te Tahi Wahi o te Kawenata Tawhito. [New Zealand New Testament.] Ranana: 1848.

Ko Nga Waiata a Rawiri. [New Zealand Psalms.] Ranana: 1848.
Book of Genesis and the Psalms of David. London: 1852. *In Turkish.*
Judaeo-Arabic Four Books. London: 1847.
Judaeo-Persic Gospels. London: 1847.
Gospel (The) of St. Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles, translated into Chinese by the late Rev. Dr. Robert Morrison. London: 1845.
Gospels (The) of St. Matthew and St. John, in the Accra Language, translated from the original Greek by the Rev. A. W. Hanson. London: 1843.
Epistle (The) of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, translated into Yoruba by the Rev. Samuel Crowther. London: 1850.
Forty-seventh Report (The) of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1851. London:
By the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The New Testament in Hebrew. London: 1831.
English Church Service, in Arabic. Gâlatta: 1840.
"Ta'lîm el-Fârsy." A Persian Spelling Book.
Dream Book, in Turkish. A. H. 1259.
"'Ilm-i-Hâl," in Turkish.
"Divân-i-Halîm-gerây." Poems of Halîm-gerây, Khân of the Crimea. Constantinople: A. H. 1257.
"Kitâb-i-Muntakhabât Lughât-i-Osmânîyeh." Redhouse's Turkish Select Vocabulary.
"Kitâb-i-Tarjemân-i-Turky wa Araby," i. e. Turkish and Arabic Interpreter's Book. A. H. 1266.
"Munshaât-i-Rifa'at Effendy," the Epistolary Correspondence of Rifa'at Effendy, followed by some Poems by the same. Bûlâk: A. H. 1254.
"Sherh Hadîth el-Erba'în," i. e. Commentary on Forty Traditions. Constantinople: A. H. 1263.
"Tefâul Nâmeh." Turkish Book of Fate. A. H. 1263.
"Zubdet en-Nesâih." Advice to Youth, in Turkish.
"Subhe-i-Sibyân." An Arabo-Turkish Vocabulary. A. H. 1259.
"Tarjeme-i-Vasiyet Nâme-i-Imâm A'zam."
Pamphlet on the Manner of pronouncing Arabic.
"Tohfe-i-Veheby." Persico-Arabic Vocabulary. Constantinople: A. H. 1256.
The New Testament . . . Translated from the Original Greek into Persian, by the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D. 3d ed. London: 1827. 8°.

"Abyât Muntakhabât." Choice selections of Turkish Poetry. MS. Sent as good specimens of calligraphy. Fol.

Hebrew Bible, with a Hebrew-Spanish Translation. Vienna: Jewish Year 5601–02. 2 vols. 4°.

The Bible in Turkish. Paris: 1827. 2 vols. in 1. 4°.

Hebrew Pentateuch, with a Hebrew-Turkish Translation. Constantinople: Jewish Year 5598. 8°.

. . . Biblia Hebraica . . . recensita, atque . . . illustrata ab Everardo Van der Hooght, V. D. M. Editio nova, recognita . . . Judah D'Allemand. Londini: 1833. 8°.

Armenian-Turkish Bible—*Genesis*—*Esther*. Smyrna: 1841. 12°.

Common-Prayer, in Turkish. Leipzig: 1842. 8°.

[Smellie (William)]. *Φιλοσοφία τῆς φυσικης ἱστορίας Ἐρανισθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ καὶ ἤδη τὸ πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπό τοῦ ἰατροῦ Δημητριοῦ Σταματιαδοῦ. Ἐν Κωνσταντίνουπόλει.* 1846. 8°.

By John P. Brown, Constantinople.

Sai an Sinsin, sive liber metempsychosis veterum Aegyptiorum, e duabus papyris funebribus hieraticis signis exaratis, nunc primum ed. Heinr. Brugsch. Berolini: 1851.

By the Editor.

New Testament—*John*. The Gospel according to St. John, translated into the Mpongwe Language; by Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Gaboon, Western Africa. New York: American Bible Society. 1852. 16°. 2 *copies.*

——— The Gospel according to St. John, translated into the Grebo Tongue, by the Right Rev. John Payne, D. D. . . . New York: American Bible Society. 1852. 2 *copies.*

By the Rev. A. Bushnell, West Africa.

De la Réforme en Turquie, au point de vue financier et administratif. [By Mons. Cor, of Constantinople.] Paris: 1851. 8°. 2 *copies.*

By the Author.

Ewald (G. H. A.) Abhandlungen zur orientalischen und biblischen Literatur. Erster Theil. Göttingen: 1832. 12°.

——— ——— De Feriarum Hebraearum origine ac ratione. Göttinguae: 1841. 4°.

———— ———— Ueber die neuentdeckte phönikische Inschrift zu Marseille. Aus d. vierten Bande d. Abhll. d. K. Gesellsch. d. Wissench. zu Göttingen. Göttingen: 1849. 4°.

———— ———— Entzifferung der neupunischen Inschriften. Aus. d. Götting. gel. Anzeige, 1852. Göttingen: 1852. 12°.

By the Author.

"Kavâid-i-Osmânîyeh." Rules of Ottoman Grammar, by Fuad Effendy of Constantinople. 8°. 2 *copies.*

By the Author.

KURZE Grammatik der Tscherokesischen Sprache. Von H. C. v. der Gabelentz.

By the Author.

ZEITSCHRIFT der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Sechster Band. Hefte ii–iv. Leipzig: 1852. 8°.

EPISTULAE Novi Testamenti. Coptice edidit Paulus Boetticher. . . . Opus adjuvante Societate Orientali Germanicâ editum. Halæ: 1852. 8°.

By the German Oriental Society.

NEW TESTAMENT—*Matthew.* "Ivangeli e li yingcuele, *e li baliweyo g' Umatu.*" [The Gospel of Matthew, *in Zulu.*] Umkungunhlovu: 1848. 8°, pp. 81.

INCUADI *Yesibini Yabafundayo.* Izindaba e zi ketiweyo encuadini yika Jehova. . . . [Selections from the Pentateuch, in Zulu.] Umlazi: 1846. 18°, pp. 59.

NCWADI Yamagama. ["A Book of Hymns," in Zulu.] Port Natal: American Mission Press. 1849. 32°. pp. 68.

NCWADI Yokubuza. . . . ["A Book of Questions," i. e. A Catechism, in Zulu.] Port Natal: American Mission Press. 1849. 32°, pp. 32. [*Bound with the preceding.*]

NCUADI Yabantuana. ["A Book for Children," in Zulu]. Port Natal: 1846. 24°, pp. 36.

NCWADI Yokubala. ["A Book of Numbers," i. e. An Arithmetic, in Zulu.] Port Natal: American Mission Press. 1849. 18°, pp. 48.

NHLIZIYO Yako i lungile na? ["Is thy Heart right?" A tract on Regeneration, in Zulu.] Port Natal: American Mission Press. 1849. 16°, pp. 8. 2 *copies.*

APPLEYARD (Rev. J. W.) The Kafir Language, etc. King William's Town: Printed for the Wesleyan Missionary Society. 1850. 8°.

Posselt (Rev. C. W.). The Zulu Companion, offered to the Natal Colonist, to facilitate his Intercourse with the Natives. . . . Pietermaritzburg: 1850. 8°, pp. 64.

Grout (Lewis). A Manuscript Vocabulary of the Zulu Language. 4°, *about* 150 *pages*.

By the Rev. Lewis Grout, South Africa.

Literaturgeschichte der Araber. Von ihrem Beginne bis zu Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts der Hidschret. Von Hammer-Purgstall. Erste Abth. Erster Band. Wien: 1850; Zweiter Band. Wien: 1851. 4°.

By the Author.

Bible—*Old Testament.* Genesis, [in Chinese], with explanatory Notes. By W. Dean. Hongkong: 1850. 8°.

——— Exodus, [in Chinese,] with Notes. W. Dean. Hongkong: 1851. 8°. 2 *copies.*

New Testament—*Matthew.* The Gospel of Matthew, in Chinese, with explanatory Notes. By William Dean. Hongkong: 1848. 8°.

The Acts of the Apostles, in Chinese. Translated by William Dean. 8°.

Sacred Chronology, in Chinese. By William Dean. 8°.

A Treatise on Astronomy, in Chinese. By Benjamin Hobson, M. D. Canton: 1849. 8°.

A History of England, in Chinese. By the Rev. C. Gutzlaff. 8°.

A History of the United States of North America, in Chinese. By the Rev. E. C. Bridgman. 8°.

By the Hongkong Mission of the American Board.

Bombay Temperance Repository (The). No. 1.—January, 1852. 8°.

By the Rev. Robert W. Hume, Bombay.

Vendidadi capita quinque priora. Emendavit C. Lassen. Bonnae: 1852. 8°.

Indische Alterthumskunde von Christian Lassen. Zweiter Band. [2d Part.] . . . Mit einer Karte. Bonn: 1852. 8°.

By Prof. C. Lassen, Bonn.

Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States, collected and prepared under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. By Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL.D. Part II. Philadelphia: 1852.

By Major L. Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Lepsius (Richard). Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai geschrieben in den Jahren 1842–1845. Berlin: 1852. 8°.

——— Über den ersten Ägyptischen Götterkreis und seine geschichtlich-mythologische Entstehung. Gelesen in der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften am 26 Juni, 1851. Mit vier Tafeln. Berlin: 1851. 4°, pp. 58. *Large paper.*

By the Author.

Little, Brown & Co. A complete Catalogue of the extensive and valuable Collection of Ancient and Modern Books, ... for sale by Little, Brown & Co. ... January, 1853. Boston: 1853. 8°.

By Messrs. Little, Brown & Co.

New Testament. The N. T. ... in the Bengálí Language. Translated from the Greek, by the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries with Native Assistants. Calcutta: for the American and Foreign Bible Society. 1839. 8°.

Bible—*Old Testament.* ... The Book of Genesis and part of Exodus in Bengálí. Translated from the Hebrew by the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries. Calcutta: for the Bible Translation Society. 2d ed. 1842. 12°.

——— ... The Psalms of David, in Bengálí. Translated from the Original Hebrew, by the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries. Calcutta: for the American and Foreign Bible Society and the English Baptist Missionary Society. 1840. 12°.

Series (A) of Rough Sketches of Oriental Heads. Nos. 16, 17, and 18. W. Thacker & Co. Calcutta.

Map of British India and of the Post Office Stations, and Post and Banghy Routes throughout British India. C. Day & Co.

A statuette formed of the clay of the Ganges, representing a Brahman *pradhân-yâjok* or high-priest.

A *mala*, or necklace made from the wood of the *aushattwo taru*, a tree regarded by the Hindoos as sacred to the goddess *Kâlí.*

Specimen of a crimson powder called *âbír*, with which the Hindoos amuse themselves during a particular religious festival.

Anglo-Bengali Primer (An), containing easy lessons in spelling and reading, for the use of Hindu females. By a Lady. Calcutta: 1850. 16°.

SATYÁRNAB (The). A Bengálí monthly, edited by a Christian Brahman. 12 Nos. in one volume. 1851–52. 4°.
By Mrs. E. Locke, Calcutta.

LYNCH (*Lieut.* W. F.), *U. S. N.* Official Report of the United States' Expedition to explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan.... Baltimore: 1852. 4°.
By the Author.

MS. Copy of Chinese inscription on the Singan-fu monument, with a specimen of the Syriac.
By the Rev. William A. Macy.

MACGOWAN (Daniel L.), *M. D.*—Report of the Hospital at Ningpo, for 1852; under the Medical Missionary Society in China. Canton: 1842. 8°.

Epistles (The) of Peter, and the First Epistle of John. Translated by the Rev. W. H. Medhurst, D. D. 12°. *In Chinese.*

Epistle of Paul to the Galatians. Translated by Rev. W. H. Medhurst, D. D. 16°. *Chinese.*

Gospels and Acts. Version of the Committee of Delegates in Shanghai. 8°. *Chinese.*

Gospel of Luke, with commentary by Rev. W. M. Lowrie. Translated by Rev. W. H. Medhurst, D. D. 8°. *Chinese.*

Epistle to the Ephesians, with commentary by Rev. W. Milne, D. D. Translated by Rev. W. H. Medhurst, D. D. 8°. *Chinese.*

Pentateuch. Translated by Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, D. D. 8°. *Chinese.*

Acts of the Apostles, with commentary by Rev. W. M. Lowrie. Translated by Rev. W. H. Medhurst, D. D. 8°. *Chinese.*

Joshua and Judges. Translated by Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, D. D. 8°. *Chinese.*

Bible History.—Old Testament. By D. B. McCartee, M. D. 8°. *Chinese.*

Almanac of Peace, for 1850. By D. B. McCartee, M. D. 12°. *Chinese.*

——— for 1851. By D. B. McCartee, M. D. 8°. *Chinese.*

——— for 1852. " " " "

Universal History. By Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, D. D. 8°. *Chinese.*

EUCLID's Elements of Geometry. Translated by Matthew Ricci. Edited by Rev. J. W. Quarterman. Ningpo: Presbyterian Mission Press. 1852. 8°. *Chinese.*

Specimen of the Chinese Type (including also those cut at Ningpo) belonging to the Chinese Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. Ningpo: Presbyterian Mission Press. 1852. 8°.

Characters formed by the divisible type belonging to the Chinese Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Macao: Presbyterian Mission Press. 1844. 8°.

Hymns. By D. B. McCartee, M. D. 12°. *Chinese.*

By the Ningpo Mission of the Presb. Board of Foreign Missions.

[Norton (Charles Eliot)]. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy. From the North American Review for July, 1851. Cambridge: 1851. 8°, pp. 22.

By the Author.

Journal (The) of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. XIII. Part 2. London: 1852.

By the Society.

Jâska's Nirukta, sammt den Nighaṇṭavas, herausgegeben von Rudolph Roth. Drittes Heft. Göttingen: 1852.

By the Editor.

"Divân-i-'Izzet Beg." Poems by 'Izzet Beg. A. H. 1258.

"Subhe-i-Sibyân." An Arabo-Turkish Vocabulary. A. H. 1264.

"Kitâb-i-Ḥuḳûḳ-i-Milel." Book on the Rights of Sects. Constantinople: A. H. 1263.

"Mukhtaṣar-i-Jughrâfîya," i. e. Abridgment of Geography. A. H. 1257.

"Mughny eṭ-Ṭallâb." Constantinople: A. H. 1260.

"Divân-i-Ḥâlet Effendy." Poems by Ḥâlet Effendy. A. H. 1258.

"Jughrâfîya. Ḳaṭ'a-i-Ifrîḳâ." Geography of Africa. A. H. 1263.

By His Exc. Safvet Effendy, Constantinople.

Füster (Anton), *P. D., etc.* Rudimenta Linguæ Slavorum. MS. 4°, pp. 70.

Bible—*Old Testament.* Exodus [in Chinese] with Notes. W. Dean. Hongkong: 1851. 8°.

By the Rev. Dr. Barnas Sears.

El-Jezu el-Awwal min A'mâl el-Jam'îyeh es-Sûrîyeh, i. e. First Part of the Transactions of the Syrian Society. Beirût: 1852. 8°.

By the Rev. Dr. Eli Smith.

SMITHSONIAN Contributions to Knowledge. Vols. III. IV. City of Washington: 1852. 4°.

SMITHSONIAN Report.—On Recent Improvements in the Chemical Arts. By Professor James C. Booth and Campbell Morfit. Washington City: Published by the Smiths. Instit. 1852. 8°.

By the, Institution.

A new code of Laws for Government-Lands. "El-Aḥkâm el-Mar'îyeh fy el-Arâḍhi el-Amîrîyeh." Constantinople: A. H. 1267. Small 4°.

Notes on the Ḳurân. "Zubdet el-'Arfân." 8°.

"Divân-i-Ḥâlet Effendy." Poems by Ḥâlet Effendy. A. H. 1258. Small 4°.

A book of the Naḳishbend Dervishes. "Risâle-i-'Abîdîye-i-Naḳishbendy." 8°.

Commentary on the Persian Rules of Grammar, called "Sherḥ-i-Ḳavâid-i-Fârsîyeh." 8°.

A work on Logic, by Fenâry, "Fevâid Fenârîyeh," followed by a commentary, and a compend of Porphyry's Isagoge by Athîr-ed-dîn el-Abahry. Constantinople: A. H. 1266. 8°.

On the Art of Agriculture. 2 vols. A. H. 1264. 8°.

Epistolarium by 'Izzet Beg. "Izzet Beg Munshaâti." 8°.

A Turkish Dictionary, by Shevket Effendy. "Eser-i-Shevket." A. H. 1267. 8°.

"Ṭarjeme-i-Mîzân el-Adeb," i. e. Translation of the Balance of Cultivation. A work on Rhetoric. A. H. 1257. 8°.

Glosses by Mûla Muḥammed eṭ-Ṭarsûsy on the work called "Mirât el-Uṣûl," on the principles of religion. A. H. 1267. 8°.

"Ḥaleby Ṣagîr," i. e. Ḥaleby's Small Book, an abridgment of a larger work by the same author, commenting on the "Munyet el-Muṣally," i. e. The Desire of Him who prays. Constantinople: A. H. 1268. 8°.

First volume of Glosses by Maḥrem on "El-Fevâid edh-Ḍhiyâîyeh," which is a commentary on Ibn Ḥâjib's grammatical work entitled "El-Kâfiyeh." 8°.

A work on Leases, called "Jâmi' el-Idjâratein." Constantinople: A. H. 1252. 8°.

A book of Legal Sentences, by Abû-l-Faḍhl 'Abdallah Effendy أليكينشهرى. "Behjet el-Fetâwa." Fol.

A work on Arabic Inflexion, called "Merâḥ el-Arwâḥ," by Aḥmed Ibn 'Aly, Ibn Mes'ûd. Constantinople: A. H. 1268. 8°.

A work on Religious Mussulman Tenets, "Burhân Kalenbevy," followed by Glosses on the same. Constantinople: A. H. 1253. 8°.

A devotional work, called "'Ilm-i-Ḥâl." 8°.

A grammatical work called "El-Fevâid edh-Ḍhiyâîyeh," by 'Abdelraḥman Ibn Muḥammed el-Jâmy. A. H. 1268. Followed by a commentary on the author's concluding prayer. 8°.

"Fetḥ el-Wehhâb," a commentary by Ḥasan Pâshâ Zâdeh, on Kalenbevy's "Risâlet el-Âdâb," followed by this treatise of Kalenbevy. A. H. 1263. 8°.

On the Holy Places in Constantinople. "El-Athâr el-Mejîdîyeh fy el-Menâḳib el-Khâlidîyeh." A. H. 1257. 12°.

First volume of the Arabian Nights, in Turkish. "Tarjime-i-Alf Leileh wa Leileh." Small fol.

Commentary on el-Jâmy's "Behâristân." "Hadîyet el-'Arfân." A. H. 1252. 4°.

"Tarjeme-i-Sherḥ el-'Uyûn fy sherḥ Risâlet Ibn Zeidûn." Translation of a commentary on Ibn Zeidûn's "Risâleh," entitled "Sherḥ el-'Uyûn" [by Ibn Nebâteh]. [Constantinople:] A. H. 1257. Small 4°.

"El-Jauharîyeh el-Behîyeh el-Aḥmedîyeh." A commentary by Kâḍhy Zâdeh on a theological work of Bergevy, entitled "Metn Waṣîyeh Muḥammedîyeh." A. H. 1267. 8°.

Poem of the letter Nûn, by Kiḍhr Beg. "Kaṣîde-i-Nûnîyeh." Constantinople: A. H. 1258. Small 4°.

A work on Holy Law, called "Multeḳa el-Abḥâr," by Ibrâhîm el-Ḥaleby. Constantinople: A. H. 1268. Small 4°.

A poem, called "Hulye-i-Khâkâny." A. H. 1264. 4°.

"Dîvân-i-Ḥalîm-gerây." Poems by Halîm-gerây, Khân of the Crimea. [Constantinople:] A. H. 1257. 4°.

Fetwas of 'Aly Effendy. "Fetâwâ-i-'Aly Effendy." Fol.

"Tarjemet el-Mustaṭraf," i. e. Translation of the Mustaṭraf, by the late Es'ad Effendy, historian of the Empire. A book of elegant literature. A. H. 1261–63. 2 vols. Fol.

"Dîvân-i-Naḍhîm." Poems by Naḍhîm. A. H. 1257. Fol.

"Mirât el-Kâḍhy," i. e. The Mirror of the Kâḍhy. 12°.

A Persian Vocabulary, called "Shâhidy." A. H. 1264. 12°.

"Kitâb-i-Gulistân." The Gulistân of Sa'dy. 12°.

Epistolarium, in Turkish. "Julûs Humâyûndeh yâ Zeṭesh-i-Telkhîṣ." A. H. 1264. 16°.

Poems by 'Abdallah Râmiz Pâshâ. 16°.

A History of Jerusalem. "Târîkh wa Feḍhâil-i-Kuds-i-Sherîf." 12°.

Poem of the Cloak, in rhyme. "El-Burdeh." Small 4°.

Poem called "Pend-i-Aṭṭâr," by Ferîd-ed-dîn Aṭṭâr. Constantinople: A. H. 1266. 8°.

Collection of Tales, called "Thimâr el-Asmâr," i. e. "Fruits of Night-conversations." A. H. 1256. 8°.

"Dîvân-i-Pertev Pâshâ." Poems by Pertev Pâshâ, [Minister of the Interior under the reign of Sulṭân Maḥmûd. —*Bianchi.*] A. H. 1256. Small 4°.

"Dîvân-i-Leilâ Khânem." Poems by Leilâ Khânem. Small fol.

"Tarjeme-i-Rauḍhat es-Ṣafa." Translation of the First Part of Mirkhond's Universal History. [Constantinople:] A. H. 1258. Fol.

"Mejmû' Munshaât es-Salâṭîn-i-Ferîdûn Beg." Collection of Letters to and from the Prophet, Caliphs, and Sultans; also Letters to and from the Sovereigns of Europe, and their Treaties, by Ferîdûn Beg. A celebrated and valuable work. A. H. 1264. 2 vols. Fol.

By His Imperial Majesty the Sultân.

WESTERMANN (B.), & Co. A Classified List of the most prominent scientific and miscellaneous Periodical Publications of Germany. . . . New York: 1853. 8°, pp. 16.

By Messrs. B. Westermann & Co.

The Sz' Shú, or Four Books, with Comments. In Chinese. 2 vols. 8°.

By S. Wells Williams, Canton.

Ekwali ya Bwam, e Matilabe na Jon. Bimbia, West Africa: 1848. *In Isubu.*

VOCABULARY of the Haussa Language . . . to which are prefixed the elements of the Haussa language. By the Rev. Fredk. Schön. London: 1843.

Ekwali ya Bwam, e Matilabe na Matiya. Bimbia, West Africa: 1846. *Isubu.*

DICTIONARY (A) of the Isubu tongue. [A—I, all published.]

Kalati ya Boso ya Moziz, e Bekelebe Ienisis. Bimbia, West Africa: 1847. *Isubu.*

Iyala ya Bwam, e Tatilabe na Mattiyu. Cameroons, Western Africa: 1848. *In Dualla.*

By the Rev. John L. Wilson, West-Africa.

Persian Almanac. [Lithographed.]

Four Specimens of a Persian Newspaper.

By the Rev. A. H. Wright, Oroomiah.

Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Volumes I—VI. VII. 2.

Purchased by vote of the Society.

CHARLES FOLSOM, *Librarian.*

LIST OF THE MEMBERS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

(Corrected to April, 1853.)

MEMBERS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Ezra Abbott,	Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. G. J. Adler,	New York.
Dr. Henry J. Anderson,	"
Rev. Dr. Rufus Anderson,	Boston.
Prof. Ethan A. Andrews,	New Britain, Ct.
Prof. Charles Beck,	Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Hiram Bingham,	New Haven.
Rev. Isaac Bird,	Hartford.
Rev. Samuel R. Brown,	Chicago.
Elihu Burritt,	Worcester, Mass.
Alexander I. Cotheal,	New York.
Prof. Alpheus Crosby,	Boston.
Prof. Howard Crosby,	New York.
Hon. Caleb Cushing,	Washington.
Prof. George E. Day,	Cincinnati.
Epes S. Dixwell,	Cambridge, Mass.
George B. Dixwell,	Boston.
John J. Dixwell,	"
*Peter S. Duponceau,	Philadelphia.
Rev. Dr. John P. Durbin,	"
*Rev. Dr. Bela B. Edwards,	Andover, Mass.
Prof. Romeo Elton,	Exeter, England.
*Hon. Alexander H. Everett	Boston.
Hon. Edward Everett,	"
Prof. Cornelius C. Felton,	*Cambridge, Mass.

Charles Folsom,	Cambridge, Mass.
John M. Forbes,	Boston.
Francis Gardner,	"
Prof. Josiah W. Gibbs,	New Haven.
George R. Gliddon,	London.
Rev. David Green,	Windsor, Vt.
William W. Greenough,	Boston.
Prof. Arnold Guyot,	Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. James Hadley,	New Haven.
Richard K. Haight,	New York.
Horatio E. Hale,	
Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall,	Benares, India.
Prof. Gessner Harrison,	Charlottesville, Va.
Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks,	New York.
Stanislas Hernisz,	Boston.
William B. Hodgson,	New York.
Rev. Samuel Hutchings,	New Haven.
James J. Jarves,	Boston.
*Rev. Dr. S. Farmar Jarvis	Middletown, Ct.
Joseph W. Jenks,	Boston.
Rev. Dr. William Jenks,	"
Prof. C. C. Jewett,	Washington.
*Prof. James L. Kingsley,	New Haven.
Charles Kraitsir,	Boston.
Prof. George M. Lane,	Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. Francis Lieber,	Columbia, S. C.
Prof. John L. Lincoln,	Providence.
Lieut. William F. Lynch, U. S. N.,	
William A. Macy,	New Haven.
Hon. George P. Marsh,	Ambassador of the U. States at the Ottoman Porte.
Rev. James L. Merrick,	South Amherst, Mass.
*Edward Moore,	Newport, R. I.
*Dr. Samuel G. Morton,	Philadelphia.
Rev. Dr. James Murdock,	New Haven.
Rev. Mark Murphy,	Staten Island.
Prof. John J. Owen,	New York.
Rev. Theodore Parker,	Boston.
Rev. Dr. Solomon Peck,	"
Gregory A. Perdicaris,	Newark, N. J.
Dr. Charles Pickering,	Boston.
*Hon. John Pickering,	

Rev. Dr. Swan L. Pomroy,	Boston.
George W. Pratt,	New York.
Rev. Chandler Robbins,	Boston.
Rev. Dr. Edward Robinson,	New York.
Edward E. Salisbury,	New Haven.
Rev. Dr. Barnas Sears,	Newton Centre, Mass.
Charles Short,	Roxbury, “
Prof. J. M. Smead,	Williamsburg, Va.
Evangelinus A. Sophocles,	Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. Jesse A. Spencer,	New York.
William W. Stone,	“
Prof. Calvin E. Stowe,	Andover, Mass.
*Prof. Moses Stuart,	“ “
Rev. James B. Taylor,	Richmond.
*Rev. Oliver A. Taylor,	Manchester, Mass.
Samuel H. Taylor,	Andover,
*Rev. Daniel Temple,	Reading,
Prof. Thomas A. Thacher,	New Haven.
Rev. Selah B. Treat,	Boston.
Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Turner,	New York.
William W. Turner,	Washington.
Rev. Ferdinand De W. Ward,	Geneseo, N. Y.
Rev. Pres. Francis Wayland,	Providence.
*Noah Webster,	New Haven.
William D. Whitney,	
Hon. Sidney Willard,	Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. George W. Wood,	New York.
Rev. Pres. Leonard Woods, Jr.,	Brunswick, Me.
Rev. Pres. Theodore D. Woolsey,	New Haven.
Joseph E. Worcester,	Cambridge, Mass.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Rev. David O. Allen,	Missionary in India.
Rev. Henry Ballantine,	“ “
Dr. James R. Ballantyne,	Benares,
Rev. Cephas Bennett,	Missionary in Burma.
Rev. William A. Benton,	“ Syria.
Charles W. Bradley,	Consul of the U. States at Amoy.

Rev. Dr. Elijah C. Bridgman,	Missionary in China.
John P. Brown,	Dragoman of the U. States Legation at the Ottoman Porte.
Rev. Nathan Brown,	Missionary in Asam.
Dr. Heinrich Brugsch,	Berlin.
*Rev. James C. Bryant,	Missionary in South Africa.
Rev. Ebenezer Burgess,	“ India.
Rev. Albert Bushnell,	“ West Africa.
Rev. Simeon H. Calhoun,	“ Syria.
Mons. J. Cor,	First Dragoman of the French Embassy at the Ottoman Porte.
Rev. Harrison G. O. Dwight,	Missionary in Turkey.
Rev. Cornelius V. A. Van Dyck, M.D.,	“ Syria.
Dr. Henry A. De Forest,	“ “
Prof. Gustav Fluegel,	Meissen, Saxony.
Rev. William Goodell,	Missionary in Turkey.
Rev. Lewis Grout,	“ South Africa.
Dr. J. G. Günther,	Newport, R. I.
Rev. Cyrus Hamlin,	Missionary in Turkey.
Rev. Henry R. Hoisington,	“ Ceylon.
Prof. C. A. Holmboe,	Christiania, Norway.
Rev. Henry A. Homes,	Second Dragoman of the U. States Legation at the Ottoman Porte.
Rev. George Jones, U. S. N.	
*Rev. John T. Jones,	Missionary in Siam.
*Rev. Adoniram Judson,	“ Burma.
Prof. Mirza Kasem Beg,	St. Petersburg.
Rev. Dwight W. Marsh,	Missionary in Mosul.
Rev. Francis Mason, M. D.,	“ Burma.
Rev. Peter Parker, M. D.,	Secretary and Interpreter of the U. States Legation in China.
Rev. Dr. Justin Perkins,	Missionary in Persia.
Rev. Dr. Daniel Poor,	“ Ceylon.
James W. Redhouse,	Principal of the Bureau of Interpreters of the Ottoman Imperial Diwân.
Rev. Elias Riggs,	Missionary in Turkey.
Prof. Rudolph Roth,	Tübingen, Würtemburg.
Rev. William G. Schauffle	Missionary in Turkey.
Rev. William W. Scudder,	“ India.
*Dr. Azariah Smith,	“ Turkey.
Rev. Dr. Eli Smith,	“ Syria.
Rev. William H. Steele,	“ Borneo.

Rev. David T. Stoddard,	Missionary in Persia.
Rev. William Tracy,	" India.
Rev. William M. Thomson,	" Syria.
Rev. William Walker,	" West Africa.
Dr. Albrecht Weber,	Berlin.
Prof. Gustav Weil,	Heidelberg, Baden.
Dr. Samuel Wells Williams,	Missionary in China.
Rev. John L. Wilson,	" West Afric
Rev. Miron Winslow,	" India.
William Winthrop,	Consul of the U. States in Malta.
Rev. Austin H. Wright, M. D.,	Missionary in Persia.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Mahâ Râja Apûrva Krishna Bahâdur,	Calcutta.
James Bird,	Bombay.
Dr. Otto Boehtlingk,	St. Petersburg.
Dr. John Bowring,	British Consul at Canton.
Prof. Franz Bopp,	Berlin.
*Prof. Eugène Burnouf,	Paris.
Richard Clarke,	London.
Prof. George Heinr. Aug. Von Ewald,	Göttingen.
Prof. Forbes Falconer,	London.
M. Champollion Figeac,	Paris.
Prof. George Wilhelm Freytag,	Bonn, Prussia.
His Excellency Fuad Effendi,	Constantinople.
Dr. Julius Fuerst,	Leipzig, Saxony.
*Prof. Wilhelm Gesenius,	Halle, "
Prof. Jacob Grimm,	Berlin.
Baron Von Hammer-Purgstall,	Vienna.
*Count Graeberg Da Hemsoe,	Florence.
Baron Alexander Von Humboldt,	Berlin.
*Count Amedée Jaubert,	Paris.
Prof. Stanislas Julien,	"
Rev. Dr. John Dunmore Lang,	Sidney, N. S. Wales.
Prof. Christiàn Lassen,	Bonn, Prussia.
Prof. Julius Heinr. Petermann,	Berlin.
*Dr. James Cowles Prichard,	Bristol, England.
Prof. Reinaud,	Paris.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018

Prof. Carl Ritter,	Berlin.
Prof. Emilius Roediger,	Halle, Prussia.
*Count Ippolito Rossellini,	Pisa, Tuscany.
Prof. Friedrich Rueckert,	Berlin.
His Excellency Safvet Effendi,	Constantinople.
Prof. Garcin De Tassy,	Paris.
Prof. C. J. Tornberg,	Upsal.
*Sir Henry W. Torrens,	Calcutta.
*Prof. Wilhelm Martin Liebr. De Wette,	Basel.
Sir J. Gardiner Wilkinson,	London.
Prof. Horace Haymon Wilson,	Oxford.

00106051